MADHU-VIDYĀ

PROF. MADHUKAR ANANT MEHENDALE
COLLECTED PAPERS

L. D. Series : 125

General Editor :
Jitendra B. Shah

Editors :
S. D. Laddu
T. N. Dharmadhikari
Madhavi Kolhatkar
Pratibha Pingle

L. D. INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGY
AHMEDABAD - 380 009

MADHU-VIDYĀ

PROF. MADHUKAR ANANT MEHENDALE
COLLECTED PAPERS

L. D. Series : 125

General Editor :
Jitendra B. Shah

Editors :
S. D. Laddu
T. N. Dharmadhikari
Madhavi Kolhatkar
Pratibha Pingle

L. D. INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGY
AHMEDABAD

L. D. Series : 125

•

Madhu-Vidyā

•

Editor
Dr. Jitendra B. Shah

•

Published by
Dr. Jitendra B. Shah
Director
L. D. Institute of Indology
Ahmedabad-380009 (India)

•

First Edition : May, 2001

•

ISBN 81-85857-07-5

•

Price : Rs. 560-00

Typesetting
Shree Swaminarayan Mudran Mandir
3, Vijay House, Parth Tower,
Nava Vadaj, Ahmedabad-380013 (India)
Phone : (079) 7432464, 7415750

Shri Kishor Khurjekar
Mac Scrip, "Asawari"
10 Aundh, Pune-411 007.
Phone : (020) 5883084, 5890925

Printer :
Navaprabhat Printery
Nr. Old Novelty Cinema,
Gheekanta Road, Ahmedabad-380 001.
Phone : (079) 5508631, 5509083

Preface

We were indeed fortunate to have had a personal meeting, some three years ago, with Prof. M. A. Mehendale in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. We were of course aware that he is a world-renowned scholar of Indian linguistics, languages, literature, and culture. And even before that meeting, for some years we were acquainted with his erudite contributions. However, on meeting him, besides his very learned bearing, we were also deeply impressed by his humility, courteousness, and no less by his warm and affectionate disposition. Prof. Mehendale's work on the Aśokan inscriptions, Avesta, and also on the Mahābhārata is too wellknown. His writings are considered authentic and by many as final in his fields of investigation. For long years, his research papers and articles have been published in the journals of high standing both in India and abroad. Reflecting as these writings do serious research and originality, the scholars rate his thought-provoking studies among the valuable contributions to the domain also of Indology in general. Since his articles, paprers etc. are scattered through different published sources, it was decided by Prof. S. D. Laddu and his colleagues at the Bhandarkar and other Oriental Research Institutes in Pune to collect all such writings and publish them in a book form. An editorial board was next instituted. When the collected material was organized and made ready for printing, Dr. Laddu suggested us to publish it as a Volume, a proposal to which we agreed with delight. The format of the book follows the Quail Scripts style.

We hope that this Volume will be useful to and welcomed by scholars in the concerned fields as also those who have a general interest in the researches in Indology.

Ahmedabad, 11-5-2001 **Jitendra B. Shah**

PRELUDE

We have great pleasure in offering to the world of scholars this Volume of *Collected Papers* of the veteran indologist Professor Madhukar Anant Mehendale, the erstwhile Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute (Pune) and Joint General Editor of the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles of the same Institute, and currently Editor of the Epilogue of the Mahābhārata at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Insitute (Pune), his contributions in all these positions being exemplary. Prof. Mehendale's reputation as a scholar specialized in the diverse fields of Veda and Avesta, Pāli and Prakrit, Historical Linguistics, Inscriptions and Epics has spread far and wide through his sustained and penetrating contributions in these areas. He has also written a few articles in Sanskrit and numerous ones in Marāthi showing concern over contemporary linguistic usages. The famous Kālidāsan line *"na khalu dhīmatāṁ kaś cid avişayo nāma" (Śākuntala* IV. 17, line 4) thus easily comes to mind here. Prof. Mehendale has also guided several students working for research degrees of different Universities, who have made mark later in their respective fields.

Prof. Mehendale's students and admirers had long cherished the idea of getting his published research papers collected in a single volume and making these (except those written in Marathi and Sanskrit) easily available to interested scholars. A Felicitation Committee for the purpose was formed, with Prof. R. N. Dandekar as President, Profs. A. M. Ghatage and C. G. Kashikar as Vice Presidents, Prof. K. V. Sharma as Advisor, Prof. S. D. Laddu as Secretary, Dr. T. N. Dharmadhikari as Treasurer, and some renowned scholars, mostly local, as its Members. Also, an Editorial Committee was formed comprising Prof. S. D. Laddu, Dr. T. N. Dharmadhikari, Dr. Smt. Pratibha Pingle and Dr. Smt. Madhavi Kolhatkar.

An Appeal circulated to a few scholars for financial support in the undertaking met with an enthusiastic response. This, starting from the Editorial Committee, was prominently from scholars like : R. N. Dandekar, A. M. Ghatage, C. G. Kashikar, K. V. Sarma, V. N. Misra, M. R. Yardi, A. R. Kulkarni, G. B. Palsule, Saroja Bhate, Shri & Smt. M. G. Dhadphale, A. B. Marathe, Shri & Smt. Vijay Bedekar, Shri & Smt. K. S. Arjunwadkar, M. P. Rege, G. N. Joshi, Ruyintan Peer, H. C. Bhayani, M. A. Dhaky, Jitendra B. Shah, Gerdi Gerschheimer, Ashok Aklujkar, Madhav Deshpande, Uma Chakravarty, A. C. Sarangi, S. S. Bahulkar, W. K. Lele, Yashwantrao Lele,

Manisha Pathak, Yashodhara Kar, *and from a host others.* The Editorial Committee remains sincerely grateful to all these.

A ready response in the form of permission to reproduce Prof. Mehendale's writings was also received from the Publishers and Copyright Managers of Volumes and Journals in which his writings had appeared, and a credit line to this effect to these together will be found given separately under "Acknowledgements".

Some of the original papers were in need of type-setting and pre-press work. Also was needed to add the preliminary pages indicating, besides the Preface, Prelude etc., the Life-sketch and Writings of Professor Mehendale. This entire task was very efficiently done at the Mac Script (Aundh, Pune) under the supervision of Shri Kishor Khurjekar. We are very much thankful for his timely services.

For the beautiful frontispiece of Professor Mehendale we are indebted to Ms Roberta and Dr. Mrs. Laura Liberale (Torino University, Italy) while on their visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

With the entire edited material ready, it was our great good fortune to have the veteran scholars from Ahmedabad – Professor M. A. Dhaky (Director Emeritus, Center for Art & Archaeology, A.I.I.S., Gurgaon) and Dr. Jitendra B. Shah (Director of the Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre and of the L. D. Institute of Indology) – offering to undertake the onerous task of photocopying these original offprints of printed papers, and to publish them in one Volume for inclusion in their Research Series. This 'विद्यासौहार्द' (Vidyāsauhārda) on their part caused great relief to us. In this, we had the free and enthusiastic services of Shri M. D. Bhandare, Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies (West), in securing effective communication with these two. We are extremely grateful to all the three scholars.

Finally, the Editors reverentially dedicate the *Volume* to Professor Mehendale, in the sentiment :

'तवैव **मधु-कुसुमं** तुभ्यमेव समर्पितम्,'

'tavaiva **madhu-kusumaṁ** tubhyameva samarpitam.'

and pray for his long, healthy and fruitful life.

Pune;
Vasanta-panchami,
29-1-2001

Editorial Committee

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Editors acknowledge with sincere thanks the courtesy shown by the Publishers and Copyright Managers, Indian and foreign, of the Volumes and Journals – such as the Oxford University Press (for the *BSOAS*), the Sahitya Akademi (New Delhi), the Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samiti, Maharashtra, and others – for granting permission to reproduce the papers of Professor Mehendale collected in the present *Volume*. Exact titles of these Volumes and Journals, with detailed source references, would be found recorded in the Bibliography (of Papers) that follows.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIFE-SKETCH & WRITINGS

PROFESSOR MADHUKAR ANANT MEHENDALE : A PROFILE

1. Personalis

(i)	Present Address :	Office	:	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune-411 004. (India)
		Resi.	:	B-4, Probodhan Housing Society, Near Income-Tax Office, Erandavance, Pune-411 004. (India)
	Telephone :	Office	:	(020) 565 69 32
		Resi.	:	(020)543 04 11
(ii)	Date of Birth		:	14-02-1918
	Place of Birth		:	Harsud, Nimar Dist., Madhya Pradesh
(iii)	Married		:	14-12-1941
	Wife		:	Kusum (*née* Kusum Kashinath Paralikar)
	Sons		:	1. Col. Pradip 2. Dr. Ashok

2. Education

1937.B.A.(Cl.I)	Baroda College, Vadodara (Baroda)
1939.M.A.(cl.I)	Wilson College, Mumbai (Bombay)
1943.Ph.D.	Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune

(All degress from the University of Bombay.)

Scholarships & Prizes :

1939.	Bhagwandas Purushottamdas Sanskrit Scholarship, University of Bombay.
1942.	V. N. Mandlik Prize, University of Bombay.
1943.	Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal & Prize, University of Bombay.

3. Interests

Veda & Epics, Pali & Prakrit, Historical Linguistics, Avesta

4. Positions Held

1983-	Editor, Epilogue of the Mahābhārata Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune
1973-83	Joint-General Editor, Sanskrit Dictionary Project, Deccan College P.G. & R.I., Pune
1958-78	Professor of Sanskrit (esp. Vedic), Deccan College P. G. & R. I., Pune

1951-58 Reader, Deccan College P. G. & R. I., Pune
1945-51 Professor, S. B. Garda College, Navasari (Gujarat)
1944-45 Lecturer, Basaveshvar College, Bagalkot (Karnatak)

5. **Other Assignments**
1952-54 Visiting Lecturer, Göttingen University, Germany
1957-58 Senior Rockefeller Foundation Fellow, Yale University, U.S.A.

6. **Special Lectures**
1966. Wilson Philological Lectures, University of Bombay
1975. Kaushik Lecture Series (no. 18), S. P. College, Pune
1978. Bhau Vishnu Ashetekar Vedic Lectures, University of Pune
1985. Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture
1987. Dr. H. R. Divekar Memorial Lecture
1988. Padmavati Pratishthan Lecture Series
1990. Prof. G. K. Bhat Memorial Lecture
1991. Prof. A. G. Mangrulkar Memorial Lectures
1994. Dr. R. S. Walimbe Memorial Lectures

7. **Researches Guided**
(i) *For Ph.D., Poona University :*
1961. "Linguistic Analysis of Koli - A Dialect of Marathi"
(-Smt. Suhasini S. Laddu)
1962. "Indo-Aryan Elements in Cankam Literature"
(-Shri S. Vaidyanathan)
1963. "Epic Syntax"
(-Smt. K. Meenakshi)
1964. "Language of Yāska's Nirukta"
(-Shri Mantrini Prasad)
1967. "Evolution of the Sanskrit Language from Pāṇini to Patañjali (with reference to the *Kṛt* of Primary Formations)"
(-Shri S. D. Laddu)
1971. "The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā - its Ritual and Language"
(-Shri M. N. Bopardikar)
1973. "Agastya Legends - A Historical and Cultural Study"
(-Shri M. N. Bopardikar)
1974. "Comparative Study of Three Gujarati Dialects : Surti, Charotari and Kathiawadi"
(-Smt. Madhu K. Sampat)
1975. "Fables, Parables and Moral Tales in the Mahābhārata"
(-Shri Palat Raut)

1978. "The Concept of Vāc in the Vedic Literature"
(-Smt. Pratibha G. Deshmukh, *now* Pratibha M. Pingle)

1980. "A Descriptive Study of Tarai Nepali"
(-Shri D. c. Gautam)

(ii) *For Ph. D., Ravishankar University, Raipur, M. P. :*

1973. "Paṇini se Patañjali tak Saṁskṛt kā Vikās
Taddhita Pratyayoṁ ke Ādhār par" (In Hindi)
("Development of the Sanskrit Language from Pāṇini to Patañali, with reference to the Secondary Formations')
(-Smt. Manisha Pathak)

(iii) *For M. Phil, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune :*

1996. "Oldenberg yāñcā Ākhyāna-Siddhānta" (In Marathi)
("The Ākhyāna Theory of Oldenberg")
(-Smt. Usha Barve)

8. Academic Honours

1955.	President,	"Indian Linguistics" Section, 18th Session (Annamalainagar), All-India Oriental Conference
1974.	President,	"Vedic" Section, 27th Session (Kurukshetra), All-India Oriental Conference
1979.	President,	Linguistic Society of India
1996.	President,	"Sanskrit Literature & Linguistics" Section, Brihanmaharashtra Prachyavidya Parishad, 1st Session, Pune

9. Awards

1976.	Maharashtra State Award for Teachers (University Level)
1990.	President's Certificate of Honour (Sanskrit)
1996.	MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for 1992-95 (The Asiatic Society of Bombay)
1997.	Guru Gangeshvara National Veda-Vedāṅga Award (Nashik)
1997.	Pandit Rajaramshastri Natekar Award (Pune)
1997.	Purushōttam Award (Late Mrs. Jayanti Wasudev Trust, Sangli)
1998.	Prof. N. R. Phatak Memorial Award (Pune)
1999.	Shreemanta Nanasaheb Peshwe Religious and Spiritual Award (Shree Devadevshwar Saṁsthan, Pune)

10. Publications

Separately listed under :
"Bibliography of Writings of Professor Mehendale."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR MEHENDALE
(As on 14.02.1999)

I. BOOKS :

1.	1948.	*Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* [*Reprint,* 1997] (Deccan College P. G. & R. I., Pune)
2.	1963.	(Jointly edited with Prof. E. Waldschmidt :) *Barhut Inscriptions* by H. Lüders
3.	1965.	*Nirukta Notes :* I
	1978.	*Nirukta Notes :* II
4.	1968.	*Some Aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics* (University of Bombay, Bombay)
*5.	1976.	*Ṛgveda-Saṁhitākāra and Father Esteller* (S. P. Mandali, Pune-411030) [Hindi Translation by M. D. Paradkar] (Yāska, New Delhi, 1993)
*6.	1980.	*Questions and Answers in Vedic Literature* (University of Poona, Pune-411 007)
*7.	1982.	*Ṛgvedasāra* [Marathi Trans. of Hymns selected by Acharya Vinoba Bhave] (Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Pune-411 037)
*8.	1990.	*Game of Dice in Ancient India* (Jnanaprabodhini, Pune-411 030)
*9.	1995.	*Gāthās of Zarathushtra and Yasna Haptanhāiti* [Marathi Trans. with Sanskrit parallels] (Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Pune-411 037)
10.	1995.	*Reflections on the Mahābhārata War* (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla)
11.	1996.	*Cultural Index of the Mahābhārata* (Edited), Vol. I (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune)
12.	(In Press)	*Prolegomena on the Metre and Textual History of the Ṛgveda* by H. Oldenberg [Eng. Trans. jointly with V. G. Paranjape]

*(*Written in Marathi)*

II. PAPERS :

Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
ABSP	Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad
AORM	Annals of Oriental Research, Madras
BDCRI	Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute
Bh. Vid.	Bhāratīya Vidyā
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
COI	Cama Oriental Institute
CV	Commemoration Volume
FV	Felicitation Volume
GJKSV	Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth
GJV	Golden Jubilee Volume
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
IL	Indian Linguistics
Indol. Stud.	Indological Studies
Indol Taur.	Indologica Taurinensia
JABSP	Journal of the Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay
JGJKSV	Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JUB	Journal of the University of Bombay
MV	Memorial Volume
NS	New Series
PAIOC	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference
PICO	Proceedings of the International Conference of Orientalists
Proc.	Proceedings
SJV	Silver Jubilee Volume
SVUOJ	Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal
VSM	Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal

List of Papers

(Note : The end column refers to pages from the **Present Volume.)**

(A) ARTICLES

(I) Veda

(IV) Linguistics

(B) REVIEWS

(C) OBITUARY NOTICES

■

COLLECTED PAPERS

(A) Articles

(B) Reviews

(C) Obituary Notices

Reprinted from Deccan Bulletin Vol. XIV, No. 2.

(A) ARTICLES

(I) Veda

ON *CAKRÁN NÁ* IN THE ṚGVEDA X. 95·12-13.

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The Ṛgveda X.95 comprises the famous dialogue between the king Purūravas and the nymph Urvaśī. According to the version[1] of the story as preserved in the Śatapātha Brāhmaṇa (11.5.1) the dialogue is said to have occurred near a lake in the Kuruksetra where the king had come by chance while he was wandering here and there after his separation from Urvaśī. Just at that time Urvaśī had also come there with her female friends and was sporting in the lake in the form of water-birds. Urvaśī recognised Purūravas and let him also recognise her. It is at this point that the dialogue between the two, as given in the present hymn, is supposed to have taken place. Purūravas tries to persuade Urvaśī to come and stay with him again, but she rejects all the approaches made by him. It is only an invisible voice in the end that seems to assure the king of a happy life in the heaven.

In order to understand the setting in which the two verses containing the expression under discussion occur, it would be worthwhile to note here in general the contents of the dialogue between the king and the nymph. Purūravas asks Urvaśī to stay for a while and have a conversation with him, for, the thoughts that remain unexpressed do not give happiness to anyone. Urvaśī replies that this is going to be of no use, as she has left him for ever and has become inaccessible to him like the wind. Purūravas pleads that he himself is not responsible for violating the condition[2] which compelled Urvaśī to desert him; it was a trick played by the Gandharvas. Without entering into any discussion on this point, Urvaśī only reminds the king that she has kept her word. Purūravas now complains that not only Urvaśī but also her friends had at that time disappeared—and why? Urvaśī justifies their action by saying that as she was then expecting a child, her friends had to come away to nurse the baby......The king remembers his enjoyments in the company of Urvaśī who had then disappeared like a lightning; now Urvaśī has given birth to a child—may she live long! Urvaśī says that the child is nothing but the embodiment of the strength of Purūravas; she had told him of this coming event, but he would not believe her. Purūravas now wants to know if the child longs to see his father, shedding tears when he knows about him (verse 12). Urvaśī assures the king that the child does shed tears, and will cry for paternal affection; she would send the child to Purūravas—but the king would

1. For a detailed account of the story as given in the various versions, cf. GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* I.243-295.

2. The condition was that Urvaśī should not see the king naked. The Gandharvas had manœuvred to show the king to her in this condition with the help of a lightning.

not get her back (verse 13). Having lost all hopes, the king threatens to kill himself—to throw himself before the hungry wolves. Urvaśī implores him to do nothing of the kind; she advises him not to put too much trust in women, and disappears. As the king makes a final appeal to her to return, a heavenly voice intervenes, assuring the king joy in the heaven.

The expression *cakrán ná* first occurs in verse 12. Purūravas, having come to know that a son has been born to him, asks Urvaśī.

kadā̃ sūnúḥ pitáraṁ jātá icchāc cakrán nā̃śru vartayad vijānán |

The Padapāṭha renders it as follows—

kadā̃| sūnúḥ| pitáram| jātáḥ| icchāt| cakrán| ná| áśru| vartayat| vi҃jānán|

GELDNER translates—" When will the son, who is born, seek his father? Like a crying (child), he will shed tears, when he knows definitely." Sāyaṇa renders it as—" When will the son, born (of you), desire for the father? When, knowing (me as his father), and (*na* = *ca*) crying, will he shed tears?"

The same expression occurs once again, but in a slightly different context, in the following verse. Urvaśī replies to the above question of Purūravas in verse 13 which runs as follows—

práti bravāṇi vartáyate áśru cakrán ná krandad ādhyè śivā̃yai|

The Padapāṭha renders it as follows—

práti| bravāṇi| vartáyate| áśru| cakrán| ná| krandat| ā҃dhyè| śivā̃yai|

GELDFER translates—" I shall be glad to reply to him when he sheds tears. Like a crying (child), he will cry for the kind cares (of the mother)."[3] Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the line is as follows—" (Oh Purūravas), I tell you by way of reply—(your son) will shed tears; and (*na* = *ca*) he will weep, shedding tears, when the auspicious occasion, that is longed for, is near at hand."[4]

The general purport of the question and the answer is not difficult to follow. The difficulty, however, lies in the interpretation of the expression *cakrán ná* which occurs in both the verses and which is no doubt intended to express the object of comparison with which the weeping (v. 12) and the crying child (v. 13) of Purūravas is compared. The earlier attempts to explain the form *cakrán* have been mentioned by OLDENBERG[5] and rightly rejected by him. OLDENBERG himself would like to derive *cakrán* from √*krand* and explain it as a reduplicated root-noun of the type mentioned by WHITNEY in his *Sanskrit Grammar* § 1147 c. This

3. GELDNER himself disapproves of his earlier suggestion (Kommentar, p. 193) to take *na* = 'not' in this verse (but *na* = 'like' in verse 12) and regard that in *a* the crying person is the son, in *b* the father (for his explanation of *cakrán* = 'father', see f.n. 7 below).

4. *ādhye ādhyāte vastuni śivāyai śive kalyāṇe samupasthite sati.*

5. *Noten* II. 308-309.

would give us *cakrád*, like *sasyád* from √*syand*, and not *cakrán*. But this means only going against the Padapāṭha and does not involve any emendation in the Saṁhitāpāṭha ; for, in the Saṁhitā *cakrád ná* would give *cakrán ná*.[6] GELDNER, in his new translation of the Ṛgveda, accepts the derivation of *cakrán* from √*krand*,[7] but he would regard it as haplology for *cakradán* as *kánikrat* (Ṛv. 9.63.20) for *kánikrdat*. As against this explanation it may be observed that in *cakradán* the accent is on *dá* and hence its loss due to haplology is unlikely ; in *kánikradat*, however, the accent is on the first syllable and not on *da*. Sāyaṇa already seem to connect *cakrán* with √*krand* when he explains the text word in verse 12 as *krandamānaḥ*; that he paraphrases the text word in verse 13 by *rudan* show that in both the cases he regards the form to be present participle.

It is obvious that these attempts to explain *cakrán* are not convincing. Apart from the irregularities involved in connecting the form with √*krand*, this derivation remains unsatisfactory also from the point of view of the meaning of the verb, The verb √*krand*, in the Ṛgveda, is primarily restricted to the cries uttered by the animals like a horse or a bull, or to the shrieking sound made by the birds ; secondarily it is also applied to the thundering or the rumbling sound of the clouds, winds, or waters, or to the sound of the fire and lightning. It is generally believed that 'a war, or a war army' is called '*krándas*' in the Ṛgveda[8] owing to the human shoutings. This is not improbable, but in view of the overwhelming evidence where √*krand* is applied to the sounds of animals it would be more proper to suppose that *krándas* is used in the above senses on account of the sound raised by the neighing of the horses. It would certainly not be beside the point to think here also of the war-drum, the beating of which must have added to the great tumult. Thus in the Atharvaveda 5.20.9, a war-drum is called *saṁkrándana*. In the same hymn, in verse 7, the verb *abhi* √*krand* is used with it, and it is also used in verse 2, where it is compared to a bull (*ṛṣabhó vāsitā̃m iva*), or is itself called a bull (*vṛ́ṣā tvám*). In the Ṛgveda, the verb √*krand* occurs in connection with the

6. In support, OLDENBERG refers to MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar*, §74 a (p. 67). MACDONELL, however, observes—" A final media before a nasal may become the nasal of its own class. There seems to be no certain instance of this in the Ṛv.; *cakrán ná* (X.95.12.13), however, probably stands for *cakrát ná*, though the Pp. has *cakrán ná*." Thus the sandhi between *cakrád ná* as *cakránná* is not obligatory, though it is possible. Pāṇini (8.4.45) allows similarly option in such cases in the spoken language. cf. *etad murāriḥ* or *etan murāriḥ*.

7. Earlier in his *Ved. Stud.* 1.279 (1889), GELDNER had rejected the derivation from √*krand* and regarded *cakrán* as the participle of the redupl. Aor. of a root √*kṛ* (as *vavṛdhā́ntaḥ* 4.2.17) As none of the existing three roots √*kṛ* had similar formation, he proposed to postulate a fourth √*kṛ* which would lie at the basis of the words like *kīri*, *karuṇa*, *kurara* (GELDNER translates here *cakrán* as 'unlucky person'). Some years later in his Kommentar (1909) on p. 193 (and Glossar p. 47 under √*kṛ*) GELDNER proposes to derive it from √*kr*, and give it the meaning 'the procreator, the father' (he takes the second pāda in verse 12 to mean 'knowing (the facts) he will cry like his father').

8. 10.38.1 ; 2.12.8 ; 6.25.4. In 10.121.6, by *krandasī*, heaven and earth are meant.

deities like Śoma and Indra[9] only when they are compared to a horse or a bull. According to the *Petersburg Wörterbuch* the use of this verb as applied to the crying aloud while weeping is instanced in the Ṛgveda only by the form *krandat* in our verse 13. As will be shown below, even this instance is explained only on the basis of the object to which the crying child is compared thereby showing that √*krand* is not primarily applied to the cries of human beings. The use of √*krand* in the sense 'to weep or lament' is common only in later literature.[10] In such circumstances there is little point in attempting to derive *cakrán* from √*krand* and translate *cakrán nā̃śru vartayat* as 'he will shed tears like a crying (child)'. (verse 12), or *cakrán ná krandat* as 'he will cry like a crying (child)' (verse 13). Moreover, what more sense is gained if one compares a weeping or a crying child with another crying child? Surely there is nothing gained by saying 'he smiles like a smiling man'. The position is hardly improved when OLDENBERG (*Noten* II.309) renders the expression in verse 13 as "May he (the child of Urvaśī) weep like some one who bitterly weeps (?? for a dead person. like a lamenting wife?) as if he could in that way stress his noble longing (for the reunion of his parents)."

In order to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the expression, it is necessary to remember the following three things which seem to be clear—(*i*) that the weeping (verse 12) and the weeping and crying person (verse 13) is one and the same viz. the child of Purūravas and Urvaśī; (*ii*) that *na* = *iva* in both the verses; (*iii*) and that *cakrán* represents the object of comparison (upamāna) with which once the weeping child (*áśru* √*vart*), and once the crying child (√*krand*) is compared. These facts are sufficiently compelling to lead one to the supposition that there has been some misunderstanding on the part of the author of the Padapāṭha in the interpretation of *cakránná* which has further misled the modern interpreters of the verses. I feel that the author of the Padapāṭha has mistaken the object of comparison *cakrám* for *cakrán*. The correct rendering of the Saṁhitā text in the Padapāṭha therefore should have been *cakrám| ná|* and not *cakrán| ná|*. The form and accent of *cakrám* are quite regular and the meaning 'wheel' or 'a bird of that name,' undoubtedly gives a better meaning. Also the sandhi between *cakrám ná* would regularly give *cakránná*[11] in the recited text, though in the manuscripts it is

9. In the Ṛv. 10.103.1, 2 Indra, engaged in war, is no doubt called *saṁkrándana*, but in verse 1 he is compared to a bull (*vṛṣabhó ná bhīmáḥ*), and in verse 2 he is himself called a bull (*vṛ́ṣan*). In 8.100.5 *ácikradan śiśumantaḥ sákhāyaḥ* seems to refer to the Maruts or the horses of Indra. In 10. 1.2 it is the Fire which is spoken of as *śíśuḥ......kánikradat*, and in 10.96.10, *acikradat* primarily goes with the neighing of the horse (9.67.4) with which the charioteer (*hárivān*) is compared.

10. This explains Sāyaṇa's rendering of the text-words in verse 13 as *cakran rudann aśrūṇi vimuñcan / ......krandat......rotsyati* /

11. See WACKERNAGEL, I § 283, b α (p. 333)—final *m* is regularly assimilated to the following *n*. WACKERNAGEL further points out that this change of final *m* to *n* before dentals and *n* has led sometimes to mistakes in the Padapāṭha. So Ṛv. 4.11.6 *yán ni-pāsi* has been analysed in the Padapāṭha as *yát ni-pāsi* instead of *yám ni-pāsi*; in Ṛv. 4.24.6 *ávi-venan tám* has been analysed as *ávi-venan tám* instead of *ávi-venam tám*. OLDENBERG, however, expresses himself against this view, cf. *Noten* I.275-276; also cf. SIEG, *Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda*, p. 92, f.n. 4.

customary to show anusvāra for such assimilations. That the manuscripts in our case do not show an anusvāra is explained by the obvious fact that they were misled by the Padapāṭha. So far as the recitation is concerned, however, there would be no difference between the text as printed in these two verses as *cakránnā* and at the other four places (Ṛv. 1.155.6; 4.31.4; 5.36.3; 8.6.38) where the printed text shows *cakráṁ ná*.

The first line of verse 12 now means—" When will the son, born (to me), desire for (his) father? Knowing (about his father) he will let the tears roll like a wheel (set into motion)." To this Urvaśī replies in the first line of the following verse—" I assure you (that) he lets the tear roll—he will cry like a (moving) wheel for the kind thoughts (of the father, *i.e.* for the paternal affection)."

When Purūravas compares the weeping child with a rolling wheel he is no doubt thinking of the round tears rolling down on both sides of the cheek and the rolling on of the two round wheels of a chariot. He may have also used the comparison in view of the long continuous action involved in both the cases[12]. When on the other hand, Urvaśī compares the crying child with a wheel, the point of comparison is certainly the sound ($\sqrt{}$*krand*) made by the wheel in its forward movement. The use of the verb $\sqrt{}$*krand* with the wheel of a chariot (or of a potter) and its employment as upamāna is already found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.8.1.1. Here it is said—*tad yathā ha vai idaṁ rathacakraṁ vā kaulālacakraṁ vā 'pratiṣṭhitaṁ kranded evaṁ haiveme lokā adhruvā apratiṣṭhitā āsuḥ*| EGGELING translates[13], " Verily, even as this cart-wheel, or a potter's wheel, would creak if not steadied, so, indeed, were these worlds unfirm and unsteadied." The sound made by the moving wheel has so much struck the early Aryan that he has chosen to name the bird cakravāka[14] after it. This bird is noted in later literature for its continuous crying throughout the night.[15] From this point of view it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Urvaśī perhaps meant this bird when she used the word *cakraṁ* as upamāna for the crying child. The expression *yathā......rathacakraṁ...... krandet* cited from the Śat.Br. above makes it fairly certain that in our hymn in

12. So far as the long continuous action is concerned, a potter's wheel is also used as the object of comparison. Thus in the Sāṅkhyakārikā 67, in order to show that the Yogī, even after attaining the perfect knowledge, does not immediately leave the body but continues to hold it for some time on account of the past impressions, he is compared with a potter's wheel which continues to rotate for some time on account of the past momentum, though the work of preparing the pot on it has been finished. Read—

samyag jñānādhigamād dharmādīnām akāraṇaprāptau |
tiṣṭhati saṁskāravaśāc cakrabhramavad dhṛtaśarīraḥ ||

The continuous action of the moving wheel is also suggested by such expressions as *cakravṛddhi* used for the method of taking interest on the interest.

13. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa part V, p. 126. SBE Vol. 44. (Oxford, 1900).

14. The bird is also called simply *cakra*. cf. *kokaś cakraś cakravāko rathāṅgāhvayanāmakaḥ*. Amara. 2.5.23; also cf. Medinī (Calcutta edn.) 3.23, and 169.31, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 3.3.351, and Vaijayantī 26.18. Further compare such of its names as *cakrāhva* or *cakrasāhvaya*, and of the sun *cakrabāndhava* (or *-bandhu* ' friend of the *cakra* birds ') Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 2.96, and of the night *cakrabhedanī* (' separater of the *cakra* birds ') Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 1.4.23.

15. The use of *ā* $\sqrt{}$*krand* is found with these birds in the Kumārasaṁbhava 5.26—*parasparākrandinī cakravākayoḥ puro viyukte mithune kṛpāvatī*.

verse 13 we have to interpret *cakránná krandat* as *cakráṁ ná krandat*. Evidently the same interpretation has also to be adopted for verse 12, as Urvaśī in her reply has chosen to use the same expressions as those used by the king in his question.

Concerning the proposed interpretation for verse 12, viz. *cakráṁ ná áśru vartayat*, it may further be pointed out that the use of *cakrá* with the verb √*vart* and its employment as upamāna is common throughout the Sanskrit literature.[16] In the Ṛgveda itself we have the following instances where the uses mentioned above are well illustrated.

(1) *abhī́ na ā́ vavṛtsva cakráṁ ná vṛttám árvataḥ /*
niyúdbhiś carṣaṇīnā́m/ Ṛv. 4.31.4.

" (Oh Indra) turn yourself towards us, like the wheel set into motion towards the horses, with the yoked horses of the people."

(2) *ánu tvā ródasī ubhé cakráṁ ná varty étaśaṁ /*
ánu suvānā́sa índavaḥ/ Ṛv. 8.6.38.

" The two worlds follow you (oh Indra), as the wheel follows Etaśa; (to you) follow the pressed Soma juices."

(3) *catúrbhiḥ sākáṁ navatíṁ ca nā́mabhiś cakráṁ ná vṛttáṁ vyátīr avīvipat /* Ṛv. 1.155.6.

" He (Viṣṇu) set into motion the pair, with four times ninety names, like a wheel set into motion."[17]

(4) *cakráṁ ná vṛttáṁ puruhūta vepate máno bhiyā́ me ámater íd adrivaḥ /* Ṛv. 5.36.3.

" Oh Indra (lit. invited by many), master of the press-stones, my mind shakes, due to fear of ignorance, like the wheel set into motion."[18]

(5) *sákhe sákhāyam abhy ā́ vavṛtsvāśúṁ ná cakráṁ*[19] *ráthyeva ráṁhyāsmábhyaṁ dasma ráṁhyā/* Ṛv. 4.1.3.

16. The close relationship between *cakra* and √*vart* can also be seen from such expressions as *cakravartin* ' a sovereign ruler ' and *cakrāvarta* ' whirling motion,' cf. *cakrāvarto bhramo bhrāntir bhramir ghūrṇiś ca ghūrṇane* / Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 1519. The relationship may further also be observed from the fact that a pot prepared on a potter's wheel is called *cakravṛtta*. cf. *asuryaṁ vā etat pātraṁ yat kulālakṛtaṁ cakravṛttaṁ*, Maitr. Saṁ. 1.8.3.; also cf. Kāṭhaka Saṁ. 6.3.; the same expression occurs with the negative prefix in the form *acakravartā* (fem.) in the Āp. Śr. S. 6.3.7 on which the commentator Rudradatta remarks, ' *vartanaṁ vartaḥ / na cakre vartanaṁ yasyāḥ sā tathoktā na cakrabhramaṇena nirmitety arthaḥ* /

17. The pair referred to is that of the day and the night. The three hundred and sixty names are the names of the days in a year.

18. Here the point of comparison is also the shaking of the wheel in motion.

19. *ná cakráṁ* also occurs in the Ṛv. 2.11.20, but there the object of comparison is not the wheel, but the sun. cf. *ávartayat sū́ryo ná cakráṁ bhinád valáṁ índro áṅgirasvān* / " As the sun his wheel, (so) he (*i.e.* Indra) let (the wheel) roll on. Indra, accompanied by Aṅgiras, broke open Vala." GELDNER suggests the possibility of supplying *námuceḥ śíraḥ* (Ṛv. 5.30.7) as the object of *ávartayat*. Sāyaṇa suplies *vájram*, but also gives an alternative rendering where *ná* = not. I would take *cakrám* itself as going with both Sūrya and Indra. For a reference to Indra letting the sun's wheel roll on for Kutsa, cf. Ṛv. 5.29.10.

"Oh friend (*i.e.* Agni) turn yourself towards your friend (Varuṇa) like the speedy wheel, (turn) towards us like the quick (horses) yoked to the chariot, Oh wonder-worker, like the quick (horses)."

In the above translation *āśúm* is taken as an adj. to *cakrám*[20] and *ráthyā* (nom. dual mas.) as 'yoked horses'. GELDNER takes *āśú* in the sense of 'horse' and *ráthyā* (nom. pl. neut.) as 'the chariot-wheels.' He translates—"Oh friend, turn yourself towards the friend (Varuṇa), like the wheel towards the race-horse, like the chariot-wheels in quick journey for us. Oh Master, in quick journey!" But the placing of *ná* makes this construction improbable.

(6) *satrā́ te ánu kr̥ṣṭáyo víśvā cakréva*[21] *vāvr̥tuḥ /*
satrā́ mahā́ asi śrutáḥ // R̥v. 4.30.2.

"All people together follow you like the wheels. You are at once famous as the great one."

(7) *samānám ártham caraṇīyámānā cakrám iva navyasy ā́ vavr̥tsva /* R̥v. 3.61.3.

"Hastening towards the common goal, come here rolling, Oh New One (lit. Newer, refers to Uṣas), like the (rolling) wheel."

(8) *ó hí vártante ráthyeva cakrā́nyámanyám úpa tiṣṭhanta rā́yaḥ /* R̥v. 10.117.5.

"For, (the wealths) roll like the wheels of a chariot. The wealths go to different persons."

(9) *sá sū́ryaḥ páry ūrú várāṁsy éndro vavr̥tyād ráthyeva cakrā́ /* R̥v. 10.89.2.

"This Sūrya (goes) round the wide regions. May Indra roll him herewards like the wheels of a chariot."

In later literature also comparisons with a wheel with the use of the verb √*vart* are often met with. They are especially to be found in the didactic verses like—

cakravat parivartante hy arthāś ca vyasanāni ca/[22]
iti kr̥tvā pratīkṣāmi bhartr̥̄ṇām udayaṁ punaḥ // Mbh. 4.607.[23]

sukhasyānantaraṁ duḥkhaṁ duḥkhasyānantaraṁ sukham /
sukhaduḥkhe manuṣyāṇāṁ cakravat parivartataḥ // Ind. Sprüche 3264.[24]

20. In that case, however, the use of *cakrá* would be in the masculine.

21. For the use of *cakriyeva* with √*vart*, cf. R̥v. 1.185.1; also cf. R̥v. 5.30.8.

22. This is according to the Calcutta edn. The critical edn. reads instead—*anityā kila martyānām arthasiddhir jayājayau /* 4.19.3; also cf. Mbh. 13.2860 (Cal. edn.).

23. Also cf. Ind. Spr. 3261.

24. The same simile is implied in the Meghadūta, 109—*nīcair gacchaty upari ca daśā cakranemikrameṇa /*

The word *cakrá* by itself, without involving any explicit comparison as in the above instances, is also often used with √*vart* since the earliest times--

páñcāre cakré parivártamāne tásminn ā́ tasthur bhúvanāni víśvā / Rv. 1.164.13.[25]

"On the wheel (of the year) with five spokes (*i.e.* the five seasons) and which moves round and round have stood all the beings."

ékacakraṁ vartata ékanemi sahásrākṣaraṁ prá puró ní paścā́ / Av. 10.8.7.[26]

"(It), having one wheel, one rim, and a thousand syllables, rolls forward first, down afterwards."

ápa jányaṁ bhayáṁ nuda mā́ cakrā́ ávṛtsata / Maitr. Saṁ. 1.2.9.62.

"Remove the fear relating to the people; may the wheels (of the enemies) not turn (towards us)."

The same Mantra appears in the Taitt. Br. 3.7.7.14[27] slightly differently--*apa janyaṁ bhayaṁ nuda / apa cakrāṇi vartaya /* on which Sāyaṇa comments--"*he uttarahavirdhāna cakrāṇi parabalāny apavartaya etal loṣṭhavad apagamaya /*;" and in the Śāṅkh. Sr. S. 5.13.3 (also Kauśī. Br. 9.14) the following Mantra is enjoined for repetition by the Hotṛ priest while the Soma-carts are being moved forward--*apeto janyaṁ bhayam anyajanyaṁ ca vṛtrahan / apacakrā avṛtsata* "Hence (drive forth) the danger which comes from foreign (people) and from others than men, O slayer of Vṛtra. The wheels (of the foes) have wended away." (Caland's Tr.).

It is not necessary to give here many citations from the later literature illustrating this use. It would be sufficient to note the following few ones--

Having described the wheel of sacrifice, Kṛṣṇa remarks in the Gītā 3.16,

evaṁ pravartitaṁ cakraṁ nānuvartayatīha yaḥ /
aghāyur indriyārāmo moghaṁ pārtha sa jīvati //[28]

Similar expressions recur when it comes to the description of the wheel of law. Thus while describing the condition of the Kuru kingdom under the rule of Bhīṣma it is said in the Mahābhārata (1.102.12),[29]

25. Also Av. 9.14.1f. For other references from the Ṛv. cf. 1.164.11,14; 4.28.2; 7.63.2; 10.27.19; the same idea is expressed slightly differently in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi--*avasarpiṇyāḥ ṣaḍ arā utsarpiṇyās ta eva viparītāḥ / evaṁ dvādaśabhir arair vivartate kālacakram idam //*; in the Mbh. 4.47.2--*evaṁ kālavibhāgena kālacakraṁ pravartate /*; also cf. Mbh. 1.1.38, Rāmāyaṇa (G. Gorresio's edn.) 6.73.33. The simile is made quite explicit in the Suśruta (Calcutta edn.) I. p. 19. lines 20-21--*sa eṣa nimeṣādiyugaparyantaḥ kālaś cakravat parivartamānaḥ kālacakram ucyata ity eke /*.

26. Also cf. Av. 11.6.22.

27. Also Āp. Śr. S. 11.7.2; Āśval. Śr. S. 4.4.2; Mānava Śr. S. 2.2.2.17.

28. The same idea is expressed in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3.123 (Ānandāśrama edn.)--
tasmād annāt punar yajñaḥ punar annaṁ punaḥ kratuḥ /
evam etad anādyantaṁ cakraṁ saṁparivartate //

29. Also cf. the following where *cakraṁ* occurs with √*vart*-- Mbh. 1.60.45 (critical edn.); 12.13801, 13.4262 (both Cal. edn.); Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.20.32.

sa deśaḥ pararāṣṭrāṇi pratigṛhyābhivardhitaḥ /
bhīṣmeṇa vihitaṁ rāṣṭre dharmacakram avartata //

When the saṁsāra is thought of as a continuously moving wheel, it is said in the Mahābhārata 11.162. (Cal. edn.)—

evaṁ saṁsāracakrasya parivṛttaṁ vidur budhāḥ/

In one of the aphorisms, the relationship between the master and the servants is described in the terms of the spokes of a wheel and its navel—and even with regard to this wheel the use of √*vart* is not missed—

araiḥ sandhāryate nābhir nābhau cārāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ /
svāmisevakayor evaṁvṛtti cakraṁ pravartate // Ind.Spr. 212, Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra 3.87, Pañcatantra 1.89.

The combination of *cakrá* and √*vart* seems to have been regarded so fixed that occasionally the same verb is also used with the associates of the wheel like *paví*, and as the wheel forms a part of the chariot, it is not uncommon to find √*vart* used with *rátha* itself.

víśvāḥ pinvathaḥ svásarasya dhénā ánu vām ékaḥ pavír ā́ vavarta / Ṛv. 5.62.2.[30]
"You (Mitra and Varuṇa) swell all the cows of the stall (?). Following you rolls hereward the one rim (*i.e.* the wheel = the sun or the year)."

anaśvó jātó anabhīśúr ukthyó ráthas tricakráḥ pári vartate rájaḥ / Ṛv. 4.36.1.[31]
"The chariot, that has appeared without a horse, which is without a rein, which is praiseworthy, goes round the regions with three wheels."

sukhó rátha iva vartatāṁ kṛtyā́ kṛtyākṛ́taṁ púnaḥ / Av. 5.14.5.
"May the witchcraft go back to its maker, like an easy (moving) chariot."

tad yathaikapāt puruṣo yann ekataścakro vā ratho vartamāno bhreṣaṁ nyeti....../ tad yathobhayataḥpāt puruṣo yann ubhayataścakro vā ratho vartamāno na riṣyati ....../ Ait. Br. 5.5.8.[32]

"Just as a man with one foot while walking, or a chariot with a wheel on one side while moving, fails...... Just as a man with two feet while walking, or a chariot with wheels on both the sides while moving, does not come to harm...."

All the instances cited above show a constant use of *cakráṁ* with √*vart* since the earlist times, and also its use as upamāna. Hence it would not be going away from the established usage when it is suggested, that in verse 12, the Saṁhitā

30. Also cf. Ṛv. 10.27.6, (10.156.3 *paṇím* for *pavím*?); 5.31.5.

31. Also cf. Ṛv. 5.55.1. It may further be noted that *suvṛ́t* (and occasionally *trivṛ́t*) is one of the common epithets of a chariot in the Ṛgveda. cf. 1.34.9, 12; 47.2,7; 111.1; 118.2,3; 183.2,3; 2.40.3; 3.58.3; 4.33.8; 36.2; 44.5; 8.85.8; 10.39.1; 70.3; 85.20; 107.11.

32. Similar statement is found in the Chānd. Up. 4.16 as well, where the relation between *cakrá* and √*vart* is made explicit—*sa yathaikapād vrajan ratho vaikena cakreṇa vartamāno riṣyati...... / sa yathobhayapād vrajan ratho vobhābhyāṁ cakrābyāṁ vartamānaḥ pratitiṣṭhati........./*

text should be interpreted as *cakráṁ ná áśru vartayat.* As already shown above the same interpretation is made more than probable by the parallel use of √*krand* with *cakrá* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

It is, however, not difficult to understand why we find the wrong analysis of the Saṁhitā text just in these two verses when comparisons with a wheel were not uncommon in the Ṛgveda. For, from among the nine cases cited above, where *cakrá* is used as an object of comparison, the last four cases show the use of *iva* instead of *ná*, and hence in these cases the possibility of any misunderstanding is altogether excluded. In the 5th instance, *ná* precedes *cakráṁ* (*āśúṁ ná cakráṁ*), and so here also no mistake was likely. In the first four instances where *cakráṁ ná* occurs, it occurs together with *vṛttáṁ* or *varti.* This fact, as well as the context, make it impossible that in these cases *cakráṁ ná* could ever be mistaken for *cakrán ná.* In our present case, however, *vṛttáṁ* is omitted after *ná* ; and secondly, the context is that of a weeping child. That is the real ground for the mistake. The use of *krandat* in verse 13 has misled OLDENBERG to observe (*Noten* II.309)—" Mir scheint 13[b] unverkennbar auf Anschluss an *krand-* zu deuten : redupliziertes Wzlnom. des Typus Wh. § 1147[c] ". The way in which OLDENBERG has thought in the 20th century seems to hold a pointer to the way in which the author of the Padapāṭha, at least some centuries before Christ, must have thought about our verses. He too seemingly felt that in the given context *cakrán* should be some form derived from √*krand* and hence he analysed *cakránná* of the Saṁhitā into *cakrán ná*, which really should have been *cakráṁ ná.*

33. GELDNER in his *Ved. Stud.* I.279 draws, and rightly, a different conclusion—" Ableitung von *krand* verbietet die nächste Strophe." His view regarding the meaning of *cakrán* as expressed there is, however, unacceptable.

VEDIC *AKHKHALA*: PĀLI *AKKULA*

BY

DR. M. A. MEHENDALE, DECCAN COLLEGE
RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

The vocable *akhkhala* is taken from the expression *akhkhalī-kṛtya* which is known to occur only once in the Sanskrit literature. It is found in the third verse of the famous frog-hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 103). It runs as—

yád īm enā̆ uśató abhyávarṣīt tṛṣyā̆vataḥ
prāvṛ́ṣy ā̆gatāyām |
akhkhalīkṛ́tyā pitáraṁ ná putró anyo anyám
úpa vádantam eti | |

Geldner translates—"Sobald es auf die Gierigen, Durstigen bei Eintritt der Regenzeit geregnet hat, kommt unter lautem Quaken einer auf den Zuruf des anderen zu wie der Sohn zum Vater."

Sāyaṇa explains the expression as *akhkhala iti śabdānukaraṇam | akhkhalaśabdaṁ kṛtvā|* The dictionary meaning is the same—'den Freuderuf *akhkhala* ausstossen' (Boehtlingk-Roth, also Grassmann), 'uttering the exclamation *akhkhala*' (Monier-Williams). It is thus clear that the expression is an onomatopoetic one referring to the sound of joy made by the frogs. It seems, however, possible to throw some more light on the meaning of the word by suggesting the sound intended to be conveyed by *akhkhala.*

In the frog-hymn two kinds of frogs—from the point of view of the sounds uttered by them and their colour—are referred to. They are *gómāyu* 'uttering sounds similar to that of a cow' and *ajámāyu* 'uttering sounds similar to that of a goat,' or *pṛ́śni* 'the speckled one' and *hárita* 'the green one' (cf. verses 6, 10, also 4). It would, therefore, be interesting to see if the sound referred to by *akhkhala* can be more closely determined in the light of these descriptions.

In the Udāna[1] I. 7 (p. 5) we come across the expression *akkulapakkula* (or a derivative from it *akkulapakkulika*). In this account we are told that a certain Yakṣa, Ajakalāpaka by name, wanted to terrify the Buddha who was sitting in his *cetiya*. He

---

1. Ed. by Paul Steinthal, London, 1885.

therefore made a sound *akkulapakkula* thrice.[1] On this peculiar expression R. Morris[2] remarks, "Akkulo pakkulo are merely instances of an interjectional use of the words (*ākula vyākula*,) something like the employment of "death and destruction", "fire and fury", to convey the notion of something fearful, in lieu of imitative words." The PTS Dictionary also equates *akkula* with *ākula* and gives the meaning 'confused, perplexed, agitated, frightened.' The same dictionary derives *pakkula* or *pākula* from *pa* (i.e. *pra*) + *ākula* 'in great confusion.' But the correct meaning of the word has been already given in the commentary as an onomatopoetic sound uttered by the Yakṣa to terrify the Buddha. Cf. *tāyo vāre "akkulo pakkulo" ti bhiṁsāpetukāmatāya evarūpaṁ saddaṁ akāsi. Anukaraṇasaddo hi ayaṁ.*[3] This has been accepted in V. Trenckner's *A Critical Pāli Ditionary*. Vol. I, which says, "probably a shout to one in order to terrify." It seems that in the compound expression *akkulapakkula* (or *-bakkula*), the latter half is just an extension of the base *akkula* in reduplication. Though the base has been rightly explained by the commentator as an onomatopoetic word, he has not guessed whose sound the Yakṣa may have tried to imitate by an utterance like *akkula*.

A solution to this problem is, I think, contained in the name of the Yakṣa, viz. Ajakalāpaka. The commentary referred to above contains (p. 64) two explanations of this name, both of which seem to be fanciful. According to the explanation of the commentator the Yakṣa was so called because he liked the goats brought to him for offering bound in a bundle (*aja-kalāpaka*). Cf. *so kira yakkho aje kalāpetvā bandhanena aja-koṭṭhāsena saddhiṁ baliṁ paṭichhati no aññāthā.* According to the other explanation offered by some others the Yakṣa was so called because he compelled the people who brought him offerings utter cries like a goat (*ajak lāpaka*). Cf. *keci pana "ajake viya satte lāpetī" ti Ajaka-lāpako ti. Tassa kira sattā baliṁ upanetvā yadā aja-saddaṁ katvā baliṁ upaharanti tadā so tussati. Tasmā Ajaka-lāpako ti vuccatī ti.*

But on the basis of the story itself the correct explanation appears to be that the Yakṣa was given the name Ajaka-lāpaka[4] because he himself used to produce sounds similar to those of a goat in order to frighten the people. The second explanation referred to above has missed the point because in it *lāpaka* has been unnecessarily treated as derived from the causal base. But the

---

1. *atha kho Ajakalāpako yakkha bhagavato bhayaṁ... uppādetukamo* (sic.) ......*bhagavato avidūre tikkhattuṁ akkulopakkulo ti akkulapakkulikaṁ akāsi.*

2. *JPTS* 1886 pp. 94-95.

3. Paramatthadipani Udānaaṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālacariya, Ed. by F.L. Woodward, London, 1926, p. 66.

4. Another Yakṣa has the name Ajakālaka in one Bharhut inscription (Lüders list No. 795). But this has a different explanation.

vṛddhi of the penultimate *a* of the root has been taught by Pāṇini in the formation of the agent nouns with the suffix *-aka* (cf. 3. 1. 33 and 7. 2. 116). It will thus be clear that Ajakalāpaka means 'one who utters sounds like a goat' and that the sound ***akkula*** attributed to the Yakṣa in order to frighten the Buddha is an attempt on the part of the author to figure out the imitation of the bleating of the goat.[1]

If this Pāli *akkula* 'bleating of a goat' is connected with Vedic *akhkhala,* then the latter may also be regarded to represent the cry of that frog,[2] which is supposed to utter cries similar to those of a goat (*ajámāyu*). The loss of aspiration in *akkula* is witnessed in many other instances in Pāli (Geiger 62, *ṛkṣa>ikka,* etc.). Moreover it may also be noted that for *akkula* a variant *akkhula*[3] with aspiration has been recorded. As regards the difference in the vowel in the second syllable (*a* : *u*),[4] it is likely that the change occurred as *akkula* and was confused with *ākula.* Above all it must be remembered that such minor changes are very likely in onomatopoetic expressions.

The return to the frog-hymn once again. *Gómāyu* and *ajámāyu* varieties of the frog on the one hand and *pṛśnī* and *hárita* varieties on the other are referred to in verses 6 and 10 and in both cases exactly in the same order. This suggests that the speckled variety produced a sound similar to that of a cow and the green one produced a sound similar to that of a goat. From the meaning of *akhkhala* suggested above, this seems to be confirmed by verses 3 and 4. In verse 3 we are told that when the rain-water falls, the one frog approaches the other producing the sound *akhakhla.* If, as suggested above, the frog producing this sound is *ajámāyu,* then it would mean that in verse 3 we read

---

6. In a stanza which occurs in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (Nirṇayasāgara edn. 1952, p. 207, verse 18) the goat's cries are represented as *bobokārān prakurvan.*

7. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 12.4.16, the crying of a frog is referred to as *āṭ karoti.* Otherwise in the Veda, the verb used is *vad* with or without a prefix like *ā, pra, ud.* Cf. *ṚV.* 7.103.1, 3 etc., 10.166.5 ; *AV.* 4.15.12,14). In Vāgbhaṭa's commentary to his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (ch. 2, p. 24, Kāvyamālā 43) where certain sounds of animals and objects are mentioned, it is said *ravo maṇḍukeṣu.* In modern Indian languages also there are different expressions referring to the cries of a frog : As. *ṭorṭorowa,* Bg. *geṅgorgeṅgor,* Hindi-Urdu *ṭarṭar* (Dakhani form as given in J. Shakespeare's Hindustani—English Dictionary is *ṭurmṭurm*), Pjb. *ṭeṃ ṭeṃ* or *ṭreṃ ṭreṃ* Mar. Guj. *ḍarāv ḍarāv,* Kan. *vaṭavaṭa,* Tam. *vrāṭ vrāṭ,* Tel. *bekabeka.*

8. *akkhulo bhakkhulo* is noted in *JPTS*- 1866, p. 99 (explained as *akkhetuṃ khepetuṃ vināsetuṃ ulati pavattatīti akkuls, bhakkhituṃ ulatīti bhakkhulo......).* The variants noted in the text of the Udāna are (p. 5. f. n. 1) *akkulobakkulo, akkulavakkulikaṃ.* The Gāthā 7 referring to this incident has *bakkulaṃ.* In the PTS Dictionary we are asked to read *pakula* both for *pakkula* and *bakkula.*

9. The text as given by R. Morris (*JPTS* 1886, p. 94) shows the reading with *a* in *pakkalo* (line 3) ; but he remarks that we should read *pakkulo* (line 9).

about *ajámāyu* approaching the *gómāyu*, or presumably the green one approaching the speckled one with a sound of joy. The following verse (4) tells us that now, of the two, the one supports the other in the utterance of cries, and from the context it would seem that now it is the turn of the speckled one to support the green one with its utterance of joy. This is happily confirmed by the second half of the verse which expressly tells us—

"*maṇḍūko yád abhívr̥ṣṭaḥ kániṣkan pŕ̥śniḥ*
saṁpr̥ṅkté háritena vā́cam/"......"wenn der Frosch im Regen hin und her hüpft, und der Gefleckte seine Stimme mit dem Grünen vereinigt." (G e l d n e r).

YĀTUMĀVANT

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, *Poona*

The word *yātumā'vant* is attested only in the Ṛgveda where it occurs four times (1.36.20, 7.1.5, 7.104.23, and 8.60.20). According to the dictionaries *yātumā'vant* is identical in meaning with *yātumánt* 'practising witchcraft or sorcery'.

Th. BENFEY[1] (Orient und Occident 1, 1862, p. 387 note 328) rejects Sāyaṇa's explanation of this form and proposes to take *māvant* as an 'organischere Form' of *māvan*, the latter coming from the verb √ *man* and the suffix *-van*. GRASSMANN Wörterbuch, under *stavát*) regards *-māvat* as a double secondary suffix arising out of *-mán-vant* with the loss of *n* and the consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel *a* (cf. WACKERNAGEL I § 42). H. H. BENDER (The Suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit and Avestan, Baltimore, 1910) considers (p. 59) the formation of the word unclear, but looks upon the suggestion of GRASSMANN as plausible, if not convincing. Later on p. 81, f. n. 2 he seems to accept GRASSMANN's suggestion. Louis H. GRAY (Anzeiger für Indo-germanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde 30, p. 9, 1912) also considers the derivation of *yātumā'vant* < * *yātu-man-vant* as correct. WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER seem to give two different explanations of this form. In Alt. Gr. II, 2 § 620 they say that *yātu-mā'vant* is only a Vedic variant for *yātu-mánt* used to obtain a metrically agreeable end of a pāda. But in § 713 b δ they cite it under "Stammerweiterungen" and appear to regard *yātu-má-* as an extended base to which is added the suffix *-vant*. Since they do not give any explanation of the extended base, it is not clear whether they approve of GRASSMANN's suggestion or reject it and have some other explanation in mind (see below).

Sāyaṇa appears to offer three different explanations of the form. While commenting on ṚV 1.36.20, where the word occurs for the first time, he takes only *-vant* as the possessive suffix, and explains the stem *yātuma-* as coming from *yātu* + √*mā*[2] meaning 'activities of demons' (*yātavo*

1. I am greatly indebted to Prof. W. Wüst for sending to me BENFEY's opinion on this expression as well as for giving me the reference to GRAY's opinion referred to below.

2. I do not understand how BENDER (p. 59) says that "Sāyaṇa derives *yātumā'vant* from *yātu-ama* and the secondary suffix *vant*."

yātanāḥ / tān mimate nirmimate iti rākṣasavyāpārāḥ yātumāḥ / tad eṣām astīti matup /)[3]. Later while commenting on ṚV 7.1.5 Sāyaṇa offers two other explanations of the same form. In the first instance he takes *yātumā'vān* as nom. sg. of a base ending in *-van* (cf. above BENFEY's suggestion) like *yā'vā* from *yā'van* which occurs in the same line of this verse.[4] Sāyaṇa adds that in that case the absence of the loss of final *-n* may be looked upon as a Vedic peculiarity (*nalopābhāvaś chāndasaḥ*). How in this case Sāyaṇa interprets *yātumāvān* as *hiṁsāyāḥ nirgataḥ* is not clear to me.[5] In the alternative explanation given here, he seems to take *yātuma-* as coming from *yātu-mat* to which the possessive *-vant* is added as an expletive. Cf. *yad vā hiṁsāyuktaḥ/ paro vatir matvarthīyaḥ pūrakaḥ*. If this interpretation of Sāyaṇa's commentary is correct then he was the first to have considered the possibility of explaining *yātumā'vant* as coming from a double suffix *yātu-mat-vant* (cf. above GRASSMANN's suggestion).

In this paper it is proposed to offer for consideration two explanations of the form. In the first instance we may accept WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER's suggestion to regard *yātu-má* as an extended base and explain it as the noun *yātu'-* with the secondary derivative *-ma* meaning 'consisting of magic, having the character of magic' (cf. Alt. Gr. II, 2 § 598a where we have instances like *drumá-*, *-ṛgma* etc.). Or *yātumá-* may be regarded as an abridged form of *yātumáya-*.[6] To this *yātumá-* is added the possessive *-vant* 'one working with something magical or something consisting of witchcraft'.

But a better explanation of the form is perhaps to be found in verses 23 and 24 of ṚV 7.104. The first two quarters of verse 23 read as—

> *mā' no rákṣo abhi naḍ yātumā'vatām*
> *ápocchatu mithunā' yā' kimīdi'nā /*

GELDNER construes *yātumā'vatām* and *rákṣaḥ* together and translates: "Nicht soll der Zauberer böser Geist uns beikommen, (die Morgenröte)

3. While commenting on ṚV 7.104.23 Sāyaṇa simply renders *yātumā'vatām* by *yātanāvatām rākṣasānām* and on 8.60.20 he says *yātur yātanā pīḍā tadvatāṁ yātudhānānām*.

4. *ná yáṁ yā'vā tárati yātumā'vān*.

5. Is *nirgataḥ* a mistake for *nirmātā* (maker, creator)? cf. Sāyaṇa's rendering of the text word *yā'vā* as *abhigantā*. In that case *mā'van*, like *yā'van*, can be explained as $\sqrt{}$ *mā* + primary suffix *-van*. While commenting on ṚV 1.36.20 Sāyaṇa has already added the prefix *nir-* before $\sqrt{}$ *mā* (*tān mimate nirmimate*).

6. It may be pointed out that WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER (II, 2 § 598a) consider it likely that *chandomá-* is an abridged form of *chandomáya*.

soll das Kimīdinpaar wegleuchten". But I think Sāyaṇa is justified in separating *rákṣaḥ* from *yātumā'vatām* and construing the latter with *mithunā'*. The justification for this construction is to be found in the fact that *rákṣas* (neuter)[7] is fairly often used in the sense of *rakṣás* (mas.) (GRASSMANN's second meaning Beschädigung, persönlich gefasst') and mentioned independently in this hymn (cf. verses 1, 4, 13, 22). Moreover in verse 25 it is distinguished from those who work with *yātu'* cf. *rákṣobhyo vadhám asyatam aśániṁ yātumádbhyaḥ*. GELDNER: "Schleudert die Waffe nach den bösen Geistern, den Schleuderstein nach den Zauberern!" It seems, therefore, proper to take *rákṣaḥ* in the sense of 'demon' and separate it from *yātumā'vatām* in verse 23.

Further it is very likely that Sāyaṇa was led to his construction of separating *yātumā'vatām* from *rákṣaḥ* and taking it with *mithunā'* by what follows in the immediately following verse (24). The first two quarters of this verse read as—*i'ndra jahí pu'māṁsaṁ yātudhā'nam utá stri'yaṁ māyáyā śā'śadānām* / GELDNER: "Indra, erschlag den männlichen Zauberer und seine Frau, die auf ihr Blendwerk pocht!" This line thus refers to a man associated with *yātu'* and his wife associated with *māyā'*. And if this is the sort of couple that is referred to in the preceding verse then *yātumā'vant* can be justifiably construed with *mithunā'* in verse 23. In that case *yātumā'vant* may be looked upon as an abridged form of *yātumāyā'vant* meaning 'those engaged in magic and deception'. However, it must be remembered that this division of the use of *yātu'* and *māyā'* is by no means rigid, for we also find men working with *māyā'* and women with *yātū'*. Similarly it is not necessary that *yātumā'vant* should always refer to couples. It may as well refer to a single person practising magic and deception as for instance in *yātumā'vān* (nom. sg.) in ṚV 7.1.5.

The expression *yātumā'vant* has been compared with Vedic *sīlāmāvant* 'stromreich, wasserreich' deriving it from *sīrā'* 'stream, water' cf. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch s. v.) and Avestan *gaomavant* 'mit Milch versehen, Milch enthaltend'. In both these cases *-māvant* is supposed to arise from the double suffix *-man-vant* (cf. BENDER p. 81, f. n. 2 and GRAY, Anzeiger 30, pp. 8-9). But the similarity in these forms may be apparent and the explanation for the one need not be applicable to the other. Thus about *sīlámāvant* WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER do not seem to agree with

7. In fact according to GRASSMANN's Wörterbuch *rákṣas* (neut.) is used in the sense 'Beschädigung' only in two instances, whereas in the majority of cases it is used as identical with *rakṣás* (mas.). Of these two instances of GRASSMANN, one is 7-104-23 discussed above; the other is 8-60-20 where both meanings are likely-harm (neut.) or demon (mas.). Cf. *mā' no rákṣa ā' veśīd āghṛṇīvaso mā' yātu'r yātumā'vatāṁ* /

GRASSMANN's explanation referred to above. They deal with it separately (§ 705 a ∝) from *yātumā'vant* considering (with a question mark) *sīlamā* as the name of a shrub. cf. ṚV. 10.75.8 (*sí'ndhuḥ*) *ū'rṇāvatī . . . sīlámāvatī* "der an Wolle und Sīlamāstauden[8] (?) reiche Strom." As regards *gaomavant* it has been already suggested that its formation was influenced by *haomavant* with which it is found in a majority of cases (cf. BARTHOLOMAE, Altir. Wörterbuch s. v.).[9]

Thus there seem to be three possible ways of explaining *yātumā'vant*:

(1) Stem *yātu-* + *-māvant* < double suffix — *man-vant*. This explanation does not offer any ground for the use of the double suffix;

(2) Stem *yātuma-* (from *yātu* + secondary derivative *-ma*, or as an abridged form of *yātumaya*) + *-vant*. This explanation does not offer any special purpose for the stem extension;

(3) *yātumā'vant* an abridged form of *yātumāyā'vant*. Although this explanation suffers from the supposition of an abridgement, it is suggested by the context and gives satisfactory meaning as shown above.

8. Also GELDNER: 'reich an Sīlamākraut'.

9. The expression *antarvā'vant* 'geräumig' is also cited by WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER (II, 2 § 713 b) in this connection. But in § 701 a (small type on p. 869) they declare *antarvā'-* as not clear. OLDENBERG (Noten), while commenting on ṚV 1.40.7, expresses his disagreement with PISCHEL (Ved. Stud. 2.214) as regards the meaning of *antarvā'vant*. About its formation he observes "Stammbildung wie bei *yātumā'vant*," but does not make his point more clear. For the time being I am inclined to explain the expression as *antarva* + *vant* (in which *antarva* is formed with the secondary derivative *-va* meaning 'having interior, wide space'.

SATYAM EVA JAYATE NĀNṚTAM

M. A. Mehendale
Deccan College, Poona

The above passage is quite well known. It occurs in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (3.1.6) of the Atharva Veda, and the first part of it has now been inscribed as the motto of the Indian nation. The passage has been mostly taken to mean "Truth alone conquers, not falsehood."[1]

In the above interpretation *satyam* and *anṛtam* are taken to be the subjects, but this does not seem to be correct. Both *satyam* and *anṛtam* have to be regarded as the objects, and a *ṛṣi* is to be understood as the subject. Taken this way, the sentence would mean "A sage obtains only the Real (i.e., the *Brahman*), not the unreal." This construction was already seen by Deussen[2] who translates "Wahrheit ersiegt er (i.e. the *ativādin* cf. Chānd. 7.16), nicht Unwahrheit."

This interpretation will be found to be in harmony with the spirit of the Upaniṣads in general and that of the Muṇḍaka in particular. According to these philosophical texts the highest goal of a sage is to obtain unity with *brahman* which is the ultimate Reality or *satyasya satyam*. Whatever is lower than this *satya* is *anṛta* or unreal, and a sage does not seek after that. About the real and unreal forms of *brahman* we read in the Maitri 6.3: *dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṁ cāmūrtaṁ ca / atha yan mūrtaṁ tad asatyaṁ yad amūrtaṁ tat satyam / tad brahma taj jyotiḥ.*[3]

It will be useful to cite here in full the stanza from the Muṇḍaka (3.1.6) in order to be able to understand the context and appreciate the correctness of the above interpretation.

satyam eva jayate nānṛtaṁ, satyena panthā vitato devayānaḥ/
yenākramanty ṛṣayo hy āptakāmā, yatra tat satyasya paramaṁ nidhānam//

Here in the last three quarters of the stanza we are told that the heavenly path by which the sages go is laid out by the Real, and the place where the sages reach is the highest abode of the Real. Therefore, when the subject matter is the path taken by the sages to reach the abode of the Real, it would be improper to give a worldly meaning like 'truth alone conquers' to

---

[1] So, for example, Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*. Max Müller (*SBE* 15), "The true prevails, not the untrue." Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, "Truth alone conquers, not untruth." Hillebrandt, *Aus Brahmanas und Upaniṣaden*, "Die Wahrheit allein siegt, nicht das Unrecht."

[2] *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* (1st edition, 1987). The same interpretation is also intended by J. Hertel, see below pp. 407.

[3] Also cf. Bṛ. 2.3.1 *dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṁ caivāmūrtaṁ ca, martyaṁ cāmṛtaṁ ca, sthitaṁ ca yac ca, sac ca tyac ca.*

satyam eva jayate. In the context it can only mean "A sage obtains only the Real" because the place where he reaches is the abode of the Real.[4] He does not obtain the unreal or lesser worlds because there are other paths which lead to them which the sage does not take. With the expression *satyam eva jayate* which means ' A sage obtains only the Real (i.e., *brahman*),' we may well compare Muṇḍaka 3.2.9 (*sa yo ha vai tat paramaṁ brahma veda*) *brahmaiva bhavati*.

The word *satyam* is often used in the Upaniṣads to designate *brahman* as the ultimate Reality. In the Chāndogya, Uddālaka Āruṇi taught Śvetaketu the doctrine of the essential oneness of the individual and the universal soul. There this highest principle is declared to be *satyam : sa ya eṣo'ṇimā, aitadātmyam idaṁ sarvam, tat satyam, sa ātmā, tat tvam asi Śvetaketo*, 6.8.16. Before Śvetaketu was initiated in this doctrine he was asked one question by Āruṇi. While elaborating this question Āruṇi uses *satyam* in the sense of basic Rality : *ekena mṛtpiṇḍena sarvaṁ mṛnmayaṁ vijñātaṁ syāt vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāri nāmadheyaṁ mṛttikā ity eva satyam / ...... loham ity eva satyam, etc.*, 6.1. In this Upaniṣad *satyam* is expressly said to be the name of *brahman*: *tasya ha vā etasya brahmaṇo nāma satyam iti*, (8.3).[5] In the Muṇḍaka itself, where the passage under discussion occurs, the nature of the *brahmavidyā* is said to be that by which one knows the imperishable *Puruṣa* as *satya : yenākṣaraṁ puruṣaṁ veda satyaṁ provāca tāṁ tattvato brahmavidyām*. 1.2.13.[6] In a few places we find it further stated that this ultimate Reality is covered by a gold vessel (in the form of the sun) : *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitaṁ mukham / tat tvaṁ Pūṣann apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya dṛṣṭaye//*, Īśā. 15; Bṛ. 5.15.

In the usual interpretation of *styam eva jayate, satyam* is taken as the subject. But before we do so it would be well to remember that since *satyam* is an attribute of *brahman* it is never employed as subject in the Upaniṣads. In one passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (5.5.1) it may appear at first sight that *satyam* is used as a subject. But a closer examination will show that that is not the case. We read there as follows in an account of creation : *āpa evedam agra āsuḥ / tā āpaḥ satyam asṛjanta / satyam brahma brahma prajāpatiṁ prajāpatir devān*. It may appear that here *satyam* is said to create *brahman*. That is, however, not true. In the preceding section (Bṛ. 5.4) both *satyam* and *brahman* are identified and described as first-born : *sa yo haitaṁ mahadyakṣaṁ prathamajaṁ veda satyṁ brahmeti ...*

[4] We may also compare *tasyaiṣa ātmā viśate brahmadhāma* Muṇḍ.3,2,4; *tan ....brahmalokān gamayati ....teṣāṁ na punarāvṛttiḥ*, Bṛ.6.2.15; *sa enān brahma gamayati eṣa devayānaḥ panthā iti*, Chā.5.10; also 4.15.

[5] Also, cf., *atha nāmadheyaṁ satyasya satyam iti*, Bṛ.2.3.6, also 2.1.20.

[6] Also cf., *tad etad akṣaraṁ brahma ... tad etat satyaṁ, tad amṛtam .....*, Muṇḍ. 2.2.2.

satyam hy eva brahma. It will, therefore, be clear that in the above creation account *satya* and *brahma* can both be first-born if the two words are understood to be in apposition. We have, therefore, to translate the passage as: "In the beginning this world was just Water. That Water emitted the Real-Brahma (being) the Real, Brahma, Prajāpati, Prajāpati, the gods" (Hume).

It is not intended to suggest here that in the Upaniṣads *satyam* is employed only in the sense of the ultimate Reality, i.e., *brahman*. It is true that it is also used in the sense 'truth, true speech.' Thus in the advice given by the teacher to his pupil we read : *satyaṁ vada / ... satyān na pramaditavyam*, Taitt. 1.11.1 In the Chānd. 1.2.3 we find *tasmāt tayā* (= *vācā*) *ubhayaṁ vadati satyaṁ cānṛtaṁ ca*.[7] A sage has to lead a life of good conduct[8] and therefore we find *satyam* 'true speech' also included in the means of obtaining *brahman* (or *ātman*). Thus Muṇḍ. 3.1.5 : *satyena labhyas tapasā hy eṣa ātmā, samyagjñānena brahmacaryeṇa nityam*, Śvet. 1.15 *satyenainaṁ tapasā yo 'nupaśyati*.[9] Occasionally we also get a mention of those means which do not lead to *brahman* (or *ātman*). *teṣām evaiṣa brahmaloko yeṣāṁ tapo brahmacaryaṁ yeṣu satyaṁ pratiṣṭhitam / ... na yeṣu jihmam anṛtaṁ na māyā ceti*, Praśna 1.15-16; *nāyamātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena*, Muṇḍ. 3.2.3.[10] But since in our verse the context is the goal reached by a sage, *satyam* should be taken to mean *brahman* and not 'true speech.'

The verb √*ji* is used both in the sense - 'to win, to obtain' as well as 'to conquer, to be victorious' since the earliest times. In the usual translation of *satyam eva jayate*, the latter meaning is thought of. But the former meaning 'to obtain,' which is intended in the suggested interpretation, is also to be found in the Upaniṣads. For instance, we often come across expressions like *lokaṁ jayati, salokatāṁ jayati*. In the Muṇḍaka itself (3.1.10) we read *taṁ lokaṁ jayate tāṁś ca kāmān* where the meaning obviously is 'obtains.'

The above discussion will show that the interpretation of the passage under discussion, viz., 'A sage obtains only the Real and not the unreal' is in keeping with the Upaniṣadic usage of the words *satyam* and √*ji*.

While commenting on this passage Śankarācārya observes: *satyam eva satyavān eva jayate jayati, nānṛtaṁ nānṛtavādīty arthaḥ / na hi satyānṛtayoḥ kevalayoḥ puruṣānāśritayor jayaḥ parājayo vā sambhavati / prasiddhaṁ loke satyavādinānṛtavādy abhibhūyate na viparyayaḥ / ataḥ siddhamṁ satyasya*

[7] Also, cf., Chānd. 6.16; Bṛhad. 5.14.4.

[8] *yas tu vijñānavān bhavati samanaskaḥ sadā śuciḥ/*
sa tu tat padam āpnoti yasmād bhūyo na jāyate//
Kaṭha. 3.8.

[9] For other references giving means to obtain brahman, cf., *tasmād vidyayā tapasā cintayā copalabhyate brahma*, Maitri. 4.4.

[10] Also, cf., Kaṭha 2.23-24 and Muṇḍ. 3.2.4.

balavatsādhanatvam. This will show that Śaṅkara also found it difficult, although on different grounds, to take *satyam* by itself as subject. But since he accepts *satyam* = *satyavādī puruṣaḥ* as subject and renders *jayate* 'is victorious' his is the usual interpretation of the passage assuring worldly victory to the truthful man. In the opinion of Śaṅkara this has been said in order to praise truthful behaviour as the most efficacious means. But it seems unnecessary to single out *satyam*, as 'true speech,' for special praise having included it with austerity, *etc*., in the preceding verse among the means to obtain *ātman*. The Muṇḍaka is specially intended for ascetics [11] who wish to attain the Imperishable (*tad akṣaram adhigamyate* 1.1.5). It is not intended for ordinary people of the world who may be seeking unreal ends and who need such inducement to be persuaded to follow the truth. While the Imperishable is obtained by the higher knowledge (*parā vidyā*) worldly victories and such other things would belong to the field of lower knowledge (*aparā vidyā*). The ascetics have already obtained their desires (*āptakāmāḥ*) and their desireless condition is also emphasized in the Muṇḍaka 3.2.2 : *paryāptakāmasya kṛtātmanas tu ihaiva sarve pravilīyanti kāmāḥ*. They live in forests and finally reach the immortal *Puruṣa : tapaḥśraddhe ye hy upavasanty araṇye śāntā vidvāṁso bhaikṣacaryāṁ carantaḥ / sūryadvāreṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ sa puruṣo hy avayayātmā*, Muṇḍa. 1.2.11. If we keep in mind the background of the Muṇḍaka Up. and the final attainment aimed at by the ascetics, it would be proper for us to interpret *satyam eve jayate* as "A sage wins only the Real."

It is possible to anticipate a few objections to the above interpretation. In the first instance it may be argued that we may expect an object for the verb $\sqrt{ji}$ if it is used in active voice. If used medially, i.e., reflexively, no object is necessary. For example we find in the Ait. Br. 12.16, *jayati* used with an object, but *jayate* without it: *tathaivaitad yajamāno ... jayati svargaṁ lokaṁ, vy asmil loke jayate*. "Similarly the sacrificer wins the heavenly world , he is victorious in this world." Since in our passage *jayate* is used in the middle voice it would be proper not to anticipate an object and translate 'truth alone is victorious.'

The objection can be answered in two ways. First we have to point out that the uses in the middle voice are not always reflexive. In the Muṇḍaka itself we find *paśyate* used twice in the active sense : *yadā paśyaḥ paśyate rukmavarṇaṁ kartāram īśaṁ*

[11] It appears that the doctrine propounded in the Muṇḍaka was specially intended for those who shaved their heads and who with controlled minds approached the teacher for instruction. Muṇḍaka 3.2.10: *teṣāṁ evaitāṁ brahmavidyāṁ vadeta śirovrataṁ vidhivad yais tu cīrṇam*; also Muṇḍ. 1.2.13 : *tasmai sa vidvān upasannāya samyak praśāntacittāya śamānvitāya / yenākṣaraṁ puruṣaṁ veda satyaṁ provāca tāṁ tattvato brahmavidyām//* Cf. Hertel, Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad (Leipzig, 1924), p. 19.

puruṣaṁ brahmayonim, 3.1.3; *tatas tu taṁ paśyate niṣkalaṁ dhyāyamānaḥ*, 3.1.8. Even *jayate* is used unmistakably in the active sense in the Muṇḍaka : *taṁ taṁ lokaṁ jayate tāṁś ca kāmān*, 3.1.10. So there should be no objection if in our passage *jayate* is taken in the active sense with *satyam* as object and *ṛṣi* as the subject supplied. Secondly the reason for the use of *jayate* instead of *jayati* appears to be in the metre of this Upaniṣad. From the analysis of the *triṣṭubh* metre of the Muṇḍaka done by Hertel[12] it become clear that if of the three parts of a quarter the first one has four syllables and the middle one three, then the latter has never all three short syllables. They are either ⏑ ⏑ -, - ⏑ -, - ⏑ ⏑, or ⏑ --. Therefore when in our instance the line opens with the first division of four syllables (*satyameva*), we cannot have the middle part with all short syllables. Hence we find the use of *jayate* (⏑ ⏑ -) instead of *jayati* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑).[13] If then the use of *jayate* for *jayati* is *metri causa*, there should be no difficulty in understanding the middle form for the active form and take *satyam* as the object of *jayati*. Moreover, since this quarter is metrically defective, in the opinion of Hertel one syllable at the end has probably been lost. He suggests to read the quarter as *satyam eva jayate, nānṛtaṁ saḥ* (pp. 59 and 44). If this is correct, obviously *satyam* has to be taken as object, and in that case our view will be supported. But we need not rely only on this evidence since it involves emendation.

A second objection could be that since in the first quarter of the verse *jayate* is used in the singular number,[14] the subject *ṛṣiḥ* to be supplied has also to be in the singular. But in the third quarter of this verse we find *ṛṣayaḥ* in the plural. Therefore it would not be proper to assume a subject in the singular number in the first quarter. But such differences in number are not altogether rare. In the Muṇḍaka itself we notice them in the following verses:

sa vedaitat paramaṁ brahmadhāma
yatra viśvaṁ nihitaṁ bhāti śubhram/
upāsate purauṣaṁ ye akāmās te
śukram etad ativartanti dhīrāḥ// 3.2.1

etair upāyair yatate yas tu vidvāṁs
tasyaiṣa ātmā viśate brahmadhāma/
saṁprāpyainam ṛṣayo jñānatṛptāḥ
kṛtātmāno vītarāgāḥ praṣāntāḥ// 3.2.4-5.

Thirdly a point may be raised that in the Upaniṣads we do not come across elsewhere an expression like *ṛṣir brahma jayati*. This is true. But instead of *jayati* we find verbs like √*labh-*, √*vind-*, √*āp-*, √*aś-* used in expressions such as *satyena labhyaḥ ... ātmā* (Muṇḍ 3.1.5); *nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo* (Muṇḍ. 3.2.3); *tasmād vidyayā ... upalabhyate brahma* (Maitri 4.4); *brahmacaryeṇa... ātmānam anuvindate* (Chānd. 8.5); *tad ya evaitaṁ brahmalokaṁ brahmacaryeṇānuvindanti*

[12] Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, p. 28.

[13] This is also true of *taṁ taṁ lokaṁ, jayate*, Muṇḍ. 3.1.10.

[14] I now withdraw my earlier suggestion of ragarding *jayate* as a possible plural form. Cf. *Ind. Linguistics*, 17.23.

(Chānd. 8.4); *brahmaprāptaḥ* (Kaṭha 6.18); *sa tat padam āpnoti yasmād bhūyo na jāyate* (Kaṭha 3.8); *atra brahma samaśnute* (Kaṭha 6.14, Bṛ. 4.4.7); *amṛtam aśnute* (Īśa 11, 14; Praśna 3.11). About the use of *jayati* itself we may cite the following passages. In the Chānd. 2.10.5-6 while explaining the mystical significance of a *sāman* it is said that with the twenty-one syllables the knower obtains the sun and with the twenty-second he wins (*jayati*) what is beyond the sun, viz., the sorrowless heaven (i.e. the *brahma* world).[15] Cf. *ekaviṁśatyā ādityam āpnoti .. dvāviṁśena param ādityāj jayati tan nākaṁ tad viśokam*. Thus here *jayati* is used for obtaining what is beyond the sun. Sometimes the sun itself is identified with the final goal and to describe the attainment of this the verb √*ji* is used. Cf. Praśna 1.10: *athottareṇa tapasā brahmacaryeṇa śraddhayā vidyayā ātmānam anviṣya ādityam abhijayante / etad vai prāṇānām āyatanam etad amṛtam abhayam etat parāyaṇam etasmān na punar āvartanta iti*. Since in this statement coming from an Uoaniṣad of the Atharva Veda we have a mention of the means for seeking *ātman* which is followed by the expression *ādityam abhijayante*, it would be instructive to read here Muṇḍaka 3.1.5-6 where we also find mentioned almost the same means like *tapas*, etc., for the obtaining of *ātman* which is immediately followed by *satyam eva jayate*. This comparison between *ādityam abhijayante* and *satyam jayate* should not leave any doubt about the correctness of taking *satyam* as the object of *jayate*.[16]

One thing should be made clear in the end. It has not been assumed in the above discussion that *satyam eva jayate* cannot at all mean at any place 'truth alone conquers.' If the sentence is used in some different context where this sense in intended it can certainly fulfill that purpose. What has been demonstrated above is the fact that this meaning is unsuitable in the context where it occurs in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. There we are told about the means for ralizing the self and about the reaching the abode of the ultimate Reality by *devayāna*. In this context the expression should be taken to mean '(The sage) wins only the Real, (and) not the unreal.'

---

[15] Cf., Muṇḍaka 1.2.11 where the ascetics are said to reach the immortal *Puruṣa* through the gate of the sun (*sūryadvāreṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ, sa puruṣo by avayayātmā*) Aslo, *cf.*, *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitaṁ mukham*, cited above, and *sa tejasi sārye saṁpannaḥ/ ... sa sāmabhir unnīyate brahmalokaṁ* ...., Praśna 5.5.

[16] It may also be pointed out that in the Kauṣī. Up. we find a dialogue between Brahmā and the knower of *brahman*. At the end of this dialogue (1.7) we read *sā yā brahmaṇo jitir yā vyaṣṭis tāṁ jitiṁ jayati, taṁ vyaṣṭiṁ vyaśnute*. It is true that the expression *brahmaṇo jitiḥ* can mean both 'the conqest made by *brahman*' or :the winning of *brahman*.' For the former we may compare *tasya ha brahmaṇo vijaye* (conquest made by *brahman*) *devā amahīyanta*, Kena 3.1, also 4.1. For the latter we may compare *āpnoti ha ādityasya jayaṁ paro hāsya ādityajayā* (winning of *āditya*) *jayo bhavati*, Chānd. 2.10.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

TWO DERIVATIVES IN -*YA*

pājasyà-

This word is not very frequent in its occurrence, and its usage is restricted to the Vedic literature. It is obviously derived from *pā́jas-* which occurs more often and in usage is restricted to the Ṛgveda. The meaning assigned to the former is 'belly', and the latter has been variously interpreted as 'brightness', 'form or appearance', 'shining form'.[1]

The connexion between these two words, from the point of view of their meaning, had remained incomprehensible for a long time. A good explanation has been suggested by H. W. Bailey in *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 323–26, also in the *University of Ceylon Review*, XV, 1–2, 1957, 29, and *TPS*, 1955, 55, n. 1. On the basis of certain cognates from Khotanese and Sogdian, Bailey reconstructs a Middle Iranian **pāza(h)-* meaning generally 'surface', and when specialized he thinks it means 'face'. Skt. *pā́jas-* then could be related to this **pāza(h)-* and its meaning determined as 'surface, face'. As noted by Bailey (*BSOAS*, XIII, 1, 1949, 136), E. Sieg had already assigned the meaning 'surface' to Skt. *pā́jas* in *Der Nachtweg der Sonne nach der vedischen Anschauung* (1923), pp. 5–6. From *pā́jas-* 'surface' is derived *pājasyà-* 'belly' as 'under surface'.

Renou in *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, 1957, 68, raised objections to the above view, especially because he felt that *pā́jas-* 'surface, face' would not be suitable when used with Soma. He, therefore, proposed 'forme', 'masse' as the meaning, which, he thought, would be applicable in all occurrences of *pā́jas*. However, in the next volume (IV, 1958, 54) he found that when confronted with *tripājasyá-*, an epithet of *vṛṣabhá-*, the word can neither simply mean 'forme' (Renou) nor 'surface' (Bailey), but that it ought to mean some part of the body.[2] In *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, 1961, 62, Renou has once again referred to the difficulty about *pā́jas* and given expression to his opinion that the word should mean something more definite than 'form'. He wonders whether *pā́jas* is analogous to *várcas* 'brilliant form, face'.

Now *pājasyà-* was already interpreted as 'belly', a part of the body. But it seems that it is necessary to understand the word somewhat differently, although still referring to a part of the body, when one considers the parallelism which occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. There in the opening sections we read about the identifications of the various parts of the body of the sacrificial horse as follows: *dyauḥ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam udaraṃ pṛthivī pājasyam* [3] 'The

[1] As early as 1889 Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, I, 116, remarked, '*pā́jas* gehört zu den bekannten Wechselbegriffen, welche bald Licht, bald Schnelligkeit und Kraft bedeuten'. Much later in 1917 (*ZDMG*, LXXI, 338) he gave the following meanings for *pā́jas*: (1) 'Gestalt, Aussehen, Farbe, Erscheinung'; (ii) 'Lichtgestalt, Lichterscheinung, Farbenglanz'; (iii) *pā́jas* = *tejas*. Most of these he adopted variously in his translation of the Ṛgveda.

[2] Because *tripājasyá-* occurs by the side of *tryudhán-* and *tryanīká-*.

[3] Also *Śat. Br.* 10.6.4.1.

sky his back; the atmosphere his stomach; the earth his *pājasya*'[1] (1.1.1), and a little later: *dyauḥ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam udaram iyam uraḥ* (1.2.3) 'The sky his back; the atmosphere his stomach; this one (i.e. the earth) his chest'. From this parallelism between the two statements it seems possible to explain *pājasyà-* = *úras-* 'chest, breast' and not 'belly'. The word *tripājasyá-* referred to above (Ṛg. 3.56.3), can then be rendered as 'having three breasts'.[2]

In TS 5.7.16, VS 25.8, and AV 9.7.5[3] *kroḍá-* and *pājasyà-* are mentioned side by side. This may seem to go against the view that *pājasyà-* means 'breast' because, according to the lexicons, *kroḍá-* also means 'breast, chest'. But as the commentator Mahīdhara on VS 25.8 points out *kroḍá-* means the middle part of the breast[4] (cf. *kroḍaḥ . . . vakṣomadhyabhāgaḥ*). That *kroḍá-* is in some way different from breast, as the front surface of the body, is also shown by the *Horāśāstra* (1.4) where it is mentioned alongside *úras-*.[5]

For *pā́jas-* Bailey has suggested the meaning 'face', besides 'surface'. But it seems it would be safe to assume that *pājasyà-* and *pā́jas-*, like *āsyà-* and *ā́s-*, have the same meaning 'breast'. It is more easy to understand *pā́jas-* 'breast' as a specialized meaning from 'surface' which Bailey has assumed for **pāza*(*h*). This would also satisfactorily explain the Waχī *pūz*, Khowar *pāz*, and Yidgha *fīz* 'breast'. Bailey thought of the meaning 'face' on account of certain contexts in which the Khotanese *pāysa-* and Sogdian *p'z* (**pāz*) or *βrp'z* (**frapāz*) occur. These refer to acts of salutation and Bailey interpreted them as 'lying on one's face'. But 'lying on one's breast' would suit in these contexts as well. Actually the phrase 'fall on the face' occurs in Zoroastrian Pahlavi where the word *rōδ* is used. If we assume that *pā́jas-* and **pāza*(*h*) mean 'breast', and not 'face', it would mean that the Iranian tradition preserves two kinds of literary references to the act of prostration—one, the eastern, 'lying on the breast (**pāza*(*h*))',[6] the other, the western, 'lying on the face (*roδ*)'.[7]

The meaning 'breast' assigned to *pā́jas-* suits very well in many of the contexts in which it occurs in the Ṛgveda. It will convey good meaning when used with Agni (3.29.3; 5.1.2; 3.14.1; 7.3.4; 1.58.5), with Manyu (10.84.3), and with Uṣas (3.61.5). It will be found particularly suitable when it is often

[1] Śaṅkara explains *pājasya* = *pādasya* = *pādāsanasthāna*.

[2] 'Der Bulle . . . hat drei Bäuche und drei Euter . . . Er, der drei Gesichter hat, . . .', Geldner. In the footnote he observes, '*pājasyà* ist nach AV 4.14.8; *Bṛh. Up.* 1.1.1 die untere Bauchseite des Tieres, inguen (zugleich im engeren Sinn dieses Wortes), während *udára* die Bauchhöhle bezeichnet'.

[3] For *pājasyà-* also cf. AV 4.14.8.

[4] In AV 10.9.25, however, the dual form *kroḍáu* refers to the two parts of the breast (compared with *puroḍā́śa*).

[5] This has been already noted by BR.

[6] Bailey refers to Hopkins (*BSOS*, VI, 2, 1931, 374) who quotes from the epic *uraseva praṇamase*.

[7] In a communication dated 5 September 1961, Sir Harold Bailey kindly informs me that Sogdian **pāz* occurs in a Christian text which is a translation from Syriac. Now the Syriac phrase used in such contexts does mean 'fall on face' (*app* = face). If our assumption Ir. **pāza*(*h*) = breast is correct then this would mean that the Sogdian translator substituted his mode of prostration 'lying on the breast' for the Syrian one 'lying on the face'.

used with the epithet *pṛthú* 'broad'. Thus Agni is described in 3.15.1 as *ví pā́jasā pṛthúnā śóśucāno* 'blazing forth with broad chest' (also cf. 7.10.1; 3.2.11; 3.3.1; 3.5.1; 3.27.5; 4.4.1; 3.61.2 about the horses of Uṣas). It will further give excellent meaning when *pā́jasvant-* [1] is used as an adj. of *vīrá-* in ṚV 10.77.3: *pā́jasvanto ná vīrā́ḥ panasyávo* '(Maruts) like warriors with (broad) chests, fit to be praised'.

When used with a chariot *pṛthupā́jas-* may refer to its 'broad front' (ṚV 4.46.5; 8.5.2; 4.48.5 where only *pā́jas-* appears). In ṚV 1.115.5 where *rúśat pā́jaḥ* is used as opposed to *kṛṣṇám pā́jaḥ* of Sūrya what is probably meant is the shining surface and the dark surface as referring to the sun's front and the back.[2] Similarly, as suggested by Bailey (p. 326), *pā́jas-* when used in dual about heaven and earth would mean the two (vast) surfaces (cf. 1.121.11; also 1.151.1 although only the singular is used; in 10.37.8 *bṛhát pā́jaḥ* refers to the sky). When used with reference to Soma (9.68.2–3, 109.21; in the plural *pā́jāṃsi* 9.76.1 and 88.5; and in the compound *sahásrapājas-* 9.13.3, 42.3) it appears that probably it is the image of the horse that has led to the use of *pā́jas-* 'breast'. Similarly in ṚV 2.34.13 the Maruts are imagined in the form of a horse when it is said that by drinking Soma they put on shining and beautiful colour (*niméghamānā átyena pā́jasā suścandrám várṇam dadhire supéśasam*).[3] Only I do not understand how the following passage has to be understood: *ā́ no vāyo mahé táne yāhí makhā́ya pā́jase* (ṚV 8.46.25) said of Vāyu.

2. *lókya-*

This derivative is fairly well attested, although mostly in the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the *Ait. Br.* 2.9 (6.9) occurs the following passage in connexion with the cake offering along with the animal offering to Agni and Soma: *tasmād āhuḥ puroḷāśasatraṃ lokyam iti.* Sāyaṇa renders *lokyam* = *prekṣaṇīyam.*[4] BR gives various meanings [5] of *lokya-* of which 'statthaft, ordentlich; üblich' is assigned to the above occurrence in the *Ait. Br.* Keith translates the passage as 'Therefore they say, "The cake offering is the people's sacrificial session"'.[6]

The above renderings of *lókya-* seem to be incorrect. The appropriate

[1] Avestan *pāzahvant-* used of a dog may mean 'having (fine) breast'.

[2] Bailey explains (p. 325) Ossetic Digor *fazæ*, Iron *faz* 'back surface' from the Middle Iranian **pāza(h)-* 'surface'. According to the information supplied by Bailey's Digoran friend, however, *fāzä* means 'side' (*BSOAS*, XIII, 1, 1949, 136). Bailey also quotes Ossetic *fäzä*, with short vowel, meaning 'plain' in *TPS*, 1955, 56.

[3] Lüders, *Varuṇa*, I, 198, does not agree with Geldner in rendering *ni-√migh-* as 'herabharnen' but thinks that it means 'in sich hineinträufeln, in sich hineingiessen'.

[4] Ṣaḍguruśiṣya also explains *lokyam draṣṭavyam.* He adds *puroḷāśena yāgo yaḥ satratulyo nirīkṣyatām iti brahmavādino vadanti.*

[5] Other meanings are: (1) as adj., (i) 'Gebiet-, freie Stellung gewährend', (ii) 'über die ganze Welt verbreitet', (iii) 'die Gewinnung des Himmels bezweckend', (iv) 'ordentlich, richtig, wirklich; gewöhnlich, tagtäglich'; (2) as noun, 'freie Stellung'.

[6] Haug translates, 'Thence they say: The performance of the Puroḍâśa offering is to be attended to'.

rendering would be ' winning the world or heaven '.[1] In the lines which precede the above passage the Brāhmaṇa text explains the identity between the cake and the animal. When one gives a cake offering it is as good as having offered the sap of all animals. The result of the cake offering therefore should be the same as that of the animal offering. Hence the cake offering is declared to be *lokya-* ' world or heaven winning ' ; cf. *sa vā eṣa paśur evālabhyate yat puroḷāśaḥ/ . . . sarveṣāṃ vā eṣa paśūnāṃ medhena yajate yaḥ puroḷāśena yajate/ tasmād āhuḥ puroḷāśasatraṃ lokyam iti/.*

This meaning of *lókya-* ' winning (better) world or heaven ' has been already mentioned in BR, but it is made applicable only to a few occurrences. However, an examination of the passages listed there reveals that it would be quite suitable for many of the other occurrences. Thus in the *Śat. Br.* 2.2.3.5 it is said that by the re-establishment of the fire (*punarādheya*) one not only thrives (in this world) but also attains the better world (*lókya*).[2] Similarly in the *Śat. Br.* 10.2.6.7 it is declared that one who lives a hundred years obtains immortality ; therefore the life of a hundred years is called *lókya* ' winning heavenly world, i.e. immortality '.[3]

In the *Bṛ. Up.* 1.3.28, *-lokya-* can only mean ' world-winning ' because it is preceded by the word *lokajit.* Cf. *tad haital lokajid eva/ na haivālokyatāyā āśāsti ya evam etat sāma veda* ' This indeed is world-winning. There is no possibility of his not winning a world who knows this Sāman '. Similarly in the *Bṛ. Up.* 1.5.16 we are told that the world of men can be obtained by a son, the world of fathers by a sacrifice, and the world of gods by knowledge. In the next section (17) it is declared that all the three worlds are included in the word ' *loka* '. Therefore in this section when it is said that the son who has been instructed is called *lokya* it means that he procures for the father all the three worlds.[4] The Śūlagava sacrifice is also called *lokya* ' world-winning ' in the *Āśv. Gṛhyasūtra* 4.8.35.[5] In *Mbh.* 5.4103 Pitāmaha tells Yayāti that he had obtained heaven by ' world-winning ' (*lokya*) acts.[6]

In the following few passages, however, *lókya-* appears to have been used in different meanings. Thus in the *Śat. Br.* 10.5.2.12 *lókya-* does not mean ' winning the world ' but ' creating the world '.[7] It is said that in sleep the two deities (male and female) enjoy union which leads to the *creation* of the world :

[1] The Trivandrum edition of the *Ait. Br.* with the commentary of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya gives in the footnote this correct explanation as coming from Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara : *sarvapuṇyalokaprāptinimittam.*

[2] *spṛhayanty u hāsmai tathā puṣyati/ lokyam vevāpi.* Eggeling, however, translates ' and a conspicuous position (is obtained by him) '.

[3] *yo vā śataṃ varṣāṇi jīvati sa haivaitad amṛtam āpnoti . . . lokyā śatāyutā ity evāhuḥ.* Also cf. *Śat. Br.* 9.5.2.16 and 10.3.2.13 (*lokyatā* ' attainment of (better) world ').

[4] *so'yaṃ manuṣyalokaḥ putreṇaiva jayyo . . . karmaṇā pitṛloko vidyayā devaloko/ . . . ye vai keca lokās teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ loka ity ekatā/ . . . tasmāt putram anuśiṣṭaṃ lokyam āhuḥ/.*

[5] cf. Stenzler ' bringt . . . Welten '. But Oldenberg ' procures . . . (open) space '. So also BR.

[6] *catuṣpādas tvayā dharmaś cito lokyena* (v.l. *laukyena*) *karmaṇā/ akṣayas tava loko'yaṃ . . ./.* Also cf. *Mbh.* 12.1983, 7.696.

[7] Eggeling, however, translates ' makes for heaven '.

tamād evaṃvit svapyāt/ lokyaṃ ha/ . . . ete eva tad devate retaḥ siñcatas tasmād retasa idam sarvaṃ sambhavati yad idaṃ kiṃca.

In the *Śat. Br.* 11.3.3.7 a student is first forbidden to beg alms after the period of his studentship. But again he is permitted to beg alms from a woman 'in whom he has the greatest confidence' (Eggeling). This is supposed to be *lókya* 'customary in the world; permissible'.[1] In *Manu.* 2.161 also *alokya-* may mean 'what is not usual in the world, not permissible'.[2] In *Mbh.* 13.1971 *lokya-* (v.l. *laukya-*) as an adj. of *tejas-* means 'spread over the world'.[3]

M. A. MEHENDALE

[1] But it can also mean 'winning world (which is free from death), winning immortality', because as mentioned in 11.3.3.5 the student is supposed to redeem by begging that part of his body which is in death (*atha yad . . . bhikṣate ya evāsya mṛtyau pādas tam eva tena parikrīṇāti*). Eggeling also translates 'that makes for heaven'. For the idea of immortality associated with *lókya-* also cf. *Śat. Br.* 10.2.6.7 and *Bṛ. Up.* 1.3.28 discussed above.

[2] *yayāsyodvijate vācā nālokyāṃ tām udīrayet.* But the commentator gives the meaning 'not enabling to win the world or heaven' (*svargādilokaprāptipratibandhinī*). Also Bühler 'That will prevent him from gaining heaven'.

[3] This meaning is already noted by BR.

SOME LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE UPANIṢADS

by

M. A. MEHENDALE

Poona

1. *Suṣi-* "Höhlung eines Rohrs" Kāṭh. 19.1 (Böhtlingk-Roth, *Skt. Wb.*) is to be corrected to *suṣirá-* in this passage and in KapKS. 29.8 according to Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.* II/2, *Nachträge*, p. 939. Böhtlingk (*pw.*) gives one more reference, the Commentary on ĀpŚS. 7.26.11, but the reference to ChU. 3.13.2–5 should also have been given. On the other hand, *devasuṣi-* ChU. 3.13.1 "eine zu den Göttern führende Öffnung...." (BR), "Götterhöhlung (im Herzen)" (Böhtlingk) has already been recorded. Cf. also *pariśuṣiram* Śāṅkh., Ār. 11.1 (v. l. *parisuṣiram* in the Leiden manuscript).

As regards the etymology of this word, Walde-Pokorny I, p. 365 suggest that it is probably to be derived from √*śvi-* "to swell" with *s*-extension. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.* II/2, § 230b (p. 363) derive *śuṣila-* (Pañcar. 3.10.11 cited in Böhtlingk) from √*śuṣ-* "to dry". They also suggest, although with a question mark, to equate *śuṣila-* with *suṣirá-*, which latter they explain as *suṣi-rá-*.[1] (§686b, p. 857). But how they derive *suṣi-* itself is not clear.

It may be suggested that *suṣi-* is to be derived from √*śvas-*:*śuṣ-* "to blow, etc.". This derivation would be both formally and semantically better. It has to be noted that the word is also written as *śuṣi-*[2] which, if the etymology suggested here is correct, should be regarded as the primary form. *suṣi-* would then be a secondary form arisen due to dissimilation. As for Amg. *jhusira-* "löchrig, hohl" (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 211), it seems that the initial *ś-* became *ch-*, which owing to voicing became *jh-*. Amg. *jhusira-* is a more likely development from *śuṣira-* than from *suṣira-*.

[1] And not as *su-sirā-* (Grassmann, Monier-Williams, Wackernagel, I, § 83d, p. 94, II/1 § 42b, p. 98).

[2] Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgef. etym. Wb. der ai. Sprache*, regards the form *śuṣi-* as perhaps better than *suṣi-*.

2. *atighnī-* BĀU. 2.1.19. is explained by BR as follows: "(von *han* mit *ati*), adj. vollständig vernichtend, davon f. °*ghnī*, vielleicht mit Ergänzung von *avasthā*, ein alles Unangenehme vergessen machender Zustand". This is following Śaṅkara, cf. *atiśayena duḥkhaṁ hanti ity atighnī, ānandasyāvasthā....* Böhtlingk regards it as a noun and renders it better as "die höchste Stufe". The meaning given by Monier-Williams "utter oblivion or profound sleep (obliterating all that is disagreeable in the past, and regarded as the highest condition of bliss)" is not quite suitable for the Upaniṣadic passage which runs as follows: *sa yathā kumāro vā mahārājo vā mahābrāhmaṇo vā 'tighnīm ānandasya gatvā śayītaivam evaiṣa etac chete.* The expression *atighnīm ānandasya gatvā* obviously means "having reached the excess, or the utmost stage of joy". [3] This meaning of *atighnī* is to be derived from *ati* √*han-* "to strike beyond (the limit)" which, when used as a mark of excellence in a feat would mean "surpass all others". Regarded this way, the expression would mean "having reached that utmost stage of joy which surpasses all other conditions of joy of lesser degree". We may compare here the use of *ati* √*vyadh-* "to pierce through, beyond" which in the ṚV. 4.8.8 is used as a mark of excellence: *sá vípraś carṣaṇīnā́ṁ śávasā mā́nuṣāṇām áti kṣipréva vidhyati* "Dieser Redekundige übertrifft mit Kraft (die Reden aller) Völker, (aller) Menschen wie die schnellende (Bogensehne)" [Geldner]. Instead of a bow-string, we should better think of an arrow (*íṣu-*).

We may also discuss here the word *atighnyà-* occurring in AV. 11.9.16 (= 11.7.16) which, according to the lexicons, is derived from *atighnī-* and hence rendered as "überwältigend (?)" BR,[4] "am höchsten stehend" Böhtlingk, "one who is in the condition *ati-ghnī*" Monier-Williams. The AV. passage runs as follows: *sá kṣiyati víśvasyéśāno vŕ̥ṣā bhū́myām atighnyàḥ* "he (= *úcchiṣṭa-* "the remnant of the offering") dwells, ruler of all, an overpowering (?) bull upon the earth" (Whitney). But in this context, as an adjective of bull, the word is better interpreted as "beyond those that may be killed" (*ati-*ghnyà-*). The word would then be almost identical in meaning with *ághnya-* (or *aghnyà-*). We may compare this interpretation of *ati-ghnyà-* with *ati-martya-* "superhuman" Bhāg. Pur. 1.1.20 (BR, additions in vol. V), and *upári-martya-*[5] "superior to men" ṚV. 8.19.12. *mártya-* has been treated as a gerundive reformed from

[3] Cf. "ein Übermass von Wonne geniessend" Deussen, "Höhepunkt der Wonne" Böhtlingk, "the summit of bliss" Hume.

[4] Also Wackernagel-Debrunner, II/2, § 642γ, small type, p. 791.

[5] Cf. however Wackernagel-Debrunner, II/2, § 653, small type, p. 814, where the possibility of *upári-martya-* being derived from *upári-marta-* + *ya-* is also mentioned.

**mṛ́tya-* "one who must die" (Wackernagel-Debrunner, II/2, § 642a, small type, p. 789). Or alternatively it has also been regarded as a secondary derivative, without any change in meaning, from *márta-* (Wackernagel-Debrunner, II/2, § 651a, small type, p. 807 and § 652c, p. 813). It has, however, to be admitted that **ghnya-* like *mártya-* is not used by itself.

UPANISADIC ETYMOLOGIES

M. A. MEHENDALE
Deccan College, Poona

(1) A hitherto unnoticed etymology of *púruṣa*.

This occurs as an implied etymology in the Muṇḍaka Up. 2.1.5 where we read *pumān retaḥ siñcati yoṣitāyāṁ bahvīḥ prajāḥ puruṣāt saṁprasūtāḥ*. Here the wording seems to imply the derivation of *púruṣa* as *pu* (*pumān*) + *ru* (*retaḥ*) + *ṣa* (*siñcati*). Although this etymology is based just on sound similarities between parts of the word *púruṣa* and three other independent words,[1] it is interesting to note that it reminds one of the etymology of *púruṣa* once suggested by Uhlenbeck (Kurz. Etym. Wörter.): "Gehört es (= *púruṣa*) vielleicht zur ind. wz. **pers*- sprühen u.s.w., welche auch 'semine irrigare' bedeutet haben kann?"[2] The Upaniṣadic etymology also has a striking resemblance with the passage in the Ait. Ār. (II.5.1) referred to by H. W. Bailey in TPS 1960. 84-86 while demonstrating the derivation of *púruṣa* from the verbal base √*par*- 'to nourish' attested in Khotanese. In order to show how *púruṣa* 'a male' is thought of as 'the nourisher of the child' he cites the Ait. Ār. passage, a part of which runs as:—*puruṣe ha vā ayam ādito garbho bhavati; yad etat retas tad etat sarvebhyo 'ṅgebhyas tejaḥ saṁbhūtam; ātmany evātmānaṁ bibhrati; tad yadā striyāṁ siñcaty athainaj janayati; tad asya prathamaṁ janma*. "This[3] embryo is indeed in the man in the beginning. That which is semen is the strength created from all the limbs. (Thus) one bears in oneself his own self. When one emits that (semen) in a woman, then he begets him. That is his first birth."

The well known etymology of *púruṣa* in the Upaniṣads is of course the one which equates it with *puriśaya*, thus suggesting its derivation from *pur*[4] + √*śī*.[5] *sa vā ayaṁ puruṣaḥ sarvāsu pūrṣu puriśayaḥ* Bṛ 2.5.18; *sa etasmāj jīvaghanāt parātparaṁ puriśayaṁ puruṣam īkṣate* Praśna 5.5.

The same etymology is also given in the Śata. Br. 13.6.2.1 (where *vāyú* is identified with *púruṣa*) and later in the Nirukta 2.3. The difference in the two forms *puruṣa* and *puriśaya* (cf. Nir. 1.13) is sought to be made good in the Gopatha Br. 1.39 under the usual concept of the *parokṣapriyatva* of the gods. The Nirukta, of course, also mentions the other possible derivations of *púruṣa* viz. *pur* + √*sad* (*puriṣāda*) and from √*pṛ* 'to fill'.[6]

A third etymology of the word stated clearly in the Bṛ. 1.4.1, but which does not seem to have found favour with the etymologists, is from *pūrva*[7] + √*uṣ* 'to burn'. *sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmana auṣat tasmāt puruṣaḥ.*

(2) *Etymology as evidence for pronunciation.*

In the case of a few etymologies the *varṇasāmānya* between the words derived and the elements from which their derivation is sought is not perfect. If one does not wish to set aside such cases on the ground that slight dissimilarities in the phonetic shape were not cared for, one may argue that this difference, at least in some cases, points to the habits of pronunciation. Thus the etymology of *yajñá* (<√*yaj-*) apparently should not be in doubt.[8] But in the Ch. Up. 4.16.1 the identification of *yajñá* with *vāyú* gives occasion for a different etymology.[9] *eṣa ha vai yajño 'yo 'yaṁ pavate; eṣa ha yann idaṁ sarvaṁ punāti; yad eṣa yann idaṁ sarvaṁ punāti tasmād eṣa eva yajñaḥ.* This implies the derivation of *yajñá* from *yat* (√*ī*) + *na (puṇāti)* which should give *yadna* (or *yanna*). Is it then permissible to assume that this etymology was inspired by the knowledge of the fact that the pronunciation of *yajña* had been approximated to *yadna?*[10]

Among the etymologies of *púruṣa* noted above those which derive the final syllable of it either from √*uṣ* or from √*sic*, √*sad* and √*as* take care of the retroflex *ṣ*. But the one which seeks to obtain it from √*śī* (or perhaps √*viś*) may indicate that a clear distinction between the pronunciation of *ś* and *ṣ* was not always maintained.[11]

The Upaniṣadic etymology of *ukthá* has in fact for its basis the middle Indic pronunciation *uttha*. *prāṇo vā ukthaṁ; prāṇo hīdam sarvam utthāpayati* Bṛ. 5.13.1 (also 1.6.1,2,3). It is, however, not intended to suggest that the Upaniṣadic author was himself pronouncing *uktha* as *uttha*.[12] There is evidence about the consciousness of the irregularity in the phonetic shape which at times is pointed out as due to *parokṣatva*. *taṁ vā etam indhaṁ santam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇaiva* Bṛ. 4.2.2.[13] But in the case of *atri* = *atti* it is said *vāg evātrir; vācā hy annam adyate; attir ha vai nāmaitad yad atrir iti* Bṛ. 2.2.4.[14]

(3) *Generalities.*[15]

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Upaniṣads, like the Brāhmaṇas, contain many etymological speculations. The underlying idea of these etymologies appears to be the same as that of the Nairuktas, viz. that all nouns are derived from verbs. Naturally

many etymologies are based on sound similarities, especially those which occur as explanation of certain identifications. Usually in such etymologies it is the initial letter of the elements from which the noun is sought to be derived that is taken advantage of. Cf. for instance the implied etymology of *púruṣa* above. But this by no means is always the case. Thus for example the second letter *ś* of √ *viś* in one of the etymologies of *púruṣa* or *n* of the class-sign *nā* in *punāti* in the etymology of *yajñá* are also availed of. What is more striking is the fact that in a few cases the augment *a*- of the past tense is also used for the purposes of derivation. This perhaps implies that the derivation is based on some event that had once occurred. In the etymology of *áśva* we read: *tato 'śvaḥ samabhavat, yad aśvat* Bṛ. 1.2.7.[16]

The most simple way of giving the etymology in the Upaniṣads is to state the verb in an inflected form and follow it up by saying that that is how the object has come to have its name. The initial clause giving the verb may begin with *yat.*[17] *yad ebhir* (= *chandobhir*) *acchādayaṁs tac chandasāṁ chandastvam* Ch. 1.4.2;[18] *ṣarvam vā attīti tad aditer adititvam* Bṛ. 1.2.5. In the Upaniṣads we do not find an etymology being introduced by the word *kasmāt*, as for example we do in the Nirukta, *nighaṇṭavaḥ kasmāt* (1.1.). But this later method appears to be foreshadowed in the Upaniṣads in the use of the word *tasmāt* (or *tena*) in the latter part of the etymological statements. *sā haiṣā gayāṁs tatre ... tad yad gayāṁs tatre tasmād gāyatrī nāma* Bṛ. 5.14.4; *te yad idaṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti tasmād ādityā iti* Bṛ. 3.9.5.[19] Instead of *tasmāt* the ablative of the noun derived from the verb underlying the etymology is also used. *yad gārhapatyāt praṇīyate, praṇayanād āhavanīyaḥ prāṇaḥ* Praśna 4.3; *vidānād vidyut, vidyaty enaṁ pāmano* ... Bṛ. 5.7.1. In one instance where no derivation from a verb is involved, the word *niruktam* in the sense 'etymology' occurs: *tasyaitad eva niruktaṁ hṛdy ayam iti tasmād dhṛdayam* ch. 8.3.3.

A large number of Upaniṣadic etymologies occur due to curious identifications. These etymologies are then made the basis for the various identifications by showing that the meaning derived from the etymology is applicable to the object identified. This is usually expressed in two statements, the first containing the identification and the second the etymological explanation. The former has very often the particle *vai*, but occasionally also *eva* or *vāva*, while the latter is overwhelmingly marked by the particle *hi* (seldom *vai* or *ha*). *Prāṇo va uktham, prāṇo hīdam sarvam utthāpayati* Bṛ 5.13.1; *vāg vai gāyatrī, vāg vā idaṁ sarvaṁ bhūtaṁ gāyati ca trāyate ca* Ch. 3.12.1; *iyaṁ vai pūṣā, iyaṁ hīdaṁ sarvam puṣyati yad idaṁ kiṁ ca* Bṛ 1.4.13.[20]

In a few instances the etymology is not directly stated as in the above examples. But even so these implied etymologies can be easily noticed. That *páti* and *pátnī* are related to √ *pat* is only suggested by the statement *sa imam evātmānaṁ dvedhā 'pātayat; tataḥ patiś ca patnī cābhavatām* Bṛ 1.4.3. In the case of *púruṣa*, as noticed above, the etymology is hinted by putting the grammatically regular form *puriśaya* by its side. In a third type the verb, synonymous with the one intended in the derivation, is mentioned. Thus √ *muñc* occurs for √ *trā* in *tasmād enaṁ sarvasmāt putro muñcati tasmāt putro nāma* Bṛ. 1.5.17.[21] But the verb *ā* √ *hū*, from which *āhuti*[22] is intended to be derived, is not mentioned in any form. It is to be understood from the expression *ehi ehi*. cf. *ehy ehīti tam āhutayaḥ...yajamānaṁ vahanti* Muṇḍaka 1.2.6. The following case is very peculiar in the sense that the entire etymology is left to be inferred. *iṣṭaphalam evodānaḥ; sa enaṁ yajamānam aharahar brahma gamayati* Praśna 4.4. Here obviously *udāna* is traced in the 'unorthodox' etymology to *ut* √ *nī*, but this is indirectly stated as *brahma* (*ut*) *gamayati* (*nayati*).

The peculiar identifications, to which we have already referred, have sometimes led to what we might call 'unorthodox'[23] etymologies. Thus *yájus* is derived not from √ *yaj* but √ *yuj* : *prāṇo vai yajuḥ; prāṇe hīmāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni yujyante* Bṛ 5.13.2; *samāná* is derived not from *sam* √ *an* but from *sama* + √ *nī* : *eṣa hy etad dhutam annaṁ samaṁ nayati* Praśna 3.5.[24] *vidyút* is derived from *vi* √ *dā* (do) in *vidānād vidyut* Bṛ 5.7.1. Even the verbal form *svapiti* is analysed as *sva* + *api* + *ita* (√*i*) : *svam apīto bhavati tasmād enaṁ svapitīty ācakṣate* Ch. 6.8.1. In the Ch. 8.3.5 *satyá* is analysed as *sat*, *ti*, and *yam* of which the last element is derived from √ *yam* (*atha yad yaṁ tenobhe yacchati*).[25] We may also mention here *sāma* which is analysed as *sā* and *ama* in the Bṛ. 1.3.22;[26] Ch. 1.6.1; 1.7.1. But it is also stated to have come from *sami* + √ *añc* in the Bṛ 5.13.3 *prāṇo vai sāma; prāṇe hīmāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni samyañci*.

NOTES

1. This is in keeping with the principle later enunciated by Yāska (*apy akṣara-varṇasāmānyān nirbrūyāt*) in the Nirukta 2.1. The three syllables of the word *hṛdaya* are similarly derived from √ *hṛ*, √ *dā* and √ *i* in the Bṛ 5.3.1. In the Ch. 8.3.3, however, it is analysed as *hṛdi* + *ayam*.
2. J. Scheftelowitz (KZ 53.255, 1925) who derives *púruṣa* from **pə r-uṣa* (Lat. *pario*) remarks that *púruṣa* 'bedeutet eingentlich "Erzeuger"....' For other explanations see F.B.J. Kuiper, Kirfel Festschrift (Studia Indologica) p. 146 (1955) and M. Mayrhofer, Kurz. ety. Wörter, p. 312 (1958).
3. *ayam* does not seem to refer either to Ātman or to the indefinite 'one' as Hume thinks it to be (p. 298 f.n. 2). It is clearly related to *garbha* which is first supposed to exist in the man in the form of *retas*.
4. That by *pur* we have to understand 'heart' or 'inside of the body' is shown by such expressions = *puruṣaḥ.... sadā janānāṁ hṛdaye saṁniviṣṭaḥ Kaṭha* 6..17,

ya eṣa....puruṣaḥ....ya eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśas tasmiñ chete Bṛ. 2.1.17. *puritati śete* Bṛ 2.1.19, *puruṣo madhya ātmani tiṣṭhati* Kaṭha 4..12, *ihaivāntaḥśarīre somya sa puruṣaḥ* Praśna 6.2. On the other hand in the Atharvaveda 10.2.28 we read *púraṁ yó bráhmaṇo véda yásyāḥ púruṣa ucyáte.*

5. Instead of √*śī* we have perhaps *pur* + √*viś* in a sort of implied etymology: *puraḥ sa pakṣī bhūtvā puraḥ puruṣa āviśat* Bṛ. 2.5.18.
6. *pūrayaty antar ity antarapuruṣam abhipretya.* Nirukta also cites *tenedaṁ pūrṇaṁ puruṣeṇa sarvam,* Taitt. Ār. 10.10.3, Śvet. Up. 3.9.
7. This element is also availed of in a different etymology given in the Taitt. Ār. 1.23.3, *pūrvam evāham ihāsam iti tat pūruṣasya pūruṣatvam* (*pūrva* + √ *as*).
8. Cf. Nir. 3.19. Here other etymologies are also given. The Śat. Br. 3.9.4.23 presupposes metathesis *yañja* > *yajña.*
9. Other etymologies of this type have been noted below under 'unorthodox' etymologies.
10. The present day pronunciation of *jñ* as *dñ* or *dny* has been noted by S. K. Chatterji, Ind. Ling. 21.78 (1960). The other 'unorthodox' etymology of *yajñá* as *ya-* + √*jñā* appearing in the Ch. Up. 8.5.1 does not give any clue regarding the pronunciation. *atha yad yajña ity ācakṣate brahmacaryam eva tat; brahmacaryeṇa hy eva yo jñātā taṁ vindate.*
11. On this point again cf. S. K. Chatterji, op. cit. pp. 78-79.
12. The Śat. Br. 10.6.2.8-10 gives the same etymology but clearly shows the pronunciation to be *uktha.*
13. Also cf. Śat. Br. 6.1.1.2. S. M. Katre (ABORI 20.277) sees in this etymology the knowledge (unconscious perhaps) of the middle Indic aspiration observed in the MIA treatment of certain OIA clusters with *r*, e.g. *tatra*>*tattha.* In the Ait. Ār. 1.3.14 *indra* = *idandra.*
14. This is also how Aupamanyava's view regarding the etymology of *nighaṇṭu* is given in the Nirukta 1..1, te *nigantava eva santo nigamanān nighaṇṭava ucyante.*
15. These remarks are based on the ten principal Upaniṣads.
16. Also Śat. Br. 13.3.1.1. *yad aśvayat tad aśvasyāśvatvam.* In the Ait. Ār. 2.2.1 we read the following in the etymology of *atri:* sa *yad idaṁ sarvaṁ pāpmano 'trāyata yad idaṁ kiñca tasmād atrayaḥ.*
17. In the etymology of *áśva* noted above the clause with *yat* follows and does not precede.
18. Also cf. Ait. Ār. 2.1.4 and 6 where the etymologies of *śíras, śárīra* etc. are given in the same way. The etymology of *arká* given in the Bṛ. 1.2.1 is similar, but the verb does not appear in an inflected form.
19. Also cf. the etymology of *putrá* in the Bṛ. 1.5.17, of *rudrá* in the Bṛ. 3.9.4, of *púruṣa* in the Bṛ. 1.4.1 and *yajñá* in the Ch. 4.16.1 noted above; of *adhyardha* in the Bṛ 3.9.9 and *chandas* in the Ait. Ār. 2.1.6. Both *tat* and *tasmāt* occur in the Bṛ 1.3.22 and *tasmāt* in the Bṛ 3.9.3 where derivation from a verb is not involved.
20. Also cf. *prāṇa* = *yajus* Bṛ 5.13.2, *prāṇa* = *sāma* Bṛ 5.13.3, 1.6.1 (2, 3) *prāṇa* = *kṣatra* Bṛ 5.13.4; *vāc* = *atri* Bṛ 2.2.4; *prāṇa* = *vasu* ch. 3.16.1; *prāṇa* = *rudra* ch. 3.16.3; *prāṇa* = *āditya* ch. 3.16.5; also cf. the explanations of *uktha* and *brahma* in the Bṛ 1.6.1, 2, 3 and of *udgītha* in the Bṛ 1.3.23 and ch. 1.3.6.
21. But √*trā* is given, for instance, in the Nirukta 2.11, *putraḥ puru trāyate* or *puṁ narakaṁ tatas trāyate.* In the Ait. Ār. 2.1.5 where *sāyam* is explained the verb √*gā* occurs in place of √*i.*
22. In a similar derivation of *āhuti* in the Ait Br. 1.1.2 the form is first identified with *āhūti* and then derived from *ā*√*hū. āhūtayo vai nāmaite yad āhutaya etābhir vai devān yajamāno hvayati tad āhutīnām āhūtitvam.* Thus while the Brāhmaṇa passage shows consciousness of the difference in the vowel length between *āhūti*, which can be had from *ā*√*hū,* and *āhuti*, the Upaniṣad passage ignores it. However, it may not be justified to infer from this instance that the vowel length was ignored in the pronunciation of certain words.
23. Such etymologies are also known from the Nirukta. Cf. the etymology of *anna* from *ā*√*nam* in the Nirukta 3.9. The other etymology from √*ad* is also given there.
24. Also cf. 4.4 and the etymology of *udāna* referred to above. In Praśna 4.3 *prāṇa* is similarly derived from *pra*√*nī.*
25. Also similarly analysed in the Bṛ. 5.5.1 and Ait. Ār. 2.1.5; as *sat* and *tyam* in the Kauṣī. 1.6.
26. Or derived from *sama* in the place and again in Bṛ 1.6.1, 2, 3.

Vanargú- has been analysed and interpreted by most Vedic scholars[1] as *vánar* + *gu* (< $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ or $\sqrt{gam}$) meaning 'moving in the wood, wandering in the forest'. According to an entry (4. *gu*) in BR $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ appears as *gu*[2] at the end of a compound in *ádhrigu* and *vanargú*. However, *ádhrigu* has already been supposed to contain *-gu-* < *gó* 'bull or cow'. This word has been recently very thoroughly examined by W. Wüst, PHMA 3.117—19 (1957) and 4.5-39 (1958), who assigns to it the meaning "verschnittene Rinder (Stiere) habend".

According to the lexicons *vanargú-* is attested four times : ṚV 1.145.5, 10.4.6; AV 4.36.7; and SV 6.4.9.

ṚV 1.145.5 is addressed to agni :

sá īṁ mṛgó ápyo vanargúr úpa tvacy ùpamásyāṁ ní dhāyi/
vy àbravīd vayúnā mártyebhyo 'gnír vidvā́ ṛtacíd dhí satyáḥ//

Geldner's translation : "Er, das Wassertier, der Waldgänger, wurde auf die oberste Haut (der Erde) niedergesetzt.—Er hat den Sterblichen die rechten Wege verkündet, denn Agni, der Wissende, ist der wahre Kenner des Rechten".

Now as early as 1894, Bergaigne, in Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Vol. 8. 482, had expressed great doubt regarding the above explanation and suggested that *vanargú* in the above verse[3] is better interpreted as "taureau des bois" (*-gu-* < *gó*[4] 'bull'). In spite of the correct lead given by Bergaigne, he

---

1 For example Grassmann and Böhtlingk-Roth. Nighaṇṭu 3. 24 gives it in the list of words meaning *stena*. Other references can be found later in this paper.

2 For possible explanation of *-gū-* from $\sqrt{gam}$- (rather $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$-) see Wackernagel-Debrunner Alt. Gr. II 2, §287 e note (pp. 471-72) and § 320 a β note (p. 496). Otherwise at the end of a compound $\sqrt{gam}$ > *-ga-*, P. 3. 2. 48.

3 Bergaine's reference ṚV 1. 145. 4. to be corrected as 1. 145. 5.

4 Wackernagel, Alt. Gr. II 1 § 42 d α p.99.

does not seem to have found followers.[5] It is therefore necessary to state that his interpretation is perfectly justified. Agni is often called 'a bull' or is compared with a bull, and in this respect he is in many cases described as active in the *vana*[6]. The expression *yád īṁ gácchanty uśatī́r apiṣṭhitám*, which occurs in the immediately preceding verse (4), also favours this interpretation. The epithet 'bull of the forest' appears to be meant to contrast with *mṛgáḥ ápyaḥ* 'the animal of the water'.[7]

ṚV 10.4.6 is also addressed to Agni :

tanūtyájeva táskarā vanargū́ raśanā́bhir daśábhir abhyàdhītām/
iyáṁ te agne návyasī manīṣā́ yukṣvā́ ráthaṁ ná śucáyadbhir áṅgaiḥ//

Geldner translates : "Wie zwei im Walde streifende Räuber, die ihr Leben einsetzen, haben (beide Arme) mit zehn Stricken (das Reibholz) festgebunden. Diese neueste Dichtung ist für dich, Agni ; bespanne gleichsam deinen Wagen mit deinen flammenden Gliedern ! "

Geldner thus understands ab as a very much abbreviated comparison. The two arms holding the churning stick with ten fingers are compared with two bold robbers, wandering in forest, binding a traveller[8]. Geldner says that while interpreting ab in this way he is only following the traditional explanation available since the days of Yāska. He remarks : " So auch Sāy. und Durga zu Nir. 3, 14.[9] 'Er vergleicht die feuerreibenden Arme mit Zwei Räubern ', Yāska."[10]

Now Sāyaṇa indeed interprets the comparison in the way imagnied by Geldner. He, however, does not say anything about the *upameyavākya* (the two hands holding the *araṇis*) and wants us to follow it from the statement of Yāska which he quotes. Durga also essentially understands the comparison in the same way. It is likely that Yāska also had the same thing in mind and interpreted *vanargū*

5 As shown by the above translation of Geldner and also by his Glossar. The same interpretation is given by Uhlenbeck's Wörterbuch and by Macdonell in 'Skr. *vānara* und verwandtes' KZ 34. 292-96 (1897) and in his Practical Sanskrit Dictionary (also Vedic Index S. V. *taskara* and *vanargu*). All these scholars have accepted the interpretation of Yāska (see next verse) and Sāyana (*vanagāmī*). Wackernagel-Debrunner Alt. Gr. II 2, §287e note (p. 472) also have the same meaning in mind but regarding the form they suggest two possibilities. " In *vanar-gú- agre-gú-* scheint eine sinnverwandte Wurzel zu stecken ;... oder war *yú-* aus Wurzel *i-* gebildet und nachträglich auf Wurzel *yā-* bezogen und zum Vorbild für *gu* -zu *gā-* geworden ? "

6 ṚV 4. 5. 3 ; 5. 1. 8, 12 ; 5. 28. 4 ; 6. 16. 39 ; 8. 60. 13 ; 1. 58. 4, 5 ; 1. 94. 10 ; 10. 115. 2 ; 1. 128. 3 ; 6. 6. 5. In some cases where Agni is not directly mentioned as a bull, there is no doubt that this is what is intended, e.g. ṚV 1. 143. 5 ; 7. 4. 2 ; 7. 7. 2 ; 8. 43.8 ; 10. 79. 2.

7 Cf. here *vṛ́ṣṇo......gárbham......nápātam apā́m* ṚV 5. 41. 10 and *vṛṣabhó roravīti...... apām upásthe mahiṣó vavardha* RV 10. 8. 1.

8 So also Sarup, Eng. Tr. of the Nirukta, pp. 47-48 and f. n. 1. on p. 48. Geldner mentions the alternative possibility of a passive construction. In that case the two churning sticks, held by the ten fingers, will have been compared with two arrested robbers.

9 We may now add also Skanda-Maheśvara.

10 Thus Yāska does not expressly mention 'the traveller' bound by the robbers. This has been supplied by commentators, *pathika* (Sāyaṇa), *adhvaga* (Durga), *kaścit* (Skanda-Maheśvara).

in the way Durga, Sāyaṇa and Geldner have thought him to do (i.e. an epithet meaning *vanagāminau* to be understood only with reference to the two robbers). But the way Yāska has worded his statement leaves this point doubtful. He says *tanūtyak tanūtyaktā*[11] *vanargū vanagāmināv agnimanthanau bāhū taskarābhyām upamimīte.* This can mean that according to Yāska *vanargū* = *vanagāminau* i.e. *agnimanthanau* (because *vana* stands for the two *araṇis*) and hence the epithet refers only to the *upameya* 'arms' (*bāhū*) and stands for it. This would mean that *vanargū* (*bāhū*) are compared with *taskarā*. Whether Yāska intended to take *vanargū́* also with *táskarā* or not may be a moot point. But Oldenberg (Noten) certainly does this and understands *vanargū́* as going with both—the robbers and the hands: "*vanargū́* im Vergleich die im Walde ihr Wesen treibenden Räuber, im Hauptsatz die and den Hölzern arbeitenden Hände."

All the interpreters mentioned above have, however, one thing in common, viz. that they understand *vanargū́* to have come from *vánar* + $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ or $\sqrt{gam}$ and the form as nom. dual. Bergaigne, although as noted above has rejected this explanation (*vanagāminau*), considers the form to be nom. dual. He accordingly feels that in the above verse the robbers are metaphorically called 'bulls of the forest'. This, however, does not seem to be the case. If *vanargū* is taken to be nom. dual going with *táskarā* the comparison appears to be very much abbreviated because, besides not mentioning anything about the *upameya*,[12] it also omits to mention in the *upamānavākya* what the robbers hold fast. This difficulty will not arise if one agrees with Bergaigne in understanding *vanargū́* as 'two forest bulls' but differs from him by taking the form as acc. dual.[13] The first two quarters are therefore to be translated as: "(The two arms) have held fast (the two churning sticks with ten fingers) as do two brigands, risking their life, two forest-bulls with ten ropes."[14] In this way the *upamānavākya* becomes complete. Moreover, the epithet *tanūtyájā* becomes more relevant in as much as bodily risk is involved rather in binding a forest-bull than in catching hold of a traveller. Of course the dual number in *vanargū́* as well as *táskarā* is occasioned by the two *araṇis*[15] and

11 Why Yāska uses *tanūtyak* (sg.) for *tanūtyájā* (dual) is not clear. His explanation *tanūtyaktā* has been taken by Durga and Sarup to be dual of *tanūtyakta-*, by Skanda-Maheśvara to be sg. of *tanūtyaktṛ*. The latter interpretation is to be preferred because Yāska is not likely to use a Vedic dual form in *-ā*; in fact he renders Vedic dual by the classical one as *duhántā* by *duhantau* (6. 26), *kárṇā* by *karṇau* (10. 41), etc. Yāska also occasionally renders a root noun, whether occurring by itself or in a compound, by a derivative in *-tṛ*. Hence *nid-* = (*abhi*)- *-ninditṛ-* (10.42), *brahma-dviṣ-* = *brāhmaṇa-dveṣṭṛ-* (6. 11); similarly *tanūtyaj-* = *tanūtyaktṛ-*.

12 If the alternative interpretation of the Nirukta passage suggested above is correct then in that case the *upameya* 'hands' in the form of *vanargū́* will have been mentioned.

13 Wackernagel-Debrunner, Alt. Gr. III § 121 b α (pp. 218-19) say that a compound with *-gu-* as the second member has the usual inflexion of *u-* stems. In the footnote, however, they point out that such compounds occasionally in the Ṛgveda show strong forms on the analogy of the declension of *-go-*, e.g. *pṛ́śni-gāv-aḥ* instead of *pṛ́śni-gav-aḥ*.

14 The idea of stealing is not present. What is intended seems to be that men of this type were employed for catching the forest-bulls.

15 The dual number will cause some difficulty since the two hands are known to hold only one *araṇi*. However, in view of the advantages gained by the above interpretation, it seems necessary to set aside this difficulty. The poet apparently has not been exact in this detail, and has been carried away with the usual dual number of the *araṇis*. Or, does this refer to some different way of producing fire?

the two arms. Similarly the number ten has a reference to the number of the fingers.[16]

We read the following in the AV. 4.36.7 :

ná piśācaiḥ sáṁ śaknomi ná stenair ná vanargúbhiḥ/
piśācā̄s tásmān naśyanti yám ahám grā̄mam āviśe//

Whitney's translation : "I cannot (bear) with *piśācás*, nor with thieves, nor with savages (? *vanargú*); the *piśācás* disappear from that village which I enter." The hymn in which the verse occurs is supposed to drive away all evil-minded beings, especially the *piśācas* (cf. *sáhe piśācā̄n sáhasā* verse 4, *tápano asmi piśācā̄nām* verse 6, and *piśācā̄s tásmān naśyanti* verses 7-8). In our verse although only the *piśācás* are mentioned in the second line, there is little doubt that the reciter felt confident of being able to drive away from the village also the *stenás* and the *vanargús* mentioned in line 1. These three words seem to stand for three classes of harmful beings. When *vanargú* appears in this situation there is good reason to believe that it refers to a class different from *stená* and hence means 'a forest-bull'. But the reciter of the spell may have wished the village to be free from the nuisance not only of the 'forest bulls' but also of all wild animals,[17] and therefore in this instance *vanargú* appears to stand for all wild animals.

Sāmaveda 6.4.9 runs as—

hárī ta indra śmáśrūṇy utó te haritau hárī/
táṁ tvā stuvanti kaváyaḥ paruṣā̄so vanárgavaḥ//

The reading *paruṣā̄so* is found in the citation given by BR[18] which is apparently based on the text of the Āraṇyakasaṁhitā of the Sāmaveda published by Goldschmidt (Monatsber. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss zu Berlin 1868, 228-248).[19]. It also occurs in Bloomfield's Concordance which is based on the text of the Āraṇyasaṁhitā published with the commentary of Sāyaṇa and a Bengali translation by Satya Brata Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.[20] But the Bibl. Ind. edition of the Sāma-

---

16 Cf. ṚV 3. 23. 3 ; 1. 144. 5 ; 1. 95. 2 ; 3. 29. 12-13.

17 AV. 4. 3 ; 12. 1. 49. Sometimes *táskara* appears by the side of *stená* (cf. AV. 19. 50. 5 ; 19. 47. 6-7 ; 4. 21. 3 and 7), and hence one may be inclined to consider that *vanargú* (=*vanagāmī*) refers to him. Thus e. g. Sāyaṇa : *vanarguśabdaś coranāma* (as listed in the Nighaṇṭu 3. 24) ....*vanagāmibhiś corair api*. Bloomfield 'prowlers in the forest.' But as mentioned above *vanargu* is better taken to refer to a class different from that of the *stenás*.

18 कवय: in BR's citation to be read as कृवय: . Their abbreviation S.V. Naigh. also to be corrected as SV. Naig. (Naigeya Śākhā as called in Goldschmidt's edition).

19 Also in the Āraṇyaka gāna edited by Nārāyaṇasvāmī Dīkṣita (Aundh, 1942). Āraṇyakasaṁhitā is not published in Benfey's edition of the SV (Leipzig, 1848).

20 Sāyaṇa's commentary in this edition, however, has *puruṣāsa* as in the text of the commentary published in the Bibl. Ind. edition.

veda (Vol. II. 324) gives the reading *puruṣāso*[21]. The same reading also occurs in the Jaiminīya Saṁhitā (2.4.3) edited by Raghu Vira, Lahore, 1938.[22] The reading *paruṣāso*, however, is to be favoured because *púruṣāso* would have accent on the first syllable, and secondly *puruṣa-* by the side of *kaví-* hardly adds anything meaningful.

Vanárgavaḥ in the SV verse shows an accent different from the one (*vanargú-*) found in the other three occurrences. This fact has not been noted in the lexicons. Sāyaṇa notes it and therefore he does not interpret the word as *vanagāmī*, but as *vananīyāḥ sambhajanīyāḥ sevanīyā gāvo yeṣāṁ te vanargavaḥ*. But if the compound was really intended to be a bahuvrīhi, since the accent is on the *pūrvapada*, it should have been accented on the first syllable on account of *prakṛtisvaratva* (*vánar:*). Therefore it appears that this is only a case of accent shift and does not amount to different accentuation. The accent shift is probably to be explained as follows : (*vanargú* + *as*) **vanargvás* > **vanárgvas* > *vanárgavas*.

Sāyaṇa does indeed consider here *-gu-* < *-gó-*. As a matter of fact, since the reading *paruṣāso* has been regarded as more probable, it is tempting to accept this explanation, cf. *paruṣé gavi* (RV 6.56.3), *paruṣāḥ.........ukṣáṇaḥ* (RV 5.27.5). But the compound cannot be explained as Sāyaṇa has done. " The forest bulls " also does not seem to be a very happy epithet for *kavis* when they are described as praising Indra. In this context it would be more appropriate to explain the form as *vánar* + $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ ' to sing, [23]. This would not only accord well with the purpose (*gāna*) of the ṛks in the Sāmaveda, but also with the fact that the above verse occurs in the Āraṇyakasaṁhitā of the SV. As regards the relationship between the Pūrvācika and the Āraṇyakasaṁhitā on the one hand and the Grāmageyagāna and the Āraṇyagāna on the other, Caland[24] observes: "Diese Register wurden nun vom Vedaschuler, der sich zum Chandoga herausbilden wollte, zuerst studiert : das Grāmageyagāna mit Pūrvārcika im Dorfe, das Āraṇyagāna mit Āraṇyakasaṁhitā, wegen der angeblichen grösseren Heiligkeit bzw. Gefährlichkeit, im Walde. Daher die Namen ; denn zu der Annahme (Vgl. Winternitz, Gesch. der Ind. Literatur I S. 145), dass das Grāmageyagāna nur Gesänge enthält, die man bei den Somaopfern im Dorfe, das Āraṇyagāna dagegen Gesänge, die man nur bei Somaopfern im Walde singen dürfte, fehlt uns jeder Grund." Winternitz has accordingly revised his opinion as one can see from the Eng. Trasl. of his book (Vol. I p. 167). " There are, attached to the Arcika, a Grāmageyagāna ("book of songs to be sung in the village") and an Araṇyagāna ("book of forest songs"). In the latter those melodies were collected, which were considered as dangerous

---

21 This is also the reading of S. D. Satavalekar's edn. of the SV (Aundh, 1939), and the word-index to the SV by Swami Vishweshvarananda and Swami Nityananda, Bombay, 1908.

22 Other variants in this Saṁhitā are *haritā* for *haritau* and *kāravaḥ* for *kavayaḥ*.

23 It is also possible to think of $\sqrt{g\bar{u}}$ ' to shout with joy '. But in that case the compound would have been *vanargút*. Of course, such compounds without a final-*t* are also to be found cf. *-dru*, *-stu*.

24 Die Jaiminīya-Saṁhitā, pp. 9-10, Breslau, 1907.

(taboo), and therefore had to be learnt in the forest, not in the village." But if the interpretation of *vanargú* suggested above is the correct one, it does give some ground in support of the original view of Winternitz. The verse refers to persons singing in the forest. This singing is more likely to refer to the ritual one than to the one done at the time of learning the melodies.

The Sāmaveda verse may be translated as: "Oh Indra, tawney are your beard (hair), and tawney your horses. Such as you are, the wise men, dust-coloured, singing in the forest,[25] praise you."

A Sanskrit lexicon, it seems, will thus require two entries for this word: (1) *vanargú* (ṚV and AV) 'forest-bull' (*vánar* + *gu* < *gó*); (2) **vanargú* > *vanárgu* (SV) 'singing in the forest' (*vanár* + *gu* < $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ 'to sing').

25 But BR: 'Weise und Wilde'. Hence Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index 2. 241: "In the Sāmaveda the term is more generally opposed to civilized men (*kavayaḥ* 'sages'; *vanargavaḥ* 'savages').

APPENDIX

A Note on *tena tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ*

M. A. Mehendale

This third quarter of the first verse of the *Īśopaniṣat* has been interpreted in at least two different ways. RADHAKRISHNAN[1] translates it as "Therefore find your enjoyment in renunciation" and adds in his note: "enjoy through *tyāga*, or renunciation of self-will. Enjoy all things by renouncing the idea of a personal proprietary relationship to them." He thus partly follows ŚANKARA who equates *tyaktena* with *tyāgena*. DEUSSEN[2] has given a similar interpretation, except that he does not take *tena* to mean 'therefore', but as referring to *jagat*. "Wer ihm entsagt, geniesst wahrhaft". DEUSSEN remarks in his introductory note: "In diesem Verzichten auf die vielheitliche Welt liegt der wahre Genuss ...., nicht in dem Trachten nach fremdem Gute." HUME[3] follows him in content: "With this renounced, thou mayest enjoy".

RADHAKRISHNAN, in his notes on the passage, refers to a second interpretation: "Sometimes this passage is interpreted as meaning: enjoy what is allotted to you by God (*tena*). Do not ask for more than what is given". This second interpretation seems to refer to the view of MADHVA. B. D. BASU,[4] who follows his commentary, renders the line as "Enjoy thou what He hath allotted to thee, and do not beg from any (though he be a king), for wealth."

The second interpretation is no doubt more acceptable. The use of the verb √*bhuj-* with instrumental is not found in later Sanskrit. PANINI (2.3.18-27; also B. LIEBICH, BB 10. 217-220, 1886) does not mention it. But this use is not seldom in the Ṛgveda[5] and the Vedic prose. E.g. we find, *śáśvad hí vaḥ sudānava ā́dityā ūtíbhir vayám / purā́ nūnáṁ bubhujmáhe* "Denn immer wieder

1 *The Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 567.

2 *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, p. 524.

3 *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 362.

4 *The Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 3.

5 For the use of √*bhuj-* with instrumental, cf. H. WENZEL, UEBER *den Instrumentalis im Ṛgveda* (1879), p. 83, DELBRUCK, *Altindische Syntax* (1888), pp. 132-133; SPEIJER, *Sanskrit Syntax* (1886), 74.9 remark, p. 56; GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda* and *BR*, *Wörterbuch* s.v. √*bhuj-*. More examples also can be found under these references.

haben wir uns eurer Hilfen, ihr gütigen Āditya's, einst und jetzt erfreut" (GELDNER) *ṚV.* 8.67.16; *á nivarta ní vartaya púnar na Indra gá dehi / jīvábhir bhunajāmahai / /* "Du Heimführer, führe sie heim, gib uns die Kühe wieder, Indra. Wir woolen uns der Lebenden erfreuen" (GELDNER) *ṚV.* 10.19.6; *dattá nas tásya bheṣajám téna vo bhunajāmahai / /* "Give us remedy for that; may we enjoy that (remedy) of yours" (WHITNEY has different translation: "give us the remedy for this; for that would we enjoy you"; also Bloomfield, "grant us the remedy for that: through this (remedy) may we derive benefit from you!)" *AV.* 6.24.3; *ubháyena bhuñjate TS* 2.5.2.7; *ūrjá bhuñjate* 5.2.8.7, 6.1.3,4; *ánnena bhuñjate* 6.2.5.4; *yāni vai purā saṁvatsarād retāṁsi jāyante ...... na vai tair bhuñjate 'tha yāny eva daśamāsyāni jāyante yāni saṁvatsarikāṇi tair bhuñjate, AB* 4.22.5,6, "Whatever seeds are born before the year ...... they do not enjoy them; those that are born in ten months or a year, they enjoy them" (KEITH: "they do not profit by them; .... by these they profit"). *sa yaṁ tam asurā nyadadhata, tenānena manuṣyā bhuñjate, ŚB* 2.2.2.13 "the (fire) which the demons established, that the human beings enjoy." *tan mām avatu, tan mā viśatu, tena bhukṣiṣīya Āś. Gṛ.S.* 1.23.19 'may that protect me, may that enter me, may I enjoy it' (STENZLER: "dadurch möge ich geniessen".

In respect of *tena tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ* it is also possible to think of an instrumental absolute construction: "you may enjoy that when renounced (by him)." In this case *tena* does not refer to *Īśa*, but to the portion of the *jagat* given up by him.

In the fourth quarter of this verse occurs *mā gṛdhaḥ kasya svid dhanam. Kasya svid* is no doubt indefinite 'of any one', and hence is usually taken to refer to any other human being. But in this verse, two entities come up for consideration — *īśa*, 'the master', and the individual addressed. Therefore *kasya svid* should have particular reference to some one else other than the individual, viz., the master. Since the *jagat* should primarily be pervaded by the Lord (*īśā vāsyam*), it is his property (*dhanam*) first. An individual should not long for the Lord's property as long as it has not been renounced by him in the individual's favour.

Sū́re duhitā́' *

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Deccan College, Poona

The expression *sū́re duhitā́* occurring in the Ṛ̣V. 1.34.5 (*triṣṭhā́ṁ vāṁ sū́re duhitā́'* (= *duhitā́' ā́'*) *ruhad ráthaṁ*) has attracted much attention. Two independent notes have been written on it — one by Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. 15. 1-2 (1889) and another by Pischel in Ved. Stud. 3.192-194 (1901). Both Bartholomae and Pischel refer to the views of earlier scholars like Benfey, Grassmann, Ludwig, Bergaigne, Richter and Brugmann. It is not necessary to restate here all that these scholars have said regarding this expression. It would be enough to say that the form *sū́re* has been considered either as loc. sg. from *sū́ra-* or as dat. or gen. sg. from *svàr-* both meaning 'sun'. It may be of some historical interest to know that Bartholomae wanted to treat the expression as one compound word *sū́reduhitā́'* < *sū́razdhužhitā́'*. In his view the separation of the compound into two words by the author of the Padapāṭha was a mistake.

As far as the form is concerned the more widely accepted view seems to be to consider *sū́re* as gen. sg. of *svàr-* showing an isolated case of external sandhi in *-e* (< *-az* < *-as*) instead of the expected *-o* before a voiced stop. To give a few references, Wackernagel, Alt. Gr. 1, p. XIX and § 285 bβ, p. 338, and 3 § 160d note p. 314, Renou, Gramm. Véd. § 137, p. 103[1], and W. S. Allen, Sandhi p. 71. This *sū́re* (gen. sg.) was naturally construed with *duhitā́'* to mean 'the daughter of the sun'. In the first instance we have an exact parallel in *sū́ro duhitā́* (7.69.4) where the form and the meaning are not in doubt. Next, we have frequent mention of 'the daughter of the sun' choosing or mounting the chariot of Aśvinā. Thus *sū́ryasya duhitā́'* 4.43.2 and *duhitā́' sū́ryasya* 1.116.17, 1.117.13, 1.118.5, 6.63.5, *duhitā́' vivasvátaḥ* Khila 1.3.2. The daughter of the sun[2] is also called *sūryā́'*[3] who is similarly spoken of as mounting the chariot or being carried by the chariot of Aśvinā cf. 5.73.5, 4.44.1 (also 4.43.6, 6.63.6, 8.22.1 and Khila 1.2.5). Also cf. the sūryāsūkta 10.85.

---

* Paper submitted to the *Indology Section* of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held at New Delhi from January 4 to January 10, 1964.

1 In his Histoire de la Langue Sanskrite, Renou had observed: On a même voulu voir mâgadhisme dans l'idiome *sū́re duhitā́* "la fille du soleil" (p. 30). On this see Mayrhofer IF 63.286, fn.3. He regrets the way Renou has made his remark and observes ". . . dass *sū́re* den Sandhi *-az* > *-e* enthalte, der in den östlichen Dialekten später verallgemeinert wurde . . . lässt sich doch diskutieren."

2 The daughter of the sun is indirectly referred to as *vadhū́* 7.69.3, *yóṣaṇā* 8.8.10, *yóṣā* 1.119.5, *ūrjā́nī* 1.119.2, and *sū́rī* 1.119.3. The 'three' in the chariot are mentioned in 4.45.1, 8.29.8. Mounting the chariot by sūryā is mentioned in a simile 1.167.5.

3 The identification of Sūryā is doubtful. Macdonell (Vedic Myth. p. 51) thought that she was no other than the sun himself conceived as a female. Hillebrandt did not like

Scholars who considered *sūre* to be dat. sg., however, took it to mean 'for the sake of the sun'. cf. Bergaigne "*La fille* est montée sur votre char *pour le soleil*."[4] Those, except Oldenberg for whose opinion see below, who looked upon the form to be loc. sg. thought that the expression ultimately meant the same thing as with gen. sg. 'daughter of the sun'. Sāyaṇa[5] got this by simply noting that it was a case of *vibhaktivyatyaya* i.e. loc. standing for gen. (*sūre* = *sūryasya*). But Pischel wished to render it as 'die, die Tochter bei sūrya ist'[6], i.e. taking it to be a round about way of saying 'the daughter of the sun.' In fact, with regard to Bergaigne's feeling that it seemed impossible to construe *sūre duhitā'* as "La fille *du* soleil,"[7] Pischel asserted "Diese scheinbare Unmöglichkeit ist jedoch das einzig Richtige." (p. 193).

In spite of this assertion and the apparently compelling evidence cited above in favour of construing *sūre duhitā'* together meaning 'daughter of the sun', Oldenberg (Noten I 36-37) did not favour, and in my opinion rightly, this construction. He rather thought of separating the two and interpreting *sūre* as either loc. or dat. sg. He accepted the suggestion of Pischel to treat *sūre* as loc. but differed from him in rendering it: "euren Wagen bestieg bei Sūra die Tochter" (nämlich eben des S.). With dat. sg. he translated it as "euren Wagen bestieg um des Suar willen (ihm zu Gefallen? ihn zu fördern?) die Tochter" (nämlich eben des S.).[8]

I agree with Oldenberg in taking *sūre* as loc. sg., and with him and Bergaigne in separating syntactically *sūre* from *duhitā'*. In view of the fact that the context refers to the mounting of the chariot of Aśvinā and that elsewhere the daughter of the sun is clearly stated doing that, in the present case a simple *duhitā'* without the qualification *sūryasya* or *sūraḥ* will certainly convey the same meaning. "The daughter mounted the chariot of Aśvinā" would always mean that the daughter of the sun did it. There can be no ambiguity about it. As regards *sūre*, which I have separated from *duhitā*, I interpret it as standing for loc. abs. *sūre údite*. The full expression thus would be

---

this idea and suggested that she was to be identified with Uṣas (Vedic Myth. I, 42-44, 61 and II, 399.) This was also the view of Yāska (12.7), Skandasvāmin (cf. his remark on Ṛv. 1.34.5 *tat-*(i.e. *sūrya-*) *prabhavāc coṣaso duhitṛvyapadeśaḥ / sūryasya duhitā uṣāḥ/*), and perhaps Hopkins (JAOS 15.270, f.n * 'The red is the dawn which mounts the Aśvins' car . . .'). Although Uṣas and Aśvinā are known for their close association the identification of Sūryā with Uṣas was contested by Oldenberg (Noten 2.53 on ṚV. 7.69.4). Geldner (in his translation) and Renou (Ét. Véd. et Pāṇ. 3.8 and 91 on ṚV. 7.75.5a) follow him.

4 La Religion Védique 2.490.

5 Also Mādhava *sūre sūrye . . . tasya duhitā*, and Skandasvāmin *ṣaṣṭhyarthe saptamī*.

6 He followed Brugmann's suggestion (IF 12.3) to derive manaāv-ī fem.) from mánau (loc. sg. mas.) meaning 'die bei (chez) Manu (seiende)'. Pischel's view that *sūre* is loc. sg. is in turn referred to by Brugmann IF 13.148-149, f.n.3.

7 La Religion Védique, 2.490, f.n.2.

8 This may be compared with the use of dative in (*rátham*) . . . *yám aśvinā . . . ā sūryā́yai tasthā́thuḥ/* 8.22.1 "(den Wagen) . . . den ihr Aśvin, . . . für Sūryā bestiegen habt . . ." (Geldner).

sū́re [*údite*] *duhitā́' ā́' ruhad ráthaṁ*[9] "when the sun had risen, the daughter mounted the chariot". We may note in the first instance that the expression *sūra udite* occurs quite often in the Ṛgveda (3.15.2; 7.63.5; 7.65.1; 7.66.4,7,12; 8.1.29; 8.13.13; 8.27.21). Secondly, there are a few cases where a loc. *sūrye* has been interpreted as loc. abs. *sūrye udite* by Indian commentators and by Geldner. In ṚV. 1.135.3 we read the following:—

távāyáṁ bhāgá ṛtvíyaḥ sáraśmiḥ sū́rye sácā /

Here Sāyaṇa interprets *sūrye* = *sūrye udite*. cf. (*ayaṁ tava bhāgaḥ bhajanīyaḥ sūrye udite sati tasya raśmibhiḥ sacā saha saraśmir bhavati samānadīptir bhavati/yad vā taiḥ sahito bhavati/yataḥ sūrye udite sati raśmir bhavaty ataḥ/*. Also Mādhava: *udite sūrye/*. Geldner refers to Sāyaṇa and has similar interpretation: "Dies ist dein zeitgemässer Anteil, der bei (aufgehender) Sonne bestrahlte".

In ṚV. 4.31.5 where *ábhakṣi sū́rye sácā* occurs, Mādhava again renders it as *sūrye udite*. Geldner offers similar translation: "Ich habe meinen Anteil an der (aufgehenden) Sonne bekommen".[10] Sāyaṇa, however, has: *he Indra tvām ahaṁ sūrye sūryeṇa sacā saha abhakṣi bhaje.*

Oldenberg first remarked that whether we should regard *sū́'re* as loc. or dat. sg. could be decided if we had more exact knowledge of the mythology (Ob nun Dativ oder Lokativ könnte nur konkretere Kenntnis des Mythus, als wir besitzen, entscheiden). But then he also felt that ṚV 7.69.4 would perhaps show that the event of mounting the chariot of Aśvinā by Sūryā occurred at night 'for the sake of the sun', thus indicating his preference for the dative. In ṚV. 7.69.4 occurs the word *pa'ritakmyā* (for full citation see below) which Oldenberg took to mean 'night'.

Now in the first instance the meaning of *pa'ritakmyā* itself is not certain (See Mayrhofer's Kurz. Wört.). And on the other hand we have the following references to show that when Sūryā or the daughter of the sun mounts the chariot of Aśvinā, the horses (or the winged horses called the birds) yoked to their chariot rush to avoid the heat (of the sun), which means that the event did not occur at night but at sun-rise.

1. ṚV. 4.43.6:

síndhur ha vāṁ rasa'yā siñcad áśvān ghṛṇā' váyo 'ruṣā'saḥ pári gman/
tád ū ṣú vām ajiráṁ ceti yā'naṁ yéna pátī bhávathaḥ sūryā'yāḥ //

"Der Sindhu netzte zusammen mit der Rasā eure Rosse, die roten Vögel entgingen den Gluten. Diese eure rasche Fahrt ward hochberühmt, durch die ihr die Gatten der Sūryā wurdet." (Lüders, Varuṇa I. 139).

Geldner in his note on this verse says: "Sie (i.e. the winged horses) entgehen der Hitze, die das Rennen oder die Nähe der Tochter der Sonne verursachte". This is very doubtful. More running will cause more heat; and however fast the horses may run that will not help them to get away from Sūryā's heat once she had mounted the

9 It is not necessary to consider this as an instance of word haplology by adding *sū́ro* before *duhitā́*: **sū́re* [*u'dite sū́ro*] *duhitā́* > *sū́'re duhitā́'*. See the remark on p. 72 about *duhitā* in this context meaning 'daughter of the sun'.

10 In view of the fact that in these two cases we get *sū́rye sácā*, it is tempting to suggest that in the passage under discussion we understand *sū́re* to stand for *sū́re sácā*.

chariot. The heat referred to is not that of Sūryā but of the sun, and the horses try to avoid it by running away swiftly from him ("Die sengende Glut hat sicherlich ihren Grund in der Nähe der Sonne". (Lüders, Varuṇa I. 139).

2. ṚV. 5.73. 5:

ā' yád vāṁ sūryā' ráthaṁ tíṣṭhad raghuṣyádaṁ sádā /
pári vām aruṣā' váyo ghṛṇā' varanta ātápaḥ //

"Stets, wenn die Sūryā euren rasch dahinfahrenden Wagen bestieg, hielten sich eure roten Vögel die Gluten ab, so dass sie nicht versengten." (Lüders, Varuṇa I. 139). The epithet *raghuṣyád* becomes significant since the chariot would be quick in getting away from the (sun's) heat.

3. ṚV. 7.69.4 (referred to by Oldenberg):

yuvóḥ śríyaṁ pári yóṣāvṛṇīta sū'ro duhitā' páritakmyāyām / yád devayántam ávathaḥ śácībhiḥ pári ghraṁsám omá'nā vāṁ va'yo gāt //

"The maiden chose your beauty over that of others (*pári*), the daughter of the sun .... When you helped the devoted one[11] with (your) strengths, the bird (i.e. the winged horse) of yours escaped with your help the heat (of the sun)."[12] (Weil ihr dem Gottergebenen mit euren Kräften halfet, ist euer Vogelgespann durch euren Schutz der Hitze entgangen—Lüders, Varuṇa I. 139 f.n.2. He does not give the translation of the first two quarters).

4. ṚV. 1.119.2 :

svádāmi gharmáṁ práti yanty ūtáya ā' vāṁ ūrjā'nī ráthaṁ aśvinā́ruhat /

"I prepare (your) hot drink, your protections approach (me, the worshipper). Ūrjānī (i.e. Sūryā) has mounted your chariot, oh Aśvinā." The context of mounting the chariot clearly indicates that ūrjānī stands for Sūryā (cf. Sāyaṇa). One wonders why Geldner chooses to interpret it as 'die personifizierte úrj (Stärkung),' when in the following verse - *yád aśvinā váhathaḥ sūrím ā' váram* which he translates 'da ihr Aśvin die Herrin nach Wunsch fahret'—in sūri he sees wordplay with Sūryā (also Oldenberg). The word *gharmá* clearly indicates that the verse refers to the pravargya which is offered in the forenoon and afternoon (*pūrvāhṇe* and *aparāhṇe*), and not at night.

All these references indicate that sūryā mounted the chariot of Aśvinā when the sun had appeared. This lends support to the interpretation of *sū́re*= *sū́re údite.*

In the end we will take note of an opinion expressed by Wilhelm Havers in his Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.[13] In this book he

11 Probably the one offering *pravargya*, cf. 1.119.2.

12 The translation follows Lüders. A different translation is proposed by H. D. Velankar, Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown, p. 235. He takes *váyaḥ* as the invigorating food of *Aśvinā.*

13 Strassburg, 1911.

illustrates mainly the use of the first and the second person pronominal forms *me* and *te* as Dativus Sympatheticus. His conclusion regarding the use of sympathetic dative as against the possessive genitive is that Sanskrit has very faithfully preserved the situation of the I.E. stage which was as follows: Sympathetic dative with the pronouns of the first and second person, genitive with all other pronouns, substantives and participles (p. 44). All instances collected by him also show that the use of sympathetic dative is *adverbial* ('ein zum Verbum des Satzes gehörender Dativ' p. 20) and not *adnominal*. He thus translates *dyáur me pitā́ janitā́* ṚV. 1.164.33 'der Himmel ist mir Vater und Erzeuger'[14] (p. 35, also 8), *sákhāyas ta indra viśváha syāma* 7.21.9 'dir, O Indra, mögen wir stets Freunde sein' (p. 36), *sapátnīṁ me párā dhama* 10.145.2 'blase mir die Nebenfrau hinweg' (p. 30, also p. 19).

It is therefore surprising that suddenly in *vṛ́ṣṇe sapátnī śúcaye sábandhū* ṚV. 3.1.10 Havers chooses an adnominal interpretation and translates (p. 36) 'die beiden Frauen des glänzenden Stiers'. The text clearly shows that the dative is adverbial and not used as possessive genitive. Havers should have translated the expression as Geldner, in fact, has done: "Die beiden Verwandten (Himmel und Erde) sind dem reinen Bullen seine geminsamen Frauen"[15]. The verb √*as-* or √*bhū-* has quite commonly to be supplied in such cases.

Since *vṛ́ṣṇe sapátnī* cannot be the proper instance of the use of the dative as possessive genitive, there can be no question of finding possible support for that construction as Havers feels to do (p. 36), in *sū́re duhitā́* (daughter of the sun). Havers refers to Oldenberg (Noten) and Keith, JRAS 1910. 471, foot note 1. We have already seen that Oldenberg no doubt prefers *sū́re* as dative, but he certainly does not interpret it as Havers chooses to do. Keith says that perhaps one may think that *sū́re*[16] is dative used as possessive genitive. But he has already remarked that this use of dative to indicate kinship relationship is not illustrated in Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar (pp. 95-96, 1889) and Speyer's Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax (pp.13-15, 1896). One may add that this kind of dative is not noted for Vedic or Classical Sanskrit also by Pāṇini (2.3.12 ff. and Liebich, BB 10.214-217, 1886, for Ait. Br. BB 11. 284-288, 1886), Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax pp. 58-67, 1886, Delbrück, Alt. Syntax pp. 140-150, 1888 (earlier also Über den indogermanischen, speciell den vedischen Dativ KZ 18.81-106, 1869), Hopkins, The Vedic Dative Reconsidered, Trans. and Proc. APA 37. 87-120, 1906, Hopkins, Aspects of the Vedic Dative JAOS 28. 360-406, 1907, Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for Students pp. 310-315, 1916, Renou, Grammaire

14 Geldner apparently ignores the argument of Havers and translates in this and the following two passages *me* and *te* as genitive: "Der Himmel ist mein Vater, der Erzeuger", "Wir wollen allezeit deine Freunde sein, Indra", "blase meine Nebenbuhlerin fort".

15 H. Wenzel, to whom Havers refers, translates 'einem Manne. vermält' (Über den Instrumentalis im Rigveda, Tübingen, 1879, p. 48). Havers' reference p. 47 to be corrected as p. 48.

16 Keith's reference 1.34.7 to be corrected as 1.34.5.

Sanscrite pp. 296-299, 1930, Grammaire de la Langue Védique pp. 348-350, 1952, Siddheshwar Varma, Syntax of the Dative Case in the Ṛgveda, (Ganganath) Jha Commemoration Volume pp. 435-456, 1937, and Gonda, The Unity of the Vedic Dative, Lingua 11. 141 - 150, 1962.

Since *vṛ́ṣṇe* is not the correct instance of the dative in the sense of genitive, and since there is no other parallel in Sanskrit for a similar use of the dative, the remark of Havers (p. 45) that "Nur bei Kategorie V (i.e. which concerns instances pertaining to human relationships) ist auch der symp. Dativ sonstiger Nomina ziemlich vertreten und zwar sogar in rein adnominaler Funktion" is not correct.

SANSKRIT SAKHI

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The etymology of *sákhi* from √ *khyā-* has been given in the Uṇādisūtras: *samāne khyaḥ sa codāttaḥ* (This has been explained as *samānam khyāyate janair iti sakhā*) 4.136. Yāska in his Nirukta (7.30) renders *sákhāyaḥ* by *samāna-khyānāḥ* which suggests the same etymology.

Grassmann also derives *sákhi* from *sa*√*khyā-* and compares it with *sam*√*khyā-* 'to belong to some one'. Böhtlingk-Roth, on the other hand, derive *sákhi* from √ *sac-* 'to be associated with, to be united with'. It is likely that this etymology was suggested by such occurrences in the RV as *sákhyā saceya* 8.48.10, *mádhvaḥ pītvá sacevahi tríḥ saptá sákhyuḥ padé* 8.69.7, *ná sá sákhā yó ná dádāti sákhye sacābhúve sácamānāya pitváḥ* 10.117.4. But this etymology from √ *sac-* has been already declared to be very doubtful by Uhlenbeck and Walde-Pokorny. Cuny[1] has attempted to explain away *kh* in *sákhi* as due to analogy with plural forms: **sok*^{w} *ə -i-bhiḥ* > *sakhibhiḥ* and from there **sok*^{w}*ō* > **sakā* > *sakhā*. This explanation, apparently, has not found favour with scholars.

In the present paper it is proposed to derive *sákhi* from **sákha* with the secondary suffix *-i*. *khá* means 'hollow, aperture' or 'a hole in the nave of a chariot's wheel'[2]. The compound **sá-kha* would mean 'who shares with some one else the same hollow of the wheel' or, by the extension of meaning, 'who shares with some one else the same chariot' i.e. 'driving with some one in the same chariot'. *sákhi*, derived from **sákha*, may be compared with *sārathi*, derived from *sarátha*. The lack of vṛddhi in the first syllable of *sákhi* is not without a parallel. Debrunner has already called attention to a few forms without vṛddhi, e.g. *nīḍí*, *sápti* (Alt. Gr. II.2§190b, p.304). It may be mentioned that among the meanings of *sákhi* given by Böht.-Roth we find 'Genosse, Freund,' and also 'Gefährte, Begleiter'. The word *sákhi* may thus refer to the charioteer who drives the chariot, or the warrior who fights from it, or the fellow-travellers who go in the same chariot. The deriva-

1. Symbolae Rozwadowski, Vol. I, p. 90 (1927). I am indebted to Prof. M. Mayrhofer for this reference.
2. *Khé ará iva* RV. 8.77.3; *khé ráthasya* 8.91.7.

tive *sakhyám* would then mean primarily not 'friendship', but 'the act of journeying together in the same vehicle'.

Occurrences of *sákhi* and *sakhyám* in the RV fully support the above interpretation and therefore render the newly suggested etymology plausible.

This can be seen very clearly, in the first instance, in those passages where *sákhi* occurs in the context of a chariot or one of its parts. In RV 6.55, Pūṣan in the first verse is requested to be the charioteer of *ṛta* (i.e. of the hymn looked upon as a chariot) so that the seer and Pūṣan can travel together: *éhi ...... sáṁ sacāvahai / rathír ṛtásya no bhava.* When therefore in verse 5, the seer calls Pūṣan as *sákhā máma,* the expression makes better sense when understood as 'my charioteer'[3] rather than 'my friend'.

In RV 3.60 we are informed that Ṛbhus drive with Indra in the same chariot: *índreṇa yātha sarátham* (verse 4). When therefore in verse 3 we read about them *índrasya sakhyám ṛbhávaḥ sám ānaśuḥ* we would be justified in interpreting *índrasya sakhyám* as '(the privilege of) driving in the same chariot with Indra'. Also in RV 4.35.7 where it is said *sám ṛbhúbhiḥ pibasva ratnadhébhiḥ sakhír yā́ indra cakṛṣé sukṛtyā́* the passage can be understood as 'drink (soma) with Ṛbhus, who distribute precious gifts, whom you, oh Indra, have made your driving companions due to their good work.'

In RV 10.168.2 waters[4] are described as going with Vāta sharing with him the same yoke and the same chariot: *tā́bhiḥ sayúk saráthaṁ devá īyate.* When in the next verse Vāta is called *apā́ṁ sákhā* it can mean 'driving with waters in the same chariot'. In RV 4.4.10 we read about Agni: *yás tvā sváśvaḥ suhiraṇyó agna upayā́ti vásumatā ráthena / tásya trātā́ bhavasi tásya sákhā........* 'Agni, when some one who has good horses, good gold, approaches you with a chariot containing riches, you become his protector, you become his charioteer ....' Similarly it is said about Soma that he drives with Indra (*sákhā*) when he mounts Indra's chariot: *ā́ tiṣṭhati ráthaṁ índrasya sákhā* (9.96.2). In RV 9.97.6 Soma is asked to go with the gods in the same chariot *(devaír yāhi sarátham);* now if in the preceding verse we read *índur devā́nām úpa sakhyám āyán* we have every reason to understand it as 'when Soma approaches the gods to drive with them in the same chariot'. In RV 7.72.2 in the first two quarters of the verse, the Aśvins are requested to come in a chariot with the gods (*ā́ no devébhir úpa yātam arvā́k*

3. It may be noted that in verse 2 of this hymn Pūṣan is called *rathī́tamam* and *sákhāyam* and in verse 3 *dhī́vatodhīvataḥ sákhā* 'the charioteer of everyone who has a prayer (i.e. prayer looked upon as a chariot).'
4. *Viṣṭhā́ḥ,* in my opinion, are not the sub-divisions of Vāta thought of as his feminine followers (Geldner), but waters.

sajóṣasā nāsatyā ráthena). And in the following two quarters of the verse we read *yuvór hí naḥ sakhyá pítryāṇi samānó bándhur utá tásya vittam*. This can refer to the singers' reminding the Aśvins of the fact that their parents had driven with them in their chariot (*sakhyá pítryāṇi*), and that since the singers also enjoy the same privilege, this is the common bond between the singers and the gods.[5] A Muni, impelled by the gods, is described as *vátasyáśvo vāyóḥ sákhā* (10.136.5). In the context of the horse, *sákhā* seems to mean 'charioteer' ('the horse of Vāta, the charioteer of Vāyu'). Similarly, the Maruts who bring the healing remedies with them are addressed as *yūyáṁ sakhāyaḥ saptayaḥ* 'you, the charioteers, (you) the horses' (8.20.23).

When in RV 10.27.6 we read, *yé ninidúḥ sákhāyam ádhy ū nv eṣu paváyo vavṛtyuḥ*, this means that 'those who have ridiculed the warrior (*sákhāyam*), on them may the rims of the chariot roll'. In the RV, if the horses are called *sákhāyā*, what is intended to convey is perhaps not that the horses are friends of each other but that they share the same chariot, i.e. are yoked to the same chariot. *Cf*. *hárī ví mucā sákhāyā* 'unyoke the horses who draw the same chariot' (6.40.1)[6], *bráhmaṇā te brahmayújā yunajmi hárī sákhāyā sadhamáda āśú* 'I yoke for you with a prayer at a common Soma session your two horses who are (customarily) yoked by a prayer, (horses) who draw the same chariot, the quick ones' (3.35.4), *á ca tvám etá vŕṣaṇā váhāto hárī sákhāyā sudhúrā sváṅgā* 'May these strong horses, who draw the same chariot with a good yoke and who have beautiful limbs, carry you here' (3.43.4).

The word *sákhi* is often used in the context of the verb √*yuj-* 'to yoke' or some derivative from it and these uses also support the new interpretation of *sákhi*. Viṣṇu is called *índrasya yújyaḥ sákhā* (1.22.19) which means 'riding with Indra in the same chariot, fit to be yoked', i.e. a constant co-traveller with Indra. When, however, *sákhi* and *yújya* are used to denote two different persons, one of them may refer to the charioteer and the other to the fighter, both riding the same chariot. RV 2.28.10 reads *yó me rājan yújyo vā sákhā vā svápne bhayáṁ bhīráve máhyam áha* 'who, oh king told me, the timid one, frightful things in dream, whether the fighter

5. Also cf. RV 10.29.8 where many tribes are said to be striving for a drive with Indra (*yatante sakhyáya pūrvīḥ*). This interpretation of *sakhyá* in this verse is suggested by the context where in the same verse Indra is asked to mount the chariot (*á smā ráthaṁ ná pṛtanāsu tiṣṭha yáṁ bhadráyā sumatyá codayáse*). For the context of the chariot also cf. RV 10.64.7 *prá vo vāyúṁ rathayújaṁ púraṁdhiṁ stómaiḥ kṛṇudhvaṁ sakhyáya pūṣáṇam*. 'You make with your praise songs Vāyu, Purandhi and Pūṣan yoke the chariot so that all may drive together (*sakhyáya*)'. Maruts are called *sákhāyaḥ* of Indra in the context of the horses yoked to a chariot. *vátasya yuktánt suyújaś cid áśvān kavíś cid eṣó ajagann avasyúḥ / víśve te átra marútaḥ sákhāyaḥ* (5.31.10).

6. Also 3.43.1 *priyá sákhāyā ví muca*.

or the charioteer'. In 7.19.9 the singers request Indra to choose them for *yujya*-type of association with him (*asmán vṛṇīṣva yújyāya tásmai*). When in the preceding verse we read *priyása ít te maghavann abhíṣṭau náro madema śaraṇé sákhāyaḥ,* this can mean 'may we, the heroes liked by you, oh bounteous one, take delight in your protection, in your resort, (we) riding in your chariot (*sákhāyaḥ*)'.[7] Instead of *yújya,* we find sometimes the root-noun *yúj* being used. Indra's association with Pūṣan in the same chariot during their exploits against enemies is expressed as *ūtá ghā sá rathítamaḥ sákhyā sátpatir yujá / índro vṛtrâṇi jighnate* (6.56.2). Indra is described as making a *somin* (who offers Soma) his associate in the chariot, *sákhāyaṁ kṛṇute yújam* (8.62.6).[8] But one who does not give an offering or press Soma, he does not get this privilege: *átrā yújaṁ kṛṇute yó haviṣmān násunvatā sakhyáṁ vaṣṭi śúraḥ* (10.42.4). Indra, as a swan, associating with heavenly waters and moving with them in the same chariot seems to be the reason why they are described as shy (*bībhatsú*): *bībhatsúnāṁ sayújam haṁsám āhur apáṁ divyánāṁ sakhyé cárantam* (10.124.9).[9] The idea of common sharing is neatly expressed in *dvá suparṇá sayújā sákhāyā samānáṁ vṛkṣáṁ pári ṣasvajāte* (1.164.20) 'Two birds, sharing the same yoke and the same nave (i.e. the same chariot) embrace the same tree'.[10]

The use of the word *sákhi* in the context of the verbs *ā √vṛt* and *ā √vah* also points to the interpretation 'riding in the same chariot'. In RV. 4.1.1, the gods are said to have commissioned Agni as their charioteer (*tváṁ hý agne sádam ít samanyávo deváso deváṁ aratím nyeriré*). And then in verse three, when it is said, *sákhe sákhāyam abhý á vavṛtsvāśúṁ ná cakráṁ ráthyeva ráṁhyā .....*, it can mean 'Oh charioteer, turn towards (Varuṇa) who will drive with you (*sákhāyam*), as the wheel (rolls) towards the horse, as the two quick horses (rush towards the goal)'.[11] The singer who wishes to ride together (*sakhāyám*) with the Aśvinā everyday wishes to turn (their chariot) towards himself (*á vāṁ narā purubhujā vavṛtyāṁ divédive cid aśvinā sakhīyán* (5.49.1).[12] The

7. In 9.66.18 we read about Soma, *vṛṇīmáhe sakhyáya vṛṇīmáhe yújyāya.* Even *vajra* is called *yújya sákhi* (6.21.7).
8. Also cf. 1.129.4, 4.32.6.
9. *Yoga,* referring to the yoking of horses to a chariot, appears in connection with *sákhi* in *yógeyoge tavástaraṁ vájevāje havāmahe / sákhāya índram ūtáye* 'we, riding (with Indra) in the same chariot, invite Indra who is stronger in every yoking, in every race for a prize' (1.30.17).
10. The idea of *journeying* together is not present here.
11. Or, combined into one simile as done by Sāyaṇa, 'as the two speedy horses (turn) the quick wheel'. *Ráthya* in this case is taken to mean 'horse' and not 'wheel'.
12. Similarly Yamī says in 10.10.1, *ó cit sákhāyaṁ sakhyá vavṛtyām* 'May I turn hitherwards (Yama), who has come in a chariot, for a common ride'. This common ride seems to be indicative of marriage relation, see below page 85

use of the verb $\bar{a}\sqrt{}vah$- is found in RV 3.4.1: *á deva deván yajáthāya vakṣi sákhā sákhīnt sumánā yakṣy agne* 'oh god, bring here (in a chariot) the gods for sacrifice, a charioteer (bringing) those who drive with him; being of good mind, offer them sacrifice, oh Agni'. The meaning is equally clear in RV 8.2.27, where about Indra it is said: *éha hárī brahmayújā śagmá vakṣataḥ sákhāyam* 'May the horses, yoked with a prayer (to the chariot), the able ones, bring the warrior here.'[13]

In RV 7.95.4 Sarasvatī is described as going over to the *sakhis* who, with bent knees, approach her: *mitájñubhir namasyaìr iyānā́ rāyā́ yujā́ cid úttarā sákhibhyaḥ.*[14] The expression *mitájñu* 'with bent knees' has caused difficulty because it is difficult to imagine some one moving forward with bent knees. But this difficulty disappears when we understand *sákhibhyaḥ* not as 'friends' but as referring to the singers who go to Sarasvatī in the same chariot. Since they drive in a chariot they have their knees bent while approaching Sarasvatī. Instead of *mitájñu* appears *abhijñú* in 3.39.5. There Indra is called the charioteer (*sákhā*) going with Navagvas, the fighters riding the same chariot (*sákhis*). The posture of the Navagvas is described as 'with bent knees' (*abhijñú*): *sákhā ha yátra sákhibhir návagvair abhijñv á sátvabhir gā́ anugmán.*[15]

It has been mentioned above that the term *sákhi* could be applicable either to the charioteer or to the fighter riding the same chariot. Hence if we get an expression like *sákhā sákhyuḥ śṛṇavad vándanāni* (3.43.4) it is better interpreted to mean 'may the fighter hear the praises of the charioteer'. That the heroes going to war were often praised by their charioteers is well known. Hence we read in 8.43.14 *tváṁ hý agne agnínā .... sákhā sákhyā samidhyáse* 'For, you, oh Agni, are kindled by fire .... as a warrior (is roused) by the charioteer'.[16] Incidentally it seems that the place of the charioteer in the chariot was to the right of the warrior. Indra asks Vāyu (cf. Lüders, *Varuṇa* I. 221) to drive his chariot and

13. Also cf. 10.73.4 where Indra is requested to bring Nāsatyā with him so that they may all ride together, *samaná túrṇir úpa yāsi yajñám á násatyā sakhyā́ya vakṣi.* *Sakhyá* also appears in relation with *vi*$\sqrt{}$*yu*- 'to disjoin, separate', *mā́kir na ená sakhyā́ ví yauṣus táva cendra vimadásya ca ṛ́ṣeḥ / ...... asmé te santu sakhyā́ śivā́ni* (10.23.7). Also 8.86.1.
14. '(Sarasvatī) is being approached by the worshipful ones with bent knees. She, yoked with riches (i.e. carrying riches with her), is more bountiful to (the singers) riding the same chariot.'
15. 'When the charioteer (Indra) followed the cows with Navagvas as fighters driving with him with bent knees...' The same picture of sitting with bent knees in a chariot is to be seen in the race (1.37.10), in approaching Agni found in a distant place (1.72.5), in Indra's coming to the worshippers (8.92.3), in the worshippers' wanderings on the broad earth (3.59.3), and in Indra's winning the cows with his singers (6.32.3).
16. Cf. *sákhyā* .... *stutáḥ* 10.50.2 in the context of battles, races or fights with Vṛtra. Also cf. 8.92.33 where singers riding with Indra praise him. Also cf Lüders' interpretation of RV 10.73.5 (*Varuṇa* I 180 f.n. 2 and II 424).

stand on his right. The two would then kill the enemies: *ásaś ca tvám dakṣiṇatáḥ sákhā me 'dhā vṛtrā́ṇi jaṅghanāva bhū́ri* (8.100.2).[17]

Sometimes those who went in a chariot to the battle-field abandoned the chariot and fled back. This is what the gods did when they went with Indra to fight against Vṛtra. Indra is therefore advised by the Maruts to take them with him in the chariot so that he may win the war (*vṛtrásya tvā śvasáthād ī́ṣamāṇā víśve devā́ ajahur yé sákhāyaḥ / marúdbhir indra sakhyám te astv áthemā́ víśvāḥ pŕtanā jayāsi* 8.96.7).[18] In the light of this explanation of *sákhi*, RV 8.45.37 seems to have the following meaning: *kó nú maryā ámithitaḥ sákhā sákhāyam abravīt / jahā́ kó asmád īṣate* 'Which warrior (*sákhā*), if he is not provoked (by his charioteer), oh men, has said to the charioteer, 'he has left me.' Who runs away from us?'

Sūryā, or the daughter of the sun, is often described in the Ṛgveda as going with Aśvinā in the same chariot. *ā́ yád vām sūryā́ rátham tíṣṭhad raghuṣyádam sádā* (5.73.5), *tám vām rátham vayám adyā́ huvema .... aśvinā .... yáḥ sūryā́m váhati* (4.44.1). Sūryā has been identified with Uṣas by Hillebrandt. This identification gets support from the new interpretation of *sákhi* because Uṣas is called the *sákhi* of Aśvinā, i.e. she goes with them riding in their chariot (*sákhābhūd aśvínor uṣā́ḥ* 4.52.2 and *utá sákhāsy aśvínoḥ* 4.52.3).[19] In 1.119.5 we are told about a *yóṣā* who chose Aśvinā for her husbands and went with them for a common ride (*sakhyá*) in their chariot: *yuvór aśvinā vápuṣe yuvāyújam rátham vā́ṇī yematur asya śárdhyam / ā́ vām patitvám sakhyā́ya jagmúṣī yóṣāvṛṇīta jényā yuvā́m pátī* "The two voices have guided, oh Aśvinā, the chariot yoked by you for your beauty......[20] The young woman[21] to be won, who married you (*patitvám jagmúṣī*) for a common ride (in your chariot) chose you two for her husbands". This connection between marriage and common ride in a chariot is also reflected in the dialogue between Yama and Yamī. In 10.10.2 when Yama rejects the initial entreaty of Yamī he says, *ná te sákhā sakhyám vaṣṭy etát sálakṣmā yád víṣurūpā bhávāti*

17. Cf. the word *savyaṣṭhṛ-* (or *savyeṣṭhṛ-*), *savyaṣṭhā-* (or *savyeṣṭha-*) 'warrior' (lit. standing on the left) in the Śat. Br. 5.4.3.18; also *índraḥ savyaṣṭhā́ś candrámāḥ sā́rathiḥ* AV 8.8.23 cited in BR. As mentioned in BR, the word *savyeṣṭha*, however, means a charioteer according to Patañjali on P. 8.3.97 and the Skt. lexicons (AK 2.8.60 and H. 760). [Some editions or commentaries give the reading *savyeṣṭhṛ-*].
18. But the Maruts also seem to have once abandoned Indra. cf. *yád índram ájahātana / kó vaḥ sakhitvá ohate* (8.7.31) 'that you abandoned Indra. Who (now) is anxious to ride with you?'
19. Lüders (*Varuṇa* II, p. 370, f.n. 1), however, says that Uṣas is called the *sákhā* i.e. 'the friend' of Aśvinā because the latter appear early in the morning.
20. *asya śárdhyam* is 'quite unclear' according to Geldner. Sāyaṇa, *asya rathasya yat śardhyam prāpyam ādityākhyam avadhibhūtam lakṣyam.*
21. Sāyaṇa identifies *yóṣā* with *sūryā́*.

'This kind of common ride with you, the rider (*sákhā* i.e. Yama who has come in a chariot) does not desire, (the ride) by which a common origin (lit. sign) may turn into being of different forms (i.e. of different origins, not blood relationship)'.

The word *sákhi* 'who drives in the same chariot' has also been used in the Ṛgveda with a slight shift in meaning to refer to those who go in the same ship. In 7.88 we read in verse 4 that Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha in his ship[21a] (*vásiṣṭhaṁ ha váruṇo nāvy ádhāt*) in response to the seer's desire expressed in verse 3 to go on a voyage together in the same ship (*á yád ruhāva váruṇaś ca nāvaṁ prá yát samudrám īráyāva mádhyam*). It is with reference to these journeys in the same ship that the seer uses the word *sakhyá* in plural[22] when in verse 5 he asks Varuṇa, *kvà tyáni nau sakhyó babhūvuḥ* and in verse 6 he refers to himself as the *sákhī* of Varuṇa. In the story of Bhujyu who was thrown in the sea and was rescued by Aśvinā we read *utá tyáṁ bhujyúm aśvinā sákhāyo mádhye jahur durévāsaḥ samudré* (7.68.7) 'And those who went with him (in the ship)[23] with wicked intention, oh Aśvinā, threw Bhujyu in the middle of the sea'. When we come across the use of the word *sákhi* with the verb √*tṛ*- 'to cross', or its derivative, it is better to interpret it as referring to the one who goes in a ship rather than in a chariot. In 10.53.8 the context makes this quite clear. *áśmanvatī rīyate sáṁ rabhadhvam út tiṣṭhata prá taratā sakhāyaḥ / átrā jahāma yé ásann áśevāḥ śiván vayám út tarema abhí vājān* '(The river) full of stones is flowing; hold fast, stand up, and cross over, you all going in this ship (*sákhāyaḥ*). We will leave those who were unkind (to us). May we cross over (to the other bank) towards the favourable rewards'. The same meaning is also probably intended when in 10.31.1 we read *tébhir vayáṁ suṣakhāyo bhavema táranto víśvā duritá syāma* 'May we go well with them in the same ship, may we be crossing over all dangers'.[24]

In the Ṛgvedā the prayer of the seers is often looked upon as a chariot. Hence the singers who jointly sing the prayer are called *sákhāyaḥ* 'who ride the same vehicle in the form of the

21a. According to Lüders (*Varuṇa* I 320-21) this ship is the sun and the sea in which Varuṇa and Vasiṣṭha sail is the heavenly ocean.
22. If 'friendship' was intended, the seer would have probably used *sakhyáṁ* in singular and Lüders (*Varuṇa*, I. 315) who interprets *sakhyám* as friendship does indeed translate the verse as though the singular form was used.
23. It may be noted that Geldner translates the word *sákhāyaḥ* in this verse as 'die Gefährten'.
24. 3.9.1 *sákhāyas tvā vavṛmahe deváṁ mártāsa ūtáye apáṁ nápātaṁ subhágaṁ sudīditiṁ suprátūrtim anehásam* / 'The men, travelling in ship, chose the kind god for help, the son of waters who shines brightly, who crosses (the waters) easily, and who is faultless'.

prayer'.[25] In 1.5.1 we read *ā tv étā ní ṣīdaténdram abhí prá gāyata / sákhāyaḥ stómavāhasaḥ* 'Come here, sit down, (and) sing (a song) with reference to Indra, you who ride together in a praise-song as a vehicle'. Similarly in 6.45.4 we find *sákhāyo bráhma-vāhase 'rchata prá ca gāyata* 'you who ride together, praise and sing (for Indra) who comes in the vehicle in the form of a prayer'. The same picture of a god riding a chariot in the form of a praise-song and leading it appears in 1.173.9, *ásāma yáthā suṣakhāya ena........ ásad yáthā na índro vandaneṣṭhās turó ná kárma náyamāna ukthā* 'so that we may be good riders with him .... so that Indra may stand in a praise-song guiding the praises as the clever worker (conducts) his task'.[26] The prayer and the sacrifice are also looked upon as a ship and the priests who, as though, sail in it together are called *sákhāyaḥ*. In 10.101.2 we read *mandrā kṛṇu-dhvaṁ dhíya ā tanudhvaṁ nāvam aritrapáraṇīṁ kṛṇudhvam / .... prāñcaṁ yajñáṁ prá ṇayatā sakhāyaḥ /* 'Make (the songs) agreeable, stretch forth (your) thoughts, fashion a ship which crosses (the river) with rudders.... (Oh priests) who sail together carry forward (your) sacrifice'.[27]

When *sákhi* is used in the context of finding a path, or going to or coming from a distant land, it gives better sense if it is interpreted as 'driving in the same chariot'. In 1.80.6 we read *mandānā índro ándhasaḥ sákhibhyo gātúm icchati* 'Indra, delighted with Soma, seeks a way out for those who drive with him'.[28] In 1.53.7 we find *námyā yā indra sákhyā parāváti nibarháyo námuciṁ nāma māyínam* 'When you, oh Indra, with Namī as your charioteer struck down Namuci, who knows magic, in the distant land'. And in 6.45.1 we have *yá ānayat parāvátaḥ súnītī turvásaṁ yádum / índraḥ sá no yúvā sákhā* 'Indra who brought here Turvaśa and Yadu from a distance, leading them well, that Indra is our young charioteer.'[29]

The interpretation of *sákhi* (*sa-khi*) suggested in this paper seems to derive support from the way it is placed between words

25. For priests being called *sákhāyaḥ* J. Harmata has a different explanation. He observes, "In the light of these data it does not seem an unlikely suggestion that the word *sakhi-* had been used since very early times, perhaps from the Indo-European period, to designate members of separate social groups. As a result of social development, when the different occupational groups became more and more sharply delimited, this particular use of the word was generally established in old Iranian. more precisely in the language of the Avesta and in old Persian. This development is reflected in the particularized meaning of the Avestan word *haxay-* 'member of a priestly college'". AO (Hungarica) 5.195 ff (1955).
26. Also cf. 4.25.1; priests, busy with the performance of a sacrifice or engaged in singing a praise-song, are often called *sákhāyaḥ*, cf. 6.16.22, 3.29.9, 10.88.17, 6.26.8, 5.7.1, 8.1.16, 10.61.25, 5.45.6, 1.53.11, 4.17.18, 4.31.3, 7.31.1, 10.71.2. 7, 8, etc. etc.
27. Also cf. *supārāh sunvatáḥ sákhā* 1.4.10, 8.32.13.
28. Also cf. *sákheva sákhye gātuvíttamo bhava* 9.104.5.
29. *yéṣām índro yúvā sákhā* also occurs in 8.45.1, 2, 3.

like *sá-manasaḥ* (sharing common thought) and *sá-nīḷāḥ* (sharing common nest) in *úd budhyadhvaṁ sámanasaḥ sakhāyaḥ sám agním indhvaṁ bahávaḥ sánīḷāḥ* (10.101.1).[30] Similarly we have a parallelism between *sa-jātāḥ* and *sa-khāyaḥ* in 10.103.6: *imáṁ sajātā ánu vīrayadhvam índraṁ sakhāyo ánu sáṁ rabhadhvam* /[31].

A note on *bhrātrá*

In Grassmann's Wörterbuch *bhrātrá* is equated with *bhrātṛtvá* 'Brüderschaft, Verwandtchaft der Brüder'. In all the four cases where the word occurs in the Ṛgveda, there occurs also the word *sákhi* (or *sákhya*). In this context it seems that it woud be better to interpret *bhrātrá*, not as 'brotherhood', but as a primary derivative[32] from √*bhṛ-* (in the sense of 'being carried or borne').

RV. 4.10.8: *śivā naḥ sakhyā́ sántu bhrātrā́gne devéṣu yuṣmé / sá no nā́bhiḥ sádane sásminn ū́dhan //* "May our driving together, may our being borne together, oh Agni, be auspicious among you gods. That is our relationship in the house, at the same udder". According to Geldner *ū́dhan* 'udder' is the sacrifice. But Lüders (*Varuṇa* II 395) points out that *ū́dhan* refers to the heavenly udder which is the "Urquell des Lebens im höchsten Himmel". The gods and men have their origin there.

RV. 4.25.2 cd[33]: *ká índrasya yújyaṁ káḥ sakhitváṁ kó bhrātráṁ vaṣṭi kaváye ká ūtī́ /* 'Who desires for being joined with Indra, who riding (with him) in the same chariot, who being borne (with him), who is fit for the wise god's favour?'

RV. 4.23.6: *kím ā́d ámatraṁ sakhyáṁ sákhibhyaḥ kadā́ nú te bhrātráṁ prá bravāma* 'What kind of (Soma) cup was it which served for driving together[34] for those who rode in it? When shall we proclaim our being borne with you (in the chariot)?'

RV. 2.1.9: *tvám agne pitáram iṣṭíbhir náras tvā́m bhrātrā́ya śámyā tanūrúcam / tváṁ putró bhavasi yás te 'vidhat tváṁ sákhā suśévaḥ pāsy ādhṛ́ṣaḥ //* 'To you, oh Agni, (come) men with requests as (one

30. It may be noted that the author of the Padapāṭha does not separate *sákhāyaḥ* with an avagraha as he does in the case of the other two words.
31. The occurrence of *sákhāyā* with *su-dhúrā* and *su-áṅgā* qualifying *hárī* may also be cited as giving supporting evidence. *ā́ ca tvā́m etā́ vṛ́ṣaṇā váhāto hárī sákhāyā sudhúrā sváṅgā* (3.43.4).
32. For the lengthened grade of the root vowel see Alt. Gr. 2.2 § 520b, p. 708.
33. Also cf. 4.25.1.
34. Soma cup looked upon as a chariot.

goes) to one's father, to you, with shining body, (they come) with sacrifice for being borne in it (sacrifice = chariot). You become a son (to him) who dedicates himself to you, you (become) his well-disposed charioteer (and) protect him from attack.'

It is easy to understand that *sákhi* which originally meant 'driving in the same chariot, a charioteer, a warrior' came later to mean 'an associate' or 'a friend'. It is likely that in some passages even in the Ṛgveda *sákhi* is used in the sense of 'a companion, a friend'.[35] But as shown above, the meaning 'charioteer, warrior' is better suited to the context in a large number of Ṛgvedic passages.

* * *

The stem *sákhi-* is known for its peculiar declension. The first five forms are derived from the strengthened grade (*sakhāi-*). In the nom. sg., however, we have *sákhā* and not *sákhāi*. For this final *-ā*, instead of *-āi*, Wackernagel has already noted a parallel form *agná* (loc. sg.) for **agnái*.[36] It has also been pointed out that Avestan has nom. sg. *kavā* (from *kavi-*).

According to Burrow,[37] the *i*-stems and the *u*-stems developed three kinds of declension. The oldest is represented by *sákhi-* with its nom. sg. *sákhā*.[38] The second is represented by a few *u*-stems with the nom. sg. *dyaús*, *gaús*. And the third is represented by the usual type with nom. sg. *-is*, *-us*. As regards the declension of *sákhi*, O. Szemerényi[39] has a different explanation. In his view the nom. sg. *sakhā* is influenced by *rājā* 'king' and *śāstā* 'ruler.' The acc. sg. *sákhāyam* shows that the influence must have come from an *-n* stem and/or an agent noun in *-tar*. He concludes, "It seems, then, that, on closer scrutiny, *sakhā* reveals itself as an unique deviation due to analogy, not as an archaic IE type."

35. E.g. 10.34.2, 10.95.15.
36. Alt. Gr. I § 93, p. 106.
37. The Sanskrit Language pp. 180-181.
38. Besides Avestan *kavā*, Burrow also notes *apratá* RV 8.32.16. He also calls attention to feminine derivatives like *agaḋyī* (and *manā́vī*) and first members in compounds *agnā́-viṣṇū* and *kavā́-sakhá*.
39. KZ 73, 193-194 (1956). For Kuiper's view in this regard see his *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflexion* p. 64.

MADHYE LAGNAM (BAUDHĀYANA Sr. S. 9. 3)

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

Among the various rites which precede the actual day of pressing Soma in a Soma sacrifice occurs Pravargya.[1] This rite is considered to have been once an independent sacrifice before it became part of a Soma sacrifice. In essence it consists of offerings of hot milk of a cow and a she-goat to Aśvinā. The milk is first heated in a specially prepared earthen vessel, called Mahāvīra, which looks like three pots placed on one another. While describing how the Mahāvīra pot is to be constructed the *Baudhāyana Sr. Sūtra* has used the phrase *madhye lagnam* which has caused some difficulty in understanding it. The text[2] of the Sūtra (9.3) reads as follows : *piṇḍaṁ karoti makhasya śiro-'sīti / . . . atha tṛtīyaṁ mṛdo'pacchidya trīn piṇḍān karoti / teṣām ekaṁ kartre prayacchati gāyatro'sīti / tenāsya budhnaṁ karoti . . . / atiśiṣṭāyai mṛdo'rdhaṁ prayacchati traiṣṭubho'sīti/ tenāsya madhyaṁ karoti . . . / sarvām antato mṛdaṁ prayacchati jāgato'sīti / tenāsya bilaṁ karoti . . . / taṁ prādeśamātraṁ pṛthu-budhnaṁ madhye lagnaṁ karoti /*

The meaning of the passage, except the phrase *madhye lagnam* at the end, is not difficult to follow. The priest cuts off a third of a big clay ball and divides it into three smaller balls. These he hands over to the artisan one after the other and the latter prepares from them the bottom, the middle part, and the top bowl of the Mahāvīra. The whole pot has to be one span in height, broad at the bottom and *madhye lagnam*.

In an unpublished monograph on Pravargya, J. A. B. van BUITENEN takes *madhye lagnam* to mean 'joined in the middle' and finds it difficult to understand. He observes : " Baudhāyana's language is clear enough ; by " half of the remaining clay " we should understand the second clay ball, by " all the remaining clay " the last of the three balls. The picture which thus arises is of three clay balls placed on top of one another, the bottom one flattened out to provide a broad base, the top one hollowed out to provide a receptacle. Curious is Baudhāyana's phrasing *pṛthubudhnaṁ madhye lagnam* " broad of base and joined in the middle ". What middle, since the three elements have two joints? The words read naturally that that part which has a broad base, viz. the central segment, is joined with the top segment, and it is this joint that is described as *madhyam* ".

1. For the latest treatment of Pravargya, see H. LÜDERS, *Varuṇa* II. pp.359-368.
2. Ed. by W. CALAND, p. 268.

van BUITENEN thus tries to get out of the difficulty by assuming that essentially the pot is to be looked upon as having only two parts (by excluding the flat bottom). In that case it will have only one joint in the middle, i.e. between the part prepared from the second clay ball and the top receptacle prepared from the third clay ball. According to him, *madhye* does not refer to the middle part of the vessel but to the joint in the middle. But this is hardly satisfactory. The three parts of the vessel have been clearly distinguished from one another as *budhna, madhya,* and *bila,*[1] and these, when placed on one another, should have two joints. None of these two joints could be looked upon as the middle one. Moreover, even if we assume that there are only two parts of the vessel, what purpose is served by stating that they are 'joined in the middle'? The whole difficulty disappears when we understand *lagnam* not as 'joined' but as 'thin, narrow'. This is suggested by the fact that the word *lagnam* is intended to contrast with *pṛthu* 'broad'. According to the *Baudh. Śr. sūtra,* then, the Mahāvīra pot is required to be 'broad at the bottom' (*pṛthubudhnam*) and 'thin or narrow in the middle' (*madhye lagnam*).

The word *lagna* with the prefix *vi* is already attested in the epics and the classical literature in the sense 'slender, thin'. To cite from BÖHTLINGK-ROTH we get *vilagnamadhyā* 'having slender waist' (*Mbh.* 1. 157. 6), *vilagnamadhyaḥ* (*Mbh,* 3. 112. 4), *vedivilagnamadhyā* (*Mbh.* 4. 35. *629 (3), *Kumāra,* 1. 39) [to which APTE's revised dictionary adds *vilagnamadhyayā* (*Vikramo.* 4. 37)]. Pāli also has *vilagga* and *vilāka* 'slender' which go back to Skt. *vilagna.* In the opinion of LÜDERS[2] Pāli *vilāka* is a case of hyperpālism for the form *vilāga* occurring in the eastern dialect of the original Buddhist canon.

The word *lagna* in the sense 'slender, thin' has not been recorded in the available lexicons. It will now be clear that it does occur in this sense in the *Baudh. Śr. S.*

That this meaning 'narrow, thin' of *lagnam* is what is intended in the *Baudh. Śr. S.* will become clear also from the other sūtra sources where the preparation of the Mahāvīra, or the Vāyu vessels which are similar to it in form, is referred to. In the *Āp. Śr. S.* occurs the word *saṁnata* in 15. 2. 14: *mahāvīraṁ karoti . . . prādeśamātram ūrdhvasānum upariṣṭād āsecanavantaṁ madhye saṁnataṁ vāyavyaprakāram* " . . . verfertigt er den Mahāvīra . . . Dieser soll eine Spanne hoch sein, einen erhobenen Kopf (Oberteil) und im oberen Teile eine Vertiefung zum Eingiessen der Flüssigkeit haben; in der Mitte soll

1. For a *kośa* with three parts clearly distinguished from each other as *budhna* 'bottom', *udara* 'middle', and *bila* 'top', cf. *Ch. Up.* 3. 15. 1 : *antarikṣodaraḥ kośo bhūmibudhno na jīryati......dyaur asyottaraṁ bilaṁ.*

2. *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons,* §132, pp. 106–107.

er eingeknickt[1] sein, wie die Vāyugefässe" (CALAND). The Vāyu vessels referred to here are earlier described in the *Āp. Śr. S.* (12. 1. 4) with almost identical words where the commentator says that these vessels resemble a mortar in shape.[2] The *Satyāṣāḍha Śr. S.* 24. 1. 15 simply says that the Mahāvīra vessel should be *vāyavyaprakāram*. But in the description of the Vāyu vessels it uses the word *saṁnata*[3] as in the *Āp. Śr. S.*

Instead of *saṁnata*, the *Mānava Sr. S.* 2. 3. 1. 13 uses the word *saṁsakta*[4] in the description of the Vāyu vessels. When this sūtra is quoted by the commentator Gopīnāthabhaṭṭa on the *Satyāṣāḍha Śr. S.* 8. 1. 2 he has the reading *saṁlagnamadhyāni* (instead of *saṁsaktamadhyāni* as in van GELDER's edition). The commentator adds that this has been explained as *saṁlagnaṁ kṛśaṁ madhyaṁ yeṣāṁ tāni*[5] 'those whose middle portion is thin'. The *Kātyāyana Śr. S.* 26. 1. 16 uses the phrase *madhyasaṁgṛhītam* in the description of the Mahāvīra vessel. In the commentary, this is explained as *madhyapradeśe saṅkucitam ulūkhalavat muṣṭigrahaṇayogyam* 'narrow in the mid region, like a mortar, capable of being held in a fist.'

---

1. 'in der Mitte gebogen' GARBE, *ZDMG* 34. 330.
2. *ulūkhalākṛtīnīty uktaṁ bhavati.*
3. *madhye saṁnatāni vāyavyāni* 8. 1. 2. Also cf. *Bhāradvāja Śr. S.* 13. 2. 6 (where the phrase is translated as 'contracted in the middle' by C. G. KASHIKAR).
4. *saṁsaktamadhyāni* translated by J. M. van GELDER as 'in the middle bent inward'.
5. *iti bhāṣyakṛtā vyākhyātam* says Gopīnāthabhaṭṭa.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

SAHASAḤ SVAJAḤ IN THE *AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA*, 13.2 (PAÑCIKĀ 3.26)

At the beginning of the thirteenth adhyāya of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* occurs a story which narrates how the metre Gāyatrī brought from heaven *soma* for gods and sages. Having gone to heaven, she frightened the guardians of *soma*, picked it up in her feet and mouth, and started to return. At this point, one of the guardians of *soma*, Kṛśānu by name, shot an arrow at her which cut off the nail of her left foot. From that nail arose a porcupine (*śalyakaḥ*), and the fat (*vaśam*) that flowed became a barren cow (*vaśā*). The *Brāhmaṇa* text (as read by Keith, following Aufrecht) then goes on to say: *atha yaḥ śalyo yad anīkam āsīt sa sarpo nirdaṁśy abhavat sahasaḥ svajo* [1] *yāni parṇāni te manthāvalā yāni snāvāni te gaṇḍūpadā yat tejanaṃ so 'ndhāhiḥ so sā tatheṣur abhavat.* Keith (*Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* (HOS, xxv), Cambridge, Mass., 1920) translates the passage as follows: 'The socket and the point [2] became a serpent, not biting [3]; from its swiftness (came) the viper [4]; the feathers became flying foxes, the sinews earthworms, the shaft the blind snake.[5] Thus became the arrow'.

[1] Haug (Bombay, 1863) *sahasasvajo*, Bibl. Ind. (Calcutta, 1895–1906) and NSP (Bombay, 1925) *sahasa svajo*; Aufrecht (Bonn, 1879), ASS (Poona, 1896), and TSS (Trivandrum, 1942 ff.) *sahasaḥ svajo*.

[2] Out of the different parts of the arrow mentioned here—*śalya, anīka, tejana, parṇa*, and *snāvan*—the first four also occur earlier in *Ait. Br.* (4.8). The meanings of *parṇa* and *snāvan* are not in doubt. The *śalya* 'socket' (Keith) has also been understood by all the Indian commentators as the metallic arrow-head (e.g. *śalyaḥ kṛṣṇāyasanirmito bāṇāgre sthāpitaḥ* Sāyaṇa). But about the meanings of *anīka* and *tejana*, there are differences of opinion, Sāyaṇa even being guilty of inconsistency. In *Ait. Br.*, 4.8, he interprets *anīka* 'point' (Keith) as 'shaft' (*patrayuktād bāṇamūlād ūrdhvavartī bhāgo mukham*) and *tejana* 'shaft' (Keith) as the 'sharp point' of the metal head (*tasya lohasya tīkṣṇam agram*). But while commenting on *Ait. Br.*, 13.2, he reverses this position and takes *anīka* to mean the 'tip' of the arrow-head (*śalyasya yad anīkaṁ mukham*) and *tejana* to mean the 'shaft' (*lohapatravyatiriktaṁ kāṣṭham*). Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, whose commentary *Sukhapradā* has been published in the Trivandrum edition of *Ait. Br.* (1942), agrees with the latter explanation of Sāyaṇa (*anīkam = agraḥ* or *śarasyāsyam* and *tejanam = yaṣṭiḥ*). But Bhaṭṭabhāskara, excerpts from whose commentary have been published in the Trivandrum edition mentioned above, seems to agree somewhat with the former explanation of Sāyaṇa. According to him, *anīka* means *mukha* and together with *śalya*, the metallic arrow-head, it constitutes the *daṇḍa* of the arrow. But he differs from Sāyaṇa in that he does not take *tejana* to mean 'sharp point' but the part of the arrow which is placed on the bow-string (*jyānidhānasthānam*). It seems, however, that he refers to Sāyaṇa when he says *mukhanaiśityam ity eke*. On *TS*, 6.2.3, where *anīka, śalya*, and *tejana* occur as names of the parts of an arrow, Bhaṭṭabhāskara explains them as *anīkam = mukham* (*iṣoḥ*), *śalyam = śarīraṃ pucchaṃ vā*, and *tejanam = dhārāṃ kāṣṭhaṃ vā*.

[3] This is following Sāyaṇa (*daṃśanāsamarthaḥ sarpaḥ*). According to Sāyaṇa, it is a non-poisonous water-snake called *dundubha*. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya also says that it is a non-biting snake but adds that it subsists on earth (*mṛdbhakṣī daṃśanākṣamadantakaḥ*). According to Bhaṭṭabhāskara, however, *nirdaṃśī = nitarāṃ daṃśanaśīlaḥ*.

[4] According to BR *svaja* 'viper' is attested only in the AV and *Ait. Br.*, according to MW also in the *Āp. Śr. S.*

[5] So also Sāyaṇa and Ṣaḍguruśiṣya. Bhaṭṭabhāskara, however, says that it means *mahāsarpaḥ* (*ardhāhir* seems to be a misprint for *andhāhir*).

From the above translation it will be clear that Keith treats *sahasaḥ* as abl. sg. of *sahas* which he translates as 'swiftness'.[6] He has in this followed Sāyaṇa who explains *sahasaḥ svajaḥ* as *saho vegas tasmāt sahaso bāṇavegāt svaja ubhayataḥśirāḥ sarpo 'bhavat.* The only difference is that while Keith renders *svaja* as 'viper', Sāyaṇa takes it to mean a serpent with mouths at both ends.[7]

This interpretation of *sahasaḥ svajaḥ* is, however, not correct. For, apart from the point whether *sahas* can mean *vega*, it will be observed that in the above account the coming into existence of various creatures is shown to take place from certain concrete objects like the nail, fat, etc. It is therefore very unlikely that one of the creatures, *svaja*, would be shown as arising from an abstract element like swiftness (*sahas*).

Secondly, for this account of creation the author has chosen a particular kind of sentence pattern in which the source material and the resulting creature both appear in the nominative case, e.g.,

yad vaśam (asravat),		*sā vaśā (abhavat),*
yaḥ śalyaḥ *yad anīkam*	} *(āsīt),*	*sa sarpaḥ (abhavat),*
yāni parṇāni,		*te manthāvalāḥ,*
yāni snāvāni,		*te gaṇḍūpadāḥ,*
yat tejanam,		*so 'ndhāhiḥ.*

Hence, if the author had really intended to inform us that the *svaja* arose from *sahas*, he would have expressed it as *yat sahaḥ, sa svajaḥ.* He would not have abandoned his sentence pattern for one instance and given in it the source material in the ablative case.

These possible objections to the interpretation of *sahasaḥ svajaḥ* have been implicitly endorsed by the commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara. He separates *sahasaḥ* into two words as *saha saḥ* and understands the entire line *atha yaḥ śalyo yad anīkam āsīt sa sarpo nirdaṃśy abhavat saha saḥ svajaḥ* as meaning that the serpent called *nirdaṃśin* arose from *śalya* and the serpent called *svaja* arose from *anīka* (*etad uktaṃ bhavati—yaḥ śalyaḥ sa nirdaṃśī nāma sarpo 'bhavat / yad anīkaṃ sa svajo nāma sarpo 'bhavat*). He understands *śalya* (*kārṣṇāyaso bhāgaḥ*) and *anīka* (*mukham*)[8] together to constitute the *daṇḍa* of the arrow. He says that the two parts of the arrow, the *śalya* and the *anīka*, are mentioned together in the same relative clause in order to indicate the simultaneous coming into existence of the two kinds of serpent from them (*ubhayoḥ sahopādānaṃ tatpariṇāmayoḥ sarpayoḥ sahotpattikhyāpanārtham*). He further justifies the use of *saha* in the principal clause on the ground that it is indicative of the two serpents coming out together from the same *daṇḍa* (*tāv ekasmād daṇḍāt saha jāyete / anenābhiprāyeṇa sahagrahaṇaṃ karoti*).

But this explanation of Bhaṭṭabhāskara is not convincing. In the first

[6] 'vehemence' Haug.

[7] So also Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Bhaṭṭabhāskara.

[8] cf. the meaning of *mukham* in the first explanation of Sāyaṇa, p. 376, n. 2, above.

instance, his relating *anīkam* (= *mukham*) to the shaft of the arrow and understanding *śalya* and *anīka* together to constitute the *daṇḍa* is not satisfactory. The *śalya* and the *daṇḍa* are two distinct parts of the arrow. Secondly, the *Brāhmaṇa* passage does not speak about the simultaneous coming into existence of the two kinds of serpent. That is Bhaṭṭabhāskara's guess. Actually there is nothing to prohibit us from imagining that all the reptiles mentioned in this section came into existence together from the different parts of the arrow. Obviously then, the *Brāhmaṇa* mentions *śalya* and *anīka* together in one clause simply because they are not really two separate parts of the arrow, *anīka* being only the point of the metal head *śalya*.[9] And if we assume that the two were mentioned together in order to indicate the *sahotpatti* of the *nirdaṃśī* serpent and the *svaja*, then there was no necessity to use *saha* again to indicate that they were produced together (*saha jāyete*). Even if we understand Bhaṭṭabhāskara as pointing out that the mention together of *śalya* and *anīka* underlines the *sameness of time*, and the use of *saha* in the principal clause underlines *the sameness of material* (*ekasmād daṇḍāt*), even then this latter purpose is already well served by putting together *śalya* and *anīka* in the same clause. There is thus no room for *saha* in this context.

It is therefore better to separate *sahasaḥ* not into two but into three words as *sa ha saḥ*. The expression *sa ha saḥ*, thus obtained, can be interpreted in two ways. (1) The first *saḥ* may be taken to refer to *anīkam* mentioned in the previous sentence. The sentence thus obtained would read as *yad anīkam āsīt sa ha saḥ svajaḥ* 'what was the point, that indeed (became) that *svaja*'. But in this interpretation we cannot give good reason for mentioning *śalya* and *anīka* together, if they were again to be separated for understanding the rise of two different kinds of serpent from them. Moreover, the sentence, thus obtained, differs from the general sentence pattern in that it shows the emphasizing particle *ha* and one more *saḥ* in the principal clause, which is not the case in the other corresponding sentences. (2) In the second interpretation we do not take *sa ha saḥ svajaḥ* as referring to the rise of a serpent (*svaja*) different from the one mentioned previously (*nirdaṃśī sarpaḥ*). We understand it as only giving the name of the serpent which was referred to earlier. The word *nirdaṃśī* 'not biting' describes [10] the serpent whose name is *svaja*. The passage beginning with *atha yaḥ śalyaḥ* therefore may be translated as: 'Now what was the head (of the arrow), what the point, that became the serpent, not biting. That, indeed, (is) that *svaja*.'

The construction *sa ha saḥ* (*svajaḥ*), assumed above, has a parallel in *tad*

[9] When in *Ait. Br.*, 4.8, an arrow is said to have three (*triṣandhi*) or four elements (*catuḥsandhi*), *anīka* and *śalya* are counted separately, the third and the fourth elements being *tejana* and *parṇa*. But when an arrow is said to have two elements (*dviṣandhi*), only *śalya* and *tejana* are mentioned, *anīka* being then included in the *śalya*.

[10] As was seen above, Bhaṭṭabhāskara takes *nirdaṃśī* to be the name of the serpent. This is unlikely. In that case the *Brāhmaṇa* would not have added *sarpaḥ* before it. The word *andhāhiḥ* 'blind snake' which occurs at the end of this section is also a description. Obviously that kind of snake did not have a special name.

dha tat (*parāṅ eva*) ' that (*ārtvijya*), indeed, (is) that (which simply goes away,[11] i.e. is futile, does not help the sacrificer) ', *Ait. Br.*, 15.2 (pañcikā 3.46). The repetition of the pronoun *tat* does not amount to tautology.

If *sahasaḥ* is not to be taken as one word but as two, as suggested by Bhaṭṭabhāskara, or three, as suggested in this paper, then we should not get the *visarga* after the second *sa*. This latter *sa* has been interpreted as the demonstrative pronoun and hence it should lose the *visarga* before any consonant.[12] We expect the text in that case to read as *sa ha* (or *saha*) *sa svajaḥ*. Now among the published editions of *Ait. Br.*, that of Aufrecht, the Ānandāśram edition, and the Trivandrum edition, all read the text with the *visarga* as *sahasaḥ svajaḥ*. But Haug's edition of Bombay and the Bibliotheca Indica edition of Calcutta read the text without the *visarga* as *sahasa svajaḥ* or *sahasasvajaḥ*. This, then, seems to have been the original text. A corruption of *sa ha sa svajaḥ* to *sahasaḥ svajaḥ* in the oral tradition, especially when the text has been handed down in an unaccented form, is easy to understand. In a continuous recitation *sahasasvajaḥ* and *sahasaḥ svajaḥ* are heard alike.[13]

M. A. MEHENDALE

[11] ' remote ' Keith, *nikṛṣṭam* Sāyaṇa, *aśubham* Ṣaḍguruśiṣya.

[12] *Pāṇ.*, 6.1.132.

[13] A Sanskrit rendering of this paper will appear in the Pandit Rajeshvar Shastri Dravid felicitation volume.

SKT. VIŚIPRIYA-

M. A. MEHENDALE
Deccan College, Poona.

This vocable appears in a *mantra* which is used while drawing one of the five *grahas* which are prescribed specially for the Vajapeya sacrifice. Its meaning given by BR is: "*etwa ohne Backenstücke* d. h. *ohne Handhaben an den Seiten,* von Soma-Gefässen". Böhtlingk probably was not sure of this meaning and hence in his shorter dictionary he did not give it. There he simply says that the word has been variously interpreted by the commentators. Monier Williams only repeats this latter statement.

The mantra in question appears as follows in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā 1.7.12.1-2:

yé grahā́ḥ pañcajanīnā yéṣām tisráḥ paramojā́ḥ/daivyaḥ kóśaḥ/

sámubjitaḥ/tiṣām veśipriyāṇām īṣam ūrjam samagrabhīm eṣá te yónir indrāya tvā/ . . . (2)

Keith translates the above as:

"The cups of the five folk,

Of which three are of highest birth,

(And for which) the divine cask (1) has been forced out

Of these that have no handles

The food and strength have I seized;

This is thy birthplace; to Indra thee !"

Keith's foot-note 1 reads as : "*viśipriyāṇām* is apparently 'without *śiprās*', and *śiprā* denotes 'jars' or 'lips', i.e., vessels without mouths or handles, probably."[1]

In the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā (9.4), the mantra has the following text : *gráhā ūrjāhutayo vyánto viprāya matím t'ṣāṁ viśipriyāṇāṁ vo 'hám íṣam ūrjaṁ sámagrabham/* This *mantra*, when it appears in the Śat. Br. (5.1.2.8),[2] has been translated by Eggeling as follows : "Ye cups, of strengthening libations, inspiring the sage with thought, I have gathered together the pith and sap of you, the handleless !"

Eggeling and Keith who interpret *viśipriya* to mean 'handleless' have obviously followed the lead given by BR in analysing the word as *vī-śipriya.* This analysis was already suggested by the Padapāṭha of the Taitt. Saṁ. Following it Sāyaṇa renders the word while commenting on the Taitt. Saṁṃ. as 'furnished with different kinds of rims'. He interprets *śipra* (neut.) as 'jaw' and thinks that with reference to the cups it is metaphorically used in the sense of 'rims'. Read : *vividhāni śiprāṇi hanusthānīyāni pātrāgrāṇi tair upetā viśipriyāḥ.* While commenting on the Śat. Br., Sāyaṇa refers to the Nirukta view (6.17) according to which *śipre* (fem. dual) means 'jaws' (*hanū*) or 'nostrils' (*nāsike*), and says that in the word *vīśipriya* it means 'jaw'. His interpretation of the word is the same as above except that instead of '*tair upetam* he says here '*tatparyantam*'[3] i.e, 'filled upto the

1. One, however, does not understand how this meaning can be reached if *śiprā* means 'jars'. The Taitt. Br. 1.3.9.2 has no comment on this word.

2. The Śat. Br. also has no comment on it.

3. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara also has the same interpretation ; *viśipriyāṇāṁ vividhahanuparyantāṇām.*

rims'.[4] But this is not all. He also gives an alternative interpretation which, since it is given first, he seems to prefer. According to this interpretation, *śipriya* means 'chewing', the action done by the jaws (*śiprā*). Since the Soma stalks are well pressed, the juice extracted from them is fine and needs no chewing at all while drinking. Hence the cups, i.e,, the Soma juices contained in them, are called *viśipriya* "containing well pressed Soma". Read : *"śipre hanū nāsike vā" iti hi yāskavacanam| iha hi hanū gṛhyete| tatra bhavaṁ karma śipriyam| vigataṁ śipriyaṁ yeṣāṁ te| atra hanuvyāpārābhāvāt śobhanābhiṣavasaṁskṛtā ity arthaḥ*[5] |

Another way of explaining the word would be to analyse it differently as *vīśi-priya* 'loved, liked among the people'. This, as an attribute of the Soma cups, suits the context very well since these cups are also called *pañcajanīna* 'belonging to the five people' in the Taitt. Saṁ. and *viśvajanīna* 'belonging to all the people' in the Maitr. Saṁ. (1.11.4) and the Kāṭh. Saṁ. (14.3). The *mantra* is used, as mentioned above, while drawing the Soma cup of the Vājapeya, a sacrifice which is characterized by certain features like the chariot race which must have been very popular among the people. Hence it is quite understandable that a Soma cup of the Vājapeya was called *vīśi-priya* 'liked among the people'.

If *vīśipriya* is analysed as *vīśi-priya*, the loc. sg. form of the first member of the compound is quite under-

4. There is also another minor difference. While commenting on the Taitt. Saṁ., he equates *śipra* with *pātrāgra;* in the Śat. Br. he equated *śipriya* with *pātrāgra.*

5. The explanation of the commentator Mahīdhara on the Vāj. Saṁ. (9.4) is the same. Read : *śiprayor hanvoḥ karma śipriyam hanucalanam| vigataṁ śipriyaṁ yeṣu graheṣu te viśipriyāḥ samyag abhiṣutāḥ supūtāś ca tatra hi hanvor vyāpāro nāsti supeyatvāt.*

standable. As Wackernagel (Alt. Gr. II, I, § 95c β, p. 234) puts it, "Bei solchem Verhältnis der Glieder ist Kasusform des Vordergliedes häufig". The adjective *priya* is again often used with the loc. case.[6] But it is difficult to explain the accent. As a rule, the compound then should have been accented as *viśípriya*. (cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., § 96, p. 238 f.) The shifting of the accent to the first syllable, as seen in the attested form, may be said to have occurred on the analogy of many compounds with prefix *ví* as the first member showing the accent on the first syllable. We have, of course, then to assume that the accent shift had occurred very early even before the Pada analysis of the Taitt. Saṁhitā.

The interpretation of the word *viśipriya* can be attempted also from a different direction. In the corresponding mantras, the Maitr. Saṁ (1.11.4) gives the reading *viśiśna* and the Kāṭhaka (14.3) *viśiśnya*. If the reading *víśiśna* is taken to be the original one, it is possible to understand it as the description of a Soma cup. The handle of a Soma cup, as something projecting from it, can be looked upon as its *śiśna* (organ or tail). *viśiśna* as applied to a Soma cup, can mean 'without a handle'. *śipra* in **víśipra* may then be looked upon as a euphimistic substitute for *śiśna* in *víśiśna*. **víśiprya* would be a further deviative from **víśipra* as *viśiśnya* of the Kāṭhaka is from *víśiśna* of the Maitr. This **viśiprya* could be the basis of the attested *víśipriya*.[7]

If *śipra* can be considered as a euphimism or *śiśna*, then it would also be possible to understand better the

---

6. cf. *priyo vikṣú* RV 6.1.6: *priyáḥ sūrye priyo agnā́ bhavāti* RV 5.37.5 etc.

7. On the variation between *-ya* and *-iya* cf. *Alt. Gr.* II.2 § 228 b p. 359.

name of the demon (dasa) Vṛṣa-śiprá (RV. 7.99.4). This has been rendered differently as 'die Lippen eines Stieres habend' (Grassmann), 'Bullengebiss' (Geldner), and 'bullcheeked' (MW). To name a demon as having the lips or cheeks of a bull does not seem to be very appropriate as these limbs are not known to be specially characteristic of a bull. Geldner's attempt to give it a better look by rendering *śipra* as 'Gebiss' (sets of teeth) does not help much. On the other hand, if *śipra* in this name is looked upon as standing for *śiśna*, then Vṛṣa-śipra 'having the organ of a bull' can give good meaning. A reference to *śiśna* while characterizing a bull is found in the *Mbh.* 14.10.29. In a certain context where some bulls are prescribed for different deities, a black bull with a moving organ is prescribed for Indra.[8]

At this stage it may be considered if the word *śipra* itself cannot have the meaning 'organ' besides the other meanings attributed to it.[9] In that case *śipra* can be related to *śepa* and also, perhaps, *śipi* in *śipiviṣṭa* (a name of Viṣṇu). They may be derived from a common root **śip* 'to project'.[10] In RV 5.45.6 appears another name of a demon Viśiśiprá. No attempt has been made to render the word in the lexicons. It is analysed as Viśi-

8. *nīlaṁ cokṣāṇaṁ medhyam abhyālabhantāṁ calacchiśnaṁ matpradiṣṭaṁ dvijendrāḥ.*

9. Geldner on RV 1.101.10 has a note on *śipra.* According to him it means some part of the face or mouth and specially the one which comes into operation while drinking Soma. He mentions for consideration 'nostrils' (already given by Yāska (6.17) and referred to above), 'opened lips' and 'sets of teeth' .

10. In *Alt. Gr.* II 2 § 687, p. 858 the meaning assigned to the reconstructed root *śip* is 'to wag'.

śipra in the Padapāṭha, but it does not make it intelligible. Hence when Sāyaṇa renders it as *vigatahanu* he seems to favour the analysis *vi-śiśipra*. If, as suggested above, it is possible to isolate the root **śīp* then one may agree with Sāyaṇa in his analysis of the word and derive **śiśipra* from the reduplicated root **śip*. But instead of assigning the meaning *hanu* to **śiśipra*, it would be better to consider it either as a substitute for *śiśna* or connect it with *śepa* and give it the meaning 'organ'. Vi-śiśipra then would mean 'one having a distinct (*vi*) organ' and, as a name of a demon, it could be compared with the other name of the demon Vṛṣaśipra noticed above.

DAGH- (VERB), *-DAGHNA* (SUFFIX), AND DERIVATIVES A STUDY IN HISTORICAL LEXICOGRAPHY

M. A. MEHENDALE

Deccan College, Poona

ABSTRACT : Sample entries that could appear in a historical dictionary of Sanskrit have been presented for the root *dagh-* and 6 related forms and for the taddhita suffix *-daghna* and 31 derivatives ending in that suffix.

I *dagh*

1. दघ् *dagh* verb [for IE etymology, Walde–Pokorny 791] दघ्यति (4), दघ्नोति (5), दघति (1, 6 ?). (दघ्याः, दघ्म, दघ्नुयात् , दघ.) to go (गतिकर्मन्) Nigha. 2. 14; to flow (स्रवतिकर्मन्) Nir. 1. 9; to kill, to protect (घातने पालने च) Dhātu. 5. 27. Used only with adverbs or prefixes, the basic meaning apparently being : to reach a certain level, to flow at a certain level (see आदघ्न) which is modified by the adverbs अधः, पश्चा or पश्चात्, and परः or the prefixes अति, आ, प्र and प्रति.

(a) with अधः ' to make something reach below normal level ' नात्युद्गृह्णीयात्.... नाधो दघ्नुयात् ' he should not raise (the fire) too high...he should not make it reach low ' Kāṭha. 8. 12; Kaṭha 7. 7.

(b) with पश्चा or पश्चात् 'to remain behind ' पश्चा स दघ्या यो अघस्य धाता 'may he, who commits sin, remain behind ' RV 1. 123. 5; मा पश्चाद् दघ्म रथ्यो विभागे RV 7. 56. 21.

(c) with परः ' to go beyond ' मा पश्चान्मा परो दघ 'do not lag behind, do not go beyond ' (addressed to Bhaga) Paippa. 19. 37. 8 (see अतिदघ्).

2. अतिदघ्- *atidagh* (धक्, धक्तम्) ' to reach beyond, to pass over ' शिक्षा स्तोतृभ्यो माति धग् भगो नः ' be of help to the praisers, may not good luck reach beyond us ' RV 2. 11. 21. This line has been paraphrased by Yāska (Nir. 1. 7) as मास्मानतिदंहीर्मास्मानतिहाय दाः ' do not give beyond us, abandoning us do not give (to others). ' Apparently he derives धक् from दह् (दंह्) to which he ascribes the meaning ' to give '[1]. मा वां वृको मा वृकीरा दधर्षीन्मा परि वर्क्तमुत माति धक्तम् ' may not a wolf (or) a she-wolf attack you, do not avoid (us) and do not go beyond (us) ' RV 1. 183. 4.

1. Sāyaṇa also assigns the meaning 'to give' ((दानार्थ)) to दह् in this passage and also in 1.183.4.

3. आदघ् *ādagh* (धक्, दघत्) (i) 'to flow over, to overtake '[2] सरस्वति...मापे स्फरीः पयसा मा न आ धक् 'Sarasvatī...do not go away (from us), do not overtake us with water ' RV 6. 61. 14; Kāṭha. 17. 18, 30. 3; Kaṭha 46. 6; Maitrā. 4. 11. 2.

(ii) ' to overtake, to attack ' (with loc.) मा त्वे सचा तनये नित्य आ धक् ' when associated with you, do not overtake our own progeny (i. e. do not destroy them) ' RV 7. 1. 21; (with acc.) मा नः कामं महयन्तमा धक् 'do not attack our wish which makes (us) great ' RV I. 178. 1; मा गन्धर्वो विश्वावसुरा दघत् ' may not the Gandharva Viśvāvasu attack (you)' Taitt. Saṁ. 1. 2. 9. 1; Baudh. Śr. 6. 16.

4. प्रदघ् *pradagh* (दघिष्यन्ते, दघः Ved. inf; दघोः (?)) ' to move on (without stopping or returning) ' ईश्वरो वा एष पराङ् प्रदघो यो विष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते चतसृभिरावर्तते ' he who takes Viṣṇu-steps is likety to move on going far away; he (therefore) returns with four (verses) ' Taitt. Saṁ. 5. 2. 1. 2; ईश्वरो वा एष पराङ् प्रदघः । यो यूपं रोहति Taitt. Br. 1. 3. 7. 7. The Śat. Br. 13. 1. 3. 4 and 13. 2. 1. 6 give the text as ईश्वरो वा एष पराङ् प्रदघोर्यः पराचीराहुतीर्जुहोति. Bö–Ro. point out that the text is here wrong for प्रदघो यः. नाप्रतिष्ठाश्चरन्तीः प्रदघिष्यन्त इति ' so that they (प्रजाः), wandering without obtaining a stable place, will not keep moving on. ' Jaim. Up. Br. 3. 4. 1. 4.

5. प्रतिदघ् *pratidagh* (दघ्नुयात्) ' to go against, oppose ' गुरुं च यः प्रतिदघ्नुयात् ...इत्युपपातकानि ' and one who opposes his teacher... these are minor sins ' Vasiṣṭha. 1. 23. Schmidt (Nachträge), however, feels that प्रतिदघ्नुयात् might stand for प्रतिदभ्नुयात्.

6. दघ्वन् *daghvan* used uniquely in अपश्चाद्दघ्वन्.

7. अपश्चाद्दघ्वन् *ápaścāddaghvan* (i) 'not remaining behind ' अरंगमाय जग्मयेऽपश्चाद्दघ्वने नरे ' for the hero who comes on time, comes often, and who does not remain behind ' RV-6. 42. 1; SV 1. 352,2. 790 (also read as अपश्चादघ्वने); (Jaim.) 1. 37; Taitt. Br. 3. 7. 10. 6; Āp Śr. 14. 29. 2.

(ii) ' not falling short of (acc.)' अपश्चाद्दघ्वान्नं भूयासम् । इत्यपश्चाद्दघ्वान्नं भवति Maitrā. 3. 9. 4. ; Āp . Śr . 7. 28. 2 ; Mānava Śr. 1. 8. 6. 22. AV 19. 55. 5 reads अपश्चा दग्घान्नस्य भूयासम् which, on the basis of the Maitrā. reading, is emended by Whitney–Roth as अपश्चाद्दघ्वान्नस्य भूयासम्. Note the use of the gen. Some mss. of the AV, however, read अन्नं (acc.) for अन्नस्य (gen.).

2. In all the RV passages cited under this entry Sāyaṇa derives धक् from दह् with the meaning 'harass' (बाध्) or 'burn'.

II *daghná*

8. दघ्न *daghnā* taddhita suffix expressive of (perpendicular) measure. It is used to measure both depth as well as height. Probably it was originally used to indicate the depth of water (cf. आदघ्न) measured by the different parts of the body. Its use was then extended to measure in a similar way the depth of the dug out ground as also the height above the ground. In late classical literature the suffix is found used in a few cases with words which are not body parts (cf. अश्वदघ्न, खर्जूरद्रुमदघ्न, गिरिकूटदघ्न). Yāska (Nir. 1. 9) gives the etymology of दघ्न as दघ्यतेः स्रवतिकर्मणः । दस्यतेर्वा स्याद्विदस्ततरं भवति i. e. from the verb दघ् 'to flow' (indicating rise in the water level) or from the verb दस् 'to be exhausted, reduced' (indicating fall in the water level). See दुर्ग–स्रुततरमिव तन्द्रवति पूर्वतरात्परिमाणात् । उपक्षीणतरं तदुत्तरस्मात्परिमाणात्. The derivation of दघ्न from दघ् 'to flow' may be right since its earliest occurrence in आदघ्न expresses depth of water reaching upto mouth. Incidentally, in आदघ्न, दघ्न may not be a suffix but a full word. It may be looked upon either as a verbal noun in *-a* meaning 'flowing' or a ppp. in- *na* meaning 'flown.' (For the formation of दघ्न see Alt. Gr. II 1, 181 and II 2, 723).

Pāṇini, however, teaches it only as a secondary suffix (5. 2. 37). He also knew its fem. in - ī (*-daghnī*, P. 4. 1. 15). Debrunner in Alt. Gr. II 2, 375 observes: however, in pre-classical literature only *-daghnā-* is attested. The examples cited by Debrunner are *atradaghnā**, *nābhidaghnā*, and *aṁsadaghnā* all from the Śat. Br.[3] But *-daghnī* feminines are also found with *jānu-* in the Taitt. Ār., Āp. Śulba, with *nābhi-* and *āsya-* in the Āpa. Śr., and with *aṁsa-* in the Mānava Śr. Not all these examples of course can be looked upon as pre-classical. The commentator on the Kāty. Śr. (7. 9. 27) affirms *-daghnā*, as opposed to *-daghnī* taught by Pāṇini, as Vedic. On नाभिदघ्ना he says नाभिः प्रमाणं यस्याः सा नाभिदघ्नी इति प्राप्ते छान्दसष्टाप् प्रत्ययः. It is interesting to note that the *-daghnā* fem. forms are, with the exception of the one in the Hiraṇya. Śr., exclusively restricted to the Śukla YV tradition, while the *daghnī* fem. forms, which alone are known to Paṇini, occur in the Kṛṣṇa YV tradition. It has, however, to be admitted that the occurrences of the fem. forms that have been discovered so far are relatively few.

The suffix दघ्न occurs overwhelmingly after words expressive of body parts. The only three[4] attestations that have come to light so far in which दघ्न is used with words other than those for body parts are all from later litarature. Of these, अश्वदघ्न is doubtful. It is supposed to occur in the Rāmā. but the line in which it occurs has not been accepted in the critical edition (see s. v.). The other two words, from classical literature, are खर्जूरद्रुमदघ्न (Mālatīmā.)

3. *nābhidaghnā* occurs also in the Kāty. Śr., the Hiraṇy. Śr., and in the very late work Mānasollāsa.

4. The case of अश्वदघ्न and नीविदघ्न is omitted for obvious reasons.

and गिरिकूटदघ्न (Bhaṭṭi.). In the Vedic literature, the use of दघ्न after a word which is not expressive of a body part is strictly avoided. In the contexts in which its use would seem natural the idea is differently expressed, e. g. we read यजमानेन यूपस्संमितः and not यजमानदघ्नो यूपः Taitti. Saṁ. 6. 3. 4. 5, पशुसंमितो व्रष्टव्यः, and not पशुदघ्नो व्रष्टव्यः Kātha. Saṁ. 26.4, Katha Saṁ. 41. 2, यावानुद्बाहुः पुरुषस्तावत् क्षत्रियस्य कुर्यात्, and not उद्बाहुपुरुषदघ्नं क्षत्रियस्य कुर्यात् Śat. Brā. 13. 8. 3. 11. Or, the suffix मात्र is used in the place of दघ्न, e. g. अथ पुरुषमात्रे जुहोति Kāṭha. Saṁ. 21. 6, Kaṭha Saṁ. 31. 21, यः पुरुषमात्रः स जगच्चित् Kāṭha. Saṁ. 21.4, Kaṭha Saṁ. 31. 19, यजमानमात्री औदुम्बरी भवति Ṣadviṁ. Br. 4. 3. 2.

Pāṇini teaches the suffix दघ्न, along with द्वयस and मात्र, to express measure (प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः 5. 2. 37) In the following sūtra he teaches the use of an additional suffix अण् after पुरुष and हस्तिन् (पुरुषहस्तिभ्यां अण् च 38). This has been interpreted to mean that after the words पुरुष and हस्तिन्, to express measure, one may find the suffix अण् in addition to all the three suffixes of the previous सूत्र. This leads us to believe that Pāṇini knew four forms each from पुरुष and हस्तिन्, viz पौरुष (sūtra 38), and पुरुषद्वयस, पुरुषदघ्न, पुरुषमात्र (sūtra 37), and similarly हास्तिन and other forms If this is true we have to admit knowledge on the part of Pāṇini of forms like पुरुषदघ्न and हस्तिदघ्न in which दघ्न is affixed to words which are not body parts. However, in view of the fact that there appears to be in Sanskrit literature complete absence of the forms पुरुषदघ्न and हस्तिदघ्न (they have been given as examples only since काशिका) and in view of the fact that in the Vedic texts दघ्न is affixed only to words expressive of the body parts, it is worth while considering whether the above interpretation of sūtra 38 is correct. Perhaps the sūtra 38 has to be interpreted differently and we have to draw only the last mentioned suffix मात्रच् from the previous सूत्र and not all the three. This would give us only two forms each: पौरुष, पुरुषमात्र and हास्तिन, हस्तिमात्र.

The derivatives with दघ्न are attested only with three case terminations, viz. those of nom., acc., and loc. Of these, the latter two are used both as adjectives and adverbs.

The दघ्न derivatives are usually used singly. A compound of two दघ्न words is found in नाभिदघ्नजानुदघ्नयोः (Mānava Śr. 4. 4. 8.), and a compound in which दघ्न is related to more than one body part is गुल्फजानुजघनस्तनदघ्नम् (Rāgha. Pāṇḍa, 15. 47).

III Secondary Derivatives formed with the Suffix *-daghna*

Under this head are collected as many formations with दघ्न as have come to notice so far. The available lexicons list the following : अंस–, अश्व–, आ–, उपकक्ष–, उपस्थ–, ऊरु–, कण्ठ –, कुल्फ–, गुल्फ–, जानु–, नाभि–, मुख–, and स्तन– (but

they do not give separate entries for अश्वदघ्न and स्तनदघ्न). To these, the following have now been added : अत्र–, अरत्नि–, अष्ठीवत्–, आस्य–, उपपक्ष–, कक्ष–, कर्ण–, खर्जूरद्रुम–, गिरिकूट–, ग्रीव–, ग्रीवा–, चुबुक–, छुबुक–, जघन–, नाभी–, नीवि–, शीर्ष–, and स्फिग्–. There could be a few more. The derivatives with दघ्न occur chiefly in the Vedic literature and there too mostly in the ritual context. Completeness in regard to giving references to their occurrences in the Vedic texts has been sought on the basis of the VVRI Vedic Index. Derivatives with दघ्न occur less frequently in the post–Vedic literature, but where they do, they do so in non–ritual cantext (except in मीमांसा works).

9. अंसदघ्न *aṁsadaghná* (i) ' shoulder–deep (under the ground) ' इदमहं तान्वलगानुद्वपामि यान्मे भ्रातृव्यो यानभ्रातृव्यो निचखान ये अंसदघ्ने[1] 'here I dig up those charms which my enemy, which my non–enemy buried (under the ground), which (as a result lie) shoulder– deep' Mai. Saṁ. 1. 2. 10.

(ii) 'shoulder–high (above the ground)' तं (अग्निं) अंसदघ्नमुदगृह्णात् '(Prajāpati) raised (it) shoulder–high ' Mai. Saṁ 1. 6. 6; (अग्निप्रणयनानि) ... उद्गृह्णीयात्...अंसदघ्नम् Māna. Śr. 1. 5. 4. 12; अंसदघ्ने (हरति) Vārā. Śr. 1. 4. 3. 1 ; अंसदघ्ना (fem.) अंसदघ्ना भवति '(the seat) is to be shoulder–high' Śat. Br. 14. 1. 3. 10. अंसदघ्नी (fem.) पूर्वार्धे छदिरन्तेष्वंसदघ्नीश्चतस्रः स्थूणा निहत्य... 'on the eastern side having fixed four shoulder–high posts at the ends of the cover (of the cart–shed)' Māna. Śr. 2. 2. 2. 28 (The printed text gives अंसदघ्नींश्चतस्रः which is a misprint).

10. अत्रदघ्न *atradaghná* अत्रदघ्ना (fem.) 'this–high' तस्मादत्रदघ्ना भवति 'therefore (the seat) is this–high (i. e. navel–high)' Śat. Br. 3. 3. 4. 28. The actual height perhaps was indicated by pointing to the navel (Comm. 'अत्र' इति नाभिप्रदेशस्याभिनयः). In the Taitti. Saṁ. 5. 4. 3. 3 the word used to indicate height is इयत्. इयत्यग्रे[1] जुहोति । अथेयत्यथेयति । (also Taitti. Āra. 5. 9. 1. where the Comm. says इयत्यास्यदघ्ने देशे (धारयित्वा) ... इयति नाभिदघ्ने देशे धारयित्वा...इयति जानुदघ्ने देशे धारयित्वा जुहोति ।)

11. अरत्निदघ्न *aratnidaghna* ' elbow–high ' शरावस्थमुदकं भूमेरुपरि नाभिदघ्ने धारयित्वा तस्योपरिष्टादरत्निदघ्ने स्वमुखं कुर्वन्नुदकस्याधस्तादरत्निमात्रे मुखप्रतिबिम्बं पश्यति Śāstradīpikā 1. 1. 6 (139. 8).

12. अश्वदघ्न *aśvadaghna* ' as high as the horse' अश्वदघ्नः कृतश्चापि गरुडः काञ्चनेष्टकः (refers to the piling of the fire altar) Rāmā. 1. 23. 28 (Gorr) = Baroda edn. 1. 13. 23 where the line is differently read : गरुडो रुक्मपक्षो वै त्रिगुणोऽष्टादशात्मकः Even in place of अश्वदघ्न, some mss. read आस्यदघ्न or अश्मदघ्न. It is likely that for these three readings आस्यदघ्न was the original one which was corrupted to अश्म–, and अश्व–, in that order.

13. अष्ठीवद्घ्न *aṣṭhīvaddaghná* 'knee-high' अष्ठीवद्घ्नं शूद्रस्य (श्मशानं कुर्यात्) '(the burial mound) of a Śūdra (should be made) knee-high' Śat. Br. 13. 8. 3, 11. See जानुदघ्न.

14. आदघ्न *ādaghná* 'mouth-deep (water)' आदघ्नास उपकक्षास उ त्वे ह्रदाइव स्नात्वा उ त्वे ददृश्रे 'some were seen (like lakes) having mouth-deep (water), having (water) close to armpits, while some others (were seen) like lakes fit to swim (i. e. with water deep enough for swimming)' RV 10. 71. 7. This is the earliest formation with दघ्न. आदघ्न was explained first by यास्क as आस्यदघ्न. Roth (1852) did not agree. He took it to be from $\bar{a}\sqrt{dagh}$ 'to flow on' and translated it as 'anrollend.' But Yāska's interpretation has been upheld since Brugmann (IF 15. 104, 1903–04) who explained it as *ā-daghna* < **āz-daghna.* आदघ्न was later replaced by आस्यदघ्न and मुखदघ्न.

15. आस्यदघ्न *āsyadaghna* (i) 'mouth-deep (water)' आस्यदघ्न उदके तिष्ठन्... गायेत् 'standing in mouth-deep water... he shall sing' Sāma. Brā. 1. 4. 22; 3. 2. 9; आस्यदघ्ना अपरे Nir. 1. 9 (paraphrase of आदघ्नासः...त्वे).

(ii) 'mouth-high' ओस्यदघ्नं (दण्डं) प्रयच्छति Maitrā. 3. 6. 8; आस्यदघ्नः (दण्डः) कार्यः Kāṭha. 23. 4, Kaṭha 36.1; 1, Āpa. Śr. 7. 8. 3, 10.10, 5; आस्यदघ्ने (धारयमाणः) तृतीयम् (अध्वनोऽग्निं हरति) '(The Adhvaryu while carrying the fire from the Gārhapatya to the Āhavanīya holds it) mouth-high for the third (of the way).' Āpa. Śr. 5. 14. 8, Hira. Śr. 3. 4; आस्यदघ्ने (धारयमाणः) हुत्वा Āpa. Śr. 17. 11. 4, 5; 15. 13. 3; Bhāra. Śr 11. 13. 5; 5. 8. 2; Vārā. Śr. 2. 2. 3. 5, 7 (आस्यदघ्नादीन्); आज्यं संस्कृत्य दर्भकूर्चादीनादीप्यास्यदघ्ने धारयमाणः... जुहोति Māna. Śr. 4. 4. 8; नास्यदघ्नमतिहरेत् 'he should not lift (the fire) beyond mouth-high (level)' Bhāra. Śr. 5. 7. 13; आस्यदघ्नं त्रिषाहस्रं चिन्वीत तृतीयं चिन्वानः 'he should pile (the altar) with three thousand (bricks) mouth-high when piling a third time' Āpa. Śr. 16. 13. 11; आस्यदघ्नी (fem.) आस्यदघ्नीं (चितिं) त्रिषाहस्रं तृतीयम् Āpa. Śulba. 10. 10.

16. उपकक्षदघ्न *upakakṣadaghna* '(water) deep upto the region near the armpit' यथोपकक्षदघ्नं वा कण्ठदघ्नं वा यतो विश्रम्य प्रस्नायेयुस्तादृक् तत् 'just as after resting at a place (where water is) deep up to the region near the armpit or deep up to the neck, whence they would swim, it is like that' Go. Br. 1. 5. 2; Niru. 1.9 (used only to explain the Saṁhitā word उपकक्षासः) Durga explains उपकक्षदघ्न as कक्षसंनिकृष्टदेशतुल्योदकाः and Skanda-Maheśvara as कक्षसमीपपरिमाणाः. See उपपक्षदघ्न, कक्षदघ्न.

17. उपपक्षदघ्न *upapakṣadaghna* '(water) deep upto the region near the armpit' यथोपपक्षदघ्नं वा कण्ठदघ्नं वा यतो विश्रम्य प्रस्नांति 'just as after resting at a place (where water is) deep upto the region near armpit or neck-deep, whence they swim' Śat. Br. 12.2. 1. 2, 4 (Comm. पक्षयोः समीपं उपपक्षं प्रमाणमस्य उपपक्षदघ्नम्) See उपकक्षदघ्न कक्षदघ्न.

18. उपस्थदघ्न *upasthadaghna* 'genital high' उपस्थदघ्नं स्त्रिया: (श्मशानं कुर्यात्) '(the burial mound) of a woman (should be made) genital-high' Śat. Br. 13.8.3.11. See जघनदघ्न, स्फिग्दघ्न.

19. ऊरुदघ्न *ūrudaghna* (i) 'thigh-deep (water)' ऊरुदघ्न एव प्रथम: स्वरसामा... ...ऊरुदघ्नस्तृतीय: 'the first svarasāman day (i. e. one of the three days preceding the विषुवत्) is (like) thigh- deep (water, as compared to the second and the third svarasāman days which are said to be like knee-deep and ankle-deep water) ...... (with sāmans in the reversed order) the third (svarasāman day) is (like) thigh -deep (water, while the second and the first are knee-deep and ankle-deep)' Śat Br. 12.2 1.3. In the later literature ऊरुदघ्न is mostly used with reference to the depth of water. ऊरुदघ्नं जलम् Harivaṁ. C 8324, वारि विगाहमानं......रामाजनमूरुदघ्नम् Jānakīha 3.34; ऊरुदघ्नेन पयसोत्तीर्य सिप्रां Kādam. 249.14; depth of the thick dust तत्रोरुदघ्नः क्षितिरेणुराजौ Rāvaṇārj. 16.51; ऊरुदघ्नी (fem.) कृत्वोरुदघ्नीं रिपुरक्तकुल्यां Rāvaṇārj. 14.6.

(ii) 'thigh-high' ऊरुदघ्नं वैश्यस्य (श्मशानं कुर्यात्) Śat. Br. 13.8.3.11; Hiraṇya. Pitṛ, 29.5.

20. कक्षदघ्न *kakṣadaghna* 'armpit-deep (water)' (अन्त्यं वा साम) कक्षदघ्ने (उदके तिष्ठन् प्रयुञ्जानः) पशून् (जुषते) '(or one who employs the last sāman i. e. the last verse of the वैरूपाष्टक साम=आरण्यगान 1. 1. 1. 8. while standing) in armpit-deep (water) obtains cattle' Sāmavidhāna Br. 3. 2. 9. See उपकक्ष-, उपपक्ष-.

21. कण्ठदघ्न *kaṇṭhadaghna* (i) 'neck-deep (water)' यथोपपक्षदघ्नं वा कण्ठदघ्नं वा यतो विश्रम्य प्रस्नांति 'as after resting in a place (where water is) armpit-deep or neck-deep, whence they swim (in deeper water)' Śat. Br. 12.2.1.2,4; Gopatha Br. 1.5.2. यथोपपक्षदघ्नं वा कण्ठदघ्नं वा यतो विश्रम्योत्क्रामन्ति (उत्क्रामन्ति= they gradually come up in water,) Śat. Br. 12.2.1.3; यथोपपक्षदघ्नं...यतो विश्रम्योत्स्नांन्ति (उत्स्नान्ति= they finish swimming, they come out of water) Śat. Br. 12.2.1 5. In later classical literature कण्ठदघ्न is recorded with reference to water depth : अस्रस्रोतस्विनी-नामजनि कुलमथाकुण्ठकं कण्ठदघ्नम् Haravi; 45.55; कण्टदघ्ने पयसि Nalābhyu. 6.59 a; कण्ठदघ्नमवगाहते Unmattarā 69.(i); वारिणि कण्ठदघ्ने Rasagaṅgā. 387.9.

(ii) कण्ठदघ्नी (fem.) 'neck-high' वेण्वोर्युगेनोभयतो व्युदस्तामारुह्य मौर्वीमिह कण्ठदघ्नीम् Rasasadana 201. See ग्रीवदघ्न and ग्रीवादघ्न.

22. कर्णदघ्न *karṇadaghna* 'ear-high' तं (आग्निं) कर्णदघ्नमुदगृह्णात् '(Prajāpati) raised it (fire) ear-high' Maitrā 1.6.6. न कर्णदघ्नमत्युद्गृह्णाति Āpa. Śr. 5.14.8; Hira. Śr. 3.4.18; Vārā. Śr. 1.4.3.13,14; कर्णदघ्नं नात्युद्गृह्य...आदधाति Māna. Śr. 1.5.4.13.

23. कुल्फदघ्न *kulphadaghna* (i) a. 'ankle-deep (water)' कुल्फदघ्नस्तृतीय: (स्वरसामा) 'the third (svarasāman i. e. one of the three days preceding the

विषुवत्) is (like a place with) ankle-deep (water) ' Śat. Br. 12.2.1.3; कुल्फदघ्न एव प्रथमोऽर्वाक्सामा ' the first स्वरसामन् in reverse order is also (like a place with) ankle-deep (water).' Śat. Br. 12.2.1.3; Gopatha Br. 1.5.2.

(i)b. ' ankle-deep (ground)' इदमहं तान् वल्गानुद्वपामि यान्मे समानो यानसमानो निचखान ये कुल्फदघ्ने ' here I dig up those spells which my equal, (and) which my unequal buried, (and) which (lie) ankle-deep (under ground) ' Maitrā. 1.2.10.

(ii) ' ankle-high' तं कुल्फदघ्नमुदगृह्णात् ' (Prajāptai) raised it ankle-high' Maitrā. 1.6.6; प्रतिलभ्याग्निप्रणयनानि कुल्फदघ्नमुपनियम्य जानुदघ्नमुद्गृह्णीयात् Mānava Śr. 1.5.4.12; कुल्फदघ्ने हरति Vārāha Śr. 1.4.3.13. See गुल्फदघ्न.

24. खर्जूरद्रुमदघ्न *kharjūradrumadaghna* ' as high as date tree ' खर्जूरद्रुम दघ्नजङ्घ– Mālatīmā. 5.14.

25. गिरिकूटदघ्न *girikūṭadaghna* ' summit-high ' गिरिकूटदघ्नैः क्षपाटैः (demons) Bhaṭṭi. 2.30.

26. गुल्फदघ्न *gulphadaghna* (i) ' ankle-deep ' आप (? अपां) पूरयित्वा गुल्फदघ्नम् ' (having dug the place for the उत्तरवेदि knee-deep) having filled it (with water?) ankle-deep' Taitt. Ār 1.22.8-9; from later literature we have गुल्फदघ्नं जलम् Harivaṁ. 8324;कीलालव्यतिकरगुल्फदघ्नपङ्कः Mālatīmā. 3.17; गुल्फ...दघ्नं पयः Rāgh. Pāṇḍa. 15.47.

(ii) ' ankle high ' गुल्फदघ्ने वृश्चेत् 'he should cut (the tree for यूप at a place) ankle-high' Kāṭha. 26. 3; Kaṭha 41. 1; Āpa. Śr. 7. 2. 6; Bhāra. Śr. 7. 1. 15; Hira. Śr. 4. 1. 22. स्रुवेण गुल्फदघ्ने जानुदघ्ने वा पर्यणक्ति ' he anoints (the tree) all round with स्रुव (at a place which is) ankle-high or knee-high' Hira. Śr. 4. 1. 20 (Comm. गुल्फः पादग्रन्थिः ऊरुजङ्घयोः संधिर्जानु । तन्मितमधस्तात् त्यक्त्वाऽनन्तरे देशे परितोऽनक्ति); सोऽत एव प्रत्यङ्ङावृत्य गुल्फदघ्ने धारयन् ' he, turning to the west just from there, holding (the leaf of अर्क) ankle-high' Baudhā. Śr. 10. 48; Vaikhā Śr. 19. 6; यदि जानुदघ्नं पुरस्ताद् गुल्फदघ्नं पश्चाद् यदि गुल्फदघ्नं पुरस्तात् समं भूमेः पश्चात् ' If (the altar is) knee-high in the front, (it should be) ankle-high behind, if (it is) ankle-high in the front, (it should be) level with earth behind' Bauhdā. Śr. 17. 30; Baudhā. Pitṛ. 1. 15; Agniveśya Gṛ. 3. 8. 1; in late classical literature गुल्फदघ्नोच्छलद्धूली Kathāsarit. 12. 34. 291. See कुल्फदघ्न.

27. ग्रीवदघ्न *grīvadaghna* 'neck-high ' ग्रीवदघ्नं चिन्वीत तृतीयं चिन्वानः ' one should pile (the altar) neck-high, piling it a third time ' Taiti. Saṁ. 5. 6. 8. 3; चतुर्थं चिन्वानो ग्रीवदघ्नम् Baudhā. Śr. 22. 4.; यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पुरस्तान्नाभिदघ्नं पश्चात् ' If (the altar is) neck-high in front, (it should be) navel-high behind' Baudhā. Śr. 17. 30; Baudhā. Pitṛ 1. 15; Agniveśya Gṛ. 3. 8. 1; ग्रीवदघ्ने धारयन् ' holding (the

अर्क leaf) neck–high ' Baudhā. Śr. 10. 48; (इध्मं) जानुदघ्ने प्रथमं हरेदथ नाभिदघ्नेऽथ ग्रीवदघ्ने Baudhā. Śr. 20. 17; See कण्ठदघ्न, ग्रीवादघ्न.

28. ग्रीवादघ्न *grīvādaghna* 'neck-deep (water) ' ग्रीवादघ्ने स्नेयम् ।ग्रीवादघ्ने हि ते तां निधाय आयन् ' (the sacrificer) should bathe in neck–deep (water); for they went placing it (i. e. the दीक्षा) in neck–deep (water) ' Kāṭhaka 22. 13.;See कण्ठदघ्न, ग्रीवदघ्न.

29. चुबुकदघ्न *cubukadaghna* ' chin –high ' चुबुकदघ्नं तृतीयं चिन्वानश्चिन्वीत ' one piling (the altar) a third time should pile it chin–high ' Maitrā. 3. 3. 2; Vārāha Śr. 2. 2. 2. 1; मैत्रावरुणदण्डमास्यदघ्नं चुबुकदघ्नं वा Āp. Śr. 7. 8. 3; 10. 10. 5; मुखेन संमितश्चुबुकदघ्नो वा Hira. Śr. 7. 1. 55. See छुबुकदघ्न.

30. छुबुकदघ्न *chubukadaghna* ' chin–high ' छुबुकदघ्नं तृतीयं (जुहोति) ' (he offers) a third time (holding the spoon) chin–high ' Maitrā. 3. 3. 4. See चुबुकदघ्न.

31. जघनदघ्न *jaghanadaghna* ' hip-deep (water) ' जघनस्तनदघ्नं पयः Rāgha. Pāṇḍa. 15. 47 (cf. स्तनदघ्न). See उपस्थदघ्न, स्फिग्दघ्न.

32. जानुदघ्न *jānudaghná* (i)a ' knee – deep (water) ' जानुदघ्नो द्वितीयः (स्वरसामा) ' the second (स्वरसामन् i. e. one the three days preceding the विषुवत्) is (like a place with) knee–deep (water) 'Śat. Br. 12. 2. 1. 3; Gopa. Br. 1. 5. 2; जानुदघ्नो द्वितीयः (अर्वाक्सामा) ' the second (स्वरसामन् with the सामन् in the reversed order) is (like a place with) knee–deep water ' Śat. Br. 12. 2. 1. 3; Gopa. Br. 1. 5. 2. अन्त्यं वा जानुदघ्न उदके तिष्ठन् (प्रयुञ्जानो लक्ष्मीं जुषते) ' or (one who employs) the last (verse of the वैरूपाष्टक = आरण्यगान 1. 1. 1. 8) while standing in knee–deep water (obtains wealth) ' Sāma. Br. 3. 2. 8. In classical literature जानुदघ्न occurs exclusively with reference to water depth : जानुदघ्नं जलम् Harivaṁ C 8324; Kāvyamī. 24. 24; Rāgh. Pāṇḍ. 15. 47; Sarasvatī. 122. 11; Rājatara. 4. 539; Śārṅga. 561; Bhojapra. 40. 21. अम्बुधिः. . .जानुदघ्नोऽयम् Saduktika. 230. 28.; etc. etc . जानुदघ्नी (fem.) जानुदघ्नी सरित् Kāvyāl. 6. 55.

(i)b. 'knee-deep (ground) ' तेनेमां पृथिवीं प्राविशज्जानुदघ्नमधस्तस्माज्जानुदघ्नं खेयम् ' with that (wealth Agni) entered this earth down below knee–deep; therefore (the ground) should be dug knee–deep ' Kāṭha. 25. 6; Kaṭha 39. 3. अग्निर्वै देवेभ्योऽपाक्रामत्स पृथिवीं प्राविशत् तं जानुदघ्नेऽन्वविन्दंस्तस्माज्जानुदघ्नं खेयम् Kāṭha. 26. 1; Kaṭha. 40.4; Maitrā 3. 8. 5; इदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्मे सजातो यानसजातो निचखान ये जानुदघ्ने ' here I dig up those spells whom my kinsman, whom my non–kinsman buried, which (as a result lie buried) knee–deep (under the ground), Maitrā. 1. 2. 10. जानुदघ्नं त्रिवितस्तं वा खात्वोत्तरवेद्यर्थान् पांसून् हरति ' having dug (the

ground for चात्वाल) knee-deep or three वितस्ति he carries the earth for उत्तरवेदि ' Apa. Śr. 7. 4, 2; Hiranya. Śr. 4. 1. जानुदघ्नी (fem.) जानुदघ्नीमुत्तरवेदीं खात्वा Taitt. Ār. 1. 22. 8; 1. 25. 1; Baudh. Śr. 19. 20.

(ii) ' knee-high ' जानुदघ्ने वृश्चेत् ' he should cut (the tree at a place) knee-high ' Kāṭha. 26. 3; Kaṭha. 41. 1; Āpa. Śr. 7. 2. 6; Bhāra. Śr. 7. 1. 15; स्रुवेण गुल्फदघ्ने जानुदघ्ने वा पर्यणक्ति ' he anoints (the यूप) all around with a स्रुव (at a place) ankle-high or knee-high ' Hira. Śr. 4. 1. 20. जानुदघ्नेऽग्ने जुहोति Kāṭha. 21. 6; Kaṭha. 31. 21; Maitrā. 3. 3. 4; Śat. Br. 9. 1. 1. 11; Vārā. Śr. 2. 2. 3. 3; जुहोत्युत्तराभ्यां नाभिदघ्नजानुदघ्नयोः Māna. Śr. 4. 4. 8; जानुदघ्ने धारयन्...स्वाहा करोति Vai. Śr. 19. 6; Āpa. Śr. 5. 17. 11. 4, 5; (धारयति) जानुदघ्ने Āpa. Śr. 15. 13. 3; Bhā. Śr. 11. 13. 7; जानुदघ्ने धारयमाणस्तृतीयमध्वनोऽग्निं हरति Āpa. Śr. 5. 14. 8; जानुदघ्ने (इध्मं) प्रथमं हरेत् Bau Śr. 20. 17; जानुदघ्ने (हरति) Vārā. Śr. 1. 4. 3. 13; Hira. Śr. 3. 4; Bhāra. Śr. 5. 8. 2; Māna. Śr. 4. 1 5. 4. 12; तं जानुदघ्नं (उदगृह्णात्) Maitrā 1. 6. 6; जानुदघ्नं चिन्वीत प्रथमं चिन्वानः Taitti. Saṁ. 5. 6. 8 3; Maitrā. 3. 3. 2; Kāṭhaka 21. 4; Kaṭha 31. 19. Āpa. Śr. 16. 13. 11; Baudhā. Śr. 22. 4; Vārā. Śr. 2. 2. 2. 21; यदि नाभिदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि जानुदघ्नं पुरस्ताद् गुल्फदघ्नं पश्चात् Baudhā. Śr. 17. 30; Baudhā. Pitṛ 1 15; Hira. Pitṛ. 16: 7; Agniveśya Gṛ. 3, 8. 1. जानुदघ्नी (fem.) जानुदघ्नीं साहस्रं चिन्वीत प्रथमं चिन्वानः Āp. Śu. 10. 10. See अष्ठीवद्घ्न.

33. नाभिदघ्न *nābhidaghna* (i)a. ' navel-deep (water) ' नाभिदघ्ने (उदके तिष्ठन् अन्त्यं साम प्रयुञ्जानः) धान्यं (जुषते) ' if he employs the last sāman (of the Vairūpāṣṭaka = आरण्यगान 4.1.8 while standing in) navel-deep (water, he obtains) corn ' Sāma. Br. 3.2.9. In later literature नाभिदघ्न is used almost exclusively with reference to depth of water. जले नाभिदघ्ने Samarādityasaṁ. 4.219; नाभिदघ्नमपि सारसमम्भः Yātrāpra. VI. 21; नाभिदघ्नोदकस्थस्य Yājña. Smṛ. 2.108; etc.

(i)b. ' navel-deep (under the ground) ' इदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्मे सबन्धुर्यानसबन्धुर्निचखान ये नाभिदघ्ने '(here I dig up those spells) ...... which (lie) navel-deep (under the ground)' Maitrā. 1.2.10.

(ii) ' navel-high ' नाभिदघ्ने परिव्ययति नाभिदघ्न एवास्मा ऊर्जं दधाति तस्मान्नाभिदघ्न ऊर्जा भुञ्जते ' he winds (the girdle) round (the यूप at a place which is) navel-high. He (thereby) puts strength in him (at a place which is) navel-high. Therefore people enjoy strengths at navel-high regions ' Taitti Saṁ. 6.3.4.5; Maitrā. 3.9.4, Āpa. Śr. 7.11.5; अथ यद् ब्रह्मा रथचक्रे साम गायति नाभिदघ्न उद्धिते ' now when the Brahman priest sings the सामन् on the chariot wheel raised navel-high ' Śat. Br. 5.1.5.1,2; नाभिदघ्ने द्वितीयं (जुहोति) Maitrā. 9. 1. 1. 12; 3.3.4; Kāṭha. 2.1.6 Kaṭha 31.21; Śat. Br. 14.3.1.5; Āpa. Śr 17. 11. 4, 5; Vārā. Śr. 2.2.3.4; Vai. Śr. 19.6; Māna Śr 4.4.8; प्रतिप्रस्थाता...नाभिदघ्ने धारयति Āpa. Śr. 15.13.3; 5.14.8; Bau.

Śr. 10.4.8; Bhāra. Śr. 11.13.6; अथ नाभिदघ्ने (इध्मं) हरेत् Bau Śr. 20.17; Bhā. Śr. 5. 8. 2; Vārā Śr. 1. 4. 3. 13; Hira. Śr. 3.4; तं नाभिदघ्नं (उदगृह्णात्) Mai. S. 1. 6. 6; Māna. Śr. 1. 5. 4. 12, नाभिदघ्नं चिन्वीत द्वितीयं चिन्वानः Taitti. Saṁ. 5.6.8.3; Maitrā. 3.3.2; Kāṭha. 21.4; Āpa. Śr. 16.13.11; Vārā. Śr. 2.2.2.21; यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पुरस्तान्नाभिदघ्नं पश्चाद् यदि नाभिदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चात् Bau. Śr. 17.30; Bau. Pitṛ. 1.15; Agni. Gr. 3.8.1; औदुम्बर्यासन्दी नाभिदघ्नपादा Āpa Śr. 10.29.7; 19. 9.10; Bau. Śr. 6.10; नाभिदघ्नं सदः (comm, नाभिप्रमाणं सदः प्रान्तेषूच्चं भवति) Kāty. Śr. 8.6.1. In later literature we find शरावस्थमुदकं भूमेरुपरि नाभिदघ्ने धारयित्वा... Śāstradīpikā 1.1.6. (139.8). नाभिदघ्ना (fem.) नाभिदघ्ना (आसन्दी) भवति Śat. Br. 3.3.4.28; Kāty. Śr. 7.9.27; पर्यन्त्या नाभिदघ्ना औदुम्बरीमभ्यग्रा मिनोति Hiraṇya. Śr. 7. 7. 13. In later literature we get नाभिदघ्नां तु तां भित्तिं छादयेद् विटपव्रजैः Mānasollasa 4. 15. 1654. नाभिदघ्नी (fem.) नाभिदघ्न्यः पर्यन्तीयाः Āpa. Śr. 11. 10. 6; Mayūkhamālikā on Śāstradīpikā 334.33 (3.8.5) नाभिदघ्नीं द्विषाहस्रं द्वितीयम् Āp. Śulba. 10.10. In later literature we find बालानां क्रीडार्थे निर्मितया नाभिदघ्न्या पुष्करिण्या समा (मीमांसा) भविष्यति Nyāyamālāvistara p. 4.20. See नाभीदघ्न, नीविदघ्न.

34. नाभीदघ्न *nābhīdaghna* 'navel-deep' नाभीदघ्नपुराणपङ्कबहलाभोगेव विश्वम्भरा Sūktiratnahāra 191. 5 (perhaps metri causa for नाभिदघ्न). See नीविदघ्न.

35. नीविदघ्न *nīvidaghna* (i) 'navel-deep (water)' नीविदघ्न एव प्रथमः स्वरसामा... नीविदघ्नस्तृतीयः (अर्वाक्स्वरसामा) 'the first svarasāman (i. e. one of of the three days preceding विषुवत्) is (like) navel-deep (water)......the third (svarasāman with reverse sāmans) is (like) navel-deep (water)'. Gopa. Br. 1. 5. 2.

(ii) 'navel-high' corresponding to नाभिदघ्ने of Taitti. Saṁ 6. 3. 4. 5 (see sub voce), the Kāṇva version has नीवीदघ्ने. cf. Eggeling SBE 26. 172 f. n. 1. See नाभिदघ्न.

36. मुखदघ्न *mukhadaghná* 'mouth-high' मुखदघ्ने धायमाणो जुहोति Śat. Br. 14. 3. 1. 2, 3; 9. 1. 1. 13; प्रतिप्रस्थाता... शालाकमिध्मं... मुखदघ्ने धारयन् Bau. Śr. 9. 13; also cf. Bau. Śr. 1?. 14; Vaikhā. Śr. 19. 6; मुखदघ्नं ब्राह्मणस्य (श्मशानं कुर्यात्) Śat. Br. 13. 8. 3. 11; ऊर्ध्वमूलानामश्वत्थानां व्रजं मिन्वन्ति मुखदघ्नम् 'they fix the stable (for the horses) mouth-high with the Aśvattha trees whose roots have grown upwards' Vādhūla 3. 76. See आदघ्न, आस्यदघ्न.

37. शीर्षदघ्न *śīrṣadaghná* 'head-deep' इदमहं तान्वलगानुद्वपामि यान्मे सजन्यो यानसजन्यो निचखान ये शीर्षदघ्ने 'here I dig up those spells which my clansman or which my non-clansman buried, (and) which (as a result) are head-deep (below the ground)' Mai. S. 1. 2. 10.

38. स्तनदघ्न *stanadaghna* 'breast-deep' Only in later literature. स्तनदघ्नं जलम् Hariva. C 8324; यद्गुल्फजानुजघनस्तनदघ्नमेव स्त्रैणं समागममयात्र पयो गभीरम् 'Since

water that was only ankle-, knee-, hip-, (and) breast-deep has come in contact with women, (but) not deep water. ' Rāgha. Pāṇḍa. , 15.47

39. स्फिग्दघ्न *sphigdaghna* ' hip-high ' श्मशानस्य मात्रा...जानुदघ्नमूरुदघ्नं स्फिग्दघ्नं वैषोत्तमा मात्रा ' the measure of the burial mound...(may be) knee-high, thigh-high or hip-high. This is the maximum measure. ' Hira. Pi. 29.5. See उपस्थदघ्न, जघनदघ्न.

COLOPHON

I am indebted to the Scriptorium of the Sanskrit Dictionary Department, Poona for information on the later occurrences of the derivatives ending in *-daghnā*.

[Received 1 September 1972]

ADHVAN : ADHVARA

M. A. Mehendale

Deccan College, Poona

ABSTRACT : History of these two words is examined and findings supported from various texts.

The word ádhvan has been attested since the Ṛgveda. According to the lexicons it means 'a road, way, orbit'. Its cognate advan, adwan is available in the Avesta. The age of ádhvan can therefore be pushed back at least to the Indo-Iranian period.

The etymology of the word is in doubt. In the Uṇādi 4.117(565), it is derived from ad-'to eat' (ader dha ca). In this derivation we have to assume the replacement of d by dh. The relationship between the meanings of ad- and ádhvan is explained by the commentators as follows :

māṁsaśoṇitavīryāyūṁṣy attīty adhvā (vṛtti of Svetavanavāsin on 4.124), or atti balam ity adhvā (Daśapadī vṛtti 6.71). The other Uṇādis[1] suggest the derivation from at-'to be on more constantly' (sātatyagamana). In this derivation we have to assume the replacement of t by dh. In the commentary of Devarājayajvan on the Nighaṇṭu 1.3.12 ádhvan is derived from the hypothetical root adh-'to go'. The same suggestion is made by Grassmann in his Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda (s. v. adhvará'). Johansson[2] connects it with Pāli *andhati 'he goes' which verb he presumes on the basis of Pāli andhitvā (Jātaka III. 505) which corresponds to parigantvā (III. 506). But scholars are not agreed regarding the existence of Pāli andhati[3].

An examination of the passages in the Ṛgveda (and the Atharvaveda) where the word ádhvan occurs indicates that it is used with reference to a watery course, river streams in which the sun moves for his daily course from morning till night[4].

The examples are :

(1) úd vāṁ pṛkṣāso mádhumanto aśthur ā sūryo aruhac chukrám arṇaḥ/
yásmā ādityā ádhvano rádanti mitró aryamā varuṇo sajóṣāḥ //7.60.4.

"Your nourishments, full of honey, have stood up. Sūrya has mounted the shining floods (he) for whom the Ādityas dig the watery ways delightfully—Mitra, Aryama, (and) Varuṇa".

(2) jagāma sūro ádhvano vìmadhyam 10.179.2 (=AV 7.75.2). "The sun has gone to the middle of the watery way".

(3) máno ná yó, dvanaḥ sadyá eti 1.71.9 "who, like the mind, goes instantly (to the end) of the watery way".

(4) ádhvāsya vìtato mahān pūrvaś cāparaś ca yaḥ/AV 13.2.14 'his (sun's) watery course is extended long which is eastern and westren". (also cf. AV 13.1.36 and 43).

The word ádhvan is also used with reference to the common course taken by the dawn and the night. This course also lay presumably through the heavenly waters. samānó ádhvā svásror anantás tám anyānyā carato devá́śiṣṭe 1.113.3. "The watery course of the two sisters is the same, endless one, which the one, after the another, as ordained by the gods".[5]

As in the Ṛgveda, advan (ádwan) is used with reference to the path of the sun and the stars also in the Avesta.

(1) kasnā əng strəmcā dāt advānəm Yama 44.3. "Who has made the way for the sun and the stars ?"

(2) tē...fravazənti dūraē-urvaēsəm adwanō urvaēsəm nāsəmna yasta 13.58. "Now they (i. e. the stars, the moon, and the sun Yasta 13.57) move forward to the distant turning point of the way, in order to reach the turning point."

(3) āat yimō frasusat raocā ā·upa rapiowam hū paiti adwanəm Vidēvdāt 2.10. "Then yama went forward to the light at midday towards the path of the sun".

Besides the above passages, ádhvan is also used with reference to the heavenly and the earthly waters or streams; it is used also with reference to a vast expanse of water, whether in the heaven or on the earth.

(1) ambáyo yánty ádhvabhir jāmáyo ádhvarìyatàm/pṛñcantīr madhunā payaḥ//1.23.16 (=AV 1.4.1). "The mothers[6] move along the watery ways, the sisters of those who wish to go in a vehicle (i. e. the sun and the stars who move in heavenly waters), mixing (their) milk with honey."

(2) samānó ádhvā pravátām anuṣyáde 2.13.2. "The streams have the same watery way to go over".[7]

(3) kìm icchántī sarámā prèdám ānaḍ dūré hyádhvā jáguriḥ párācaiḥ 10.108.1 "Wishing for what has Saramā accomplished this—indeed the watery way is distant[8] disappearing far away".

(4) yád ūhāthúr aśvinā bhujyúm ástam anārambhaṇé ádhvani taugryám ástam khila I.2.1. "When you, oh Aśvinā, carried Bhujyu home, the son of Turga who was thrown[9] in the watery expanse having no hold". When we compare this verse with RV 1.116.5 where the same legend is referred to with the words anārambhaṇé tád avīrayethām anāsthāné agrabhaṇé samudré it becomes clear that anārambhaṇé ádhvam of the Khila passage corresponds to anārambhaṇé ádhvam of the Ṛgveda passage and that ádhvan therefore means a vast watery expanse.[10]

In the following verse ádhvan is only probably related to a water way.

haṁsāv iva patatho adhvagāv iva sómaṁ sutáṁ mahiṣévāva gacchathaḥ/ sajóṣasā uṣásā sūryeṇa ca trír vartír yātam aśvinā// 8.35.8. "Like two swans you two fly, like two persons going on ádhvan, like two buffaloes you go down to the pressed Soma; sharing (your) delight with Uṣas and Sūrya, oh Aśvinā, you two go on your three fold journey". The expression trír vartír cannot refer to the three pressings, since Aśvinā are primarily connected with the morning pressing. It therefore seems to refer to the three different kinds of journeys made by them and this is also indicated by the three upamānas haṁsáu, adhvagáu, and mahiṣā of the first line. Since the first and the third upamāna indicate journey through air and on the land, the second upamāna may indicate journey on the water. In that case ádhvan will refer to watery streams.

The above examination shows that ádhvan is used with reference to the way which is full of water and this may have been its primary meaning. It is not to be denied that ádhvan is used also with reference to the imaginary paths in the mid-region (antarikṣa) by which the gods come and go (cf. 1.72. 1, 6.10.4, 7.42.2, 1.104.2, 6.50.5, 10.185.2, AV 4.11.2). In fact, it is also occasionally used with reference to land roads (cf. 4.16.2 (AV 20.77.2), 1.42.8, 10.51.6, 10.117.7). But these may be its secondary uses. The word having the primary meaning 'the road on the land' is pathín. This is made clear by such adjectives used with pathín as areṇu (1.35.11, 1.163.6), adhvasmá (2.34.5, 9.91.3), a ṛkṣará (1.41.4, 10.85.3), avṛká (6.4.8), anarván (8.18.2) which, with the negative prefix, deny such qualities which otherwise are found with pathín.[11] The word paripanthín 'obstructing the way' also shows that pathín primarily means a land road.[12] In the passages where ádhvan and pathín both occur, it is better to interpret them as waterways and landways.[13]

If the interpretation of ádhvan suggested in this paper is correct, it is possible to explain its derivation as air secondary formation ádh-van 'watery, full of water', and adjective turned into substantive. Such formations with the suffix -van are known to occur since the Indo-Iranian period (Alt. Gr. II.

2, Sec. 718 ff, p. 900 ff.). The word ádh-van will now appear similar to udan-vánt 'watery ocean',

The above analysis of ádh-van assumes a nominal stem *ádh 'water'. This stem now will be able to explain satisfactorily the forms ad-bhiḥ (Instr-pl.) and ad-bhyáḥ (dat. abl. pl.). So long they were related to áp 'water' and in order to explain them it was necessary to assume either the replacement of p by t (Pāṇini 7.4.48), or dissimilation ab-bhiḥ > ad-bhiḥ (Lüders, Varuṇa I. 83), or hypersanskritisation (Mayrhofer KEW I. 29-30, s. v. adbhiḥ).[14] But these attempts become unnecessary once a vocable *adh 'water' is presumed to exist in ádh-van.

The word adhvará is attested since the Ṛgveda. It is assigned the meaning 'sacrifice' and this can be exemplified in numerous passages in the Ṛgveda. The traditional etymology of adhvara is from the root dhvar- with the negative prefix a- i. e. 'one that does not injure' (dhvaratir hiṁsākarmā tatpratiṣedhaḥ. . Nirukta 1.8).[15] This has been disputed by modern scholars. They connect it with ádhvan on the assumption of a -r/-n alternating stem and justify it on the basis of the old Indian belief "that there was a way to lead (ádhvan-) the sacrificer to heaven" and "the well-known conviction that the sacrifice (adhvará –, which must be of adjectival origin) was the vehicle to convey him and his merits to that destination."[16]

The view that adhvará originally means 'related to the path, a vehicle' finds full support in the Ṛgvedic usage of the term. There are clear cases where the word adhvará seems to imply the 'original' meaning 'vehicle'. This can be easily demonstrated in passages where a word meaning 'a charioteer' occurs with adhvará.

(1) júṣṭo hí dūtó ási havyavāhano 'gne rathīr adhvarāṇām 1.44.2 "for, you are the loved messenger the carrier of oblations, oh Agni, the charioteer of the vehicles."[17]

(2) vaiśvānaráṁ rathyàm adhvarāṇāṁ yajñasya ketúṁ janayanta devāḥ 6.7.2 "Gods have created Vaiśvānara, the charioteer of the vehicles, the banner of the sacrifice."

(3) sadyó adhvareé rathiráṁ jananta 7.7.4. "They instantly created the charioteer in the vehicle."

The meaning adhvará 'vehicle' can also be seen in passages where companion with a horse is involved. The companion is directly expressed or implied.d.

(1) só adhvarāya pári ṇīyate kavír átyo ná vājasātaye cánohitaḥ 3.2.7 "He (i. e. Agni) is carried round the vehicle, the wise one, like a horse, for the winning of the prize, the loved one."[18]

(2) vājī ...... yáṁ devāsaḥ ...... havyavāham ádadhur adhvaréṣu 3.29.7. "the prizewinner ...... whom the godss ...... (as) the carrier of oblations put to the vehicles"[19] .

The meaning 'vehicle' is certain for adhvará also when it occurs with the verb takṣ- in the following passage :

Pūṣaṇvánta ṛbhavo mādayadhvam ūrdhvágrāvāṇo adhvaráṣṁ atata 3.54.12 "oh Ṛbhus, being together with Pūṣan be delighted; with upraised stones they have fashioned the vehicle".[20]

In the passages where yajñá and adhvará occur together a difference in meaning is indeed implied. Geldner usually tries to bring this out by rendering yajñá as opter (or Anbetung) and adhvará as Gottesdienst (or Opfer) etc.[21] Sāyaṇa does this by leaving yajñá as it is (or equating it with yāga) and explaining adhvará as hiṁsārahita etc[22]. It is better to show this difference by rendering adhvará in its 'original' sense 'vehicle'.

(1) ágne yáṁ yajñám adhvaráṁ viśvátaḥ paribhūr ási/sá íd devéṣu gacchati//1.1.4. "Agni, the sacrificer which (as) a vehicle you protect all around, that indeed goes to gods[23]."

(2) ......agnír yajñásyādhvarásya cetati krátvā yajñásya cetati 1.128.4 "Agni knows of the sacrifice, of the vehicle; (he) knows of the sacrifice with his insight."[24]

(3) tvāṁ yajñéṣv īḷatè' gne prayatý adhvaré 10.21.6 "oh Agni, they worship you in sacrifices when the vehicle has progressed.[25]"

(4) sajóṣaso yajñám avantu devā ūrdhváṁ kṛṇvant adhvarásya ketúm 3.8.8 "May the gods, having common delight, protect the sacrifice, may they raise the banner of the vehicle."[26]

(5) āno niyudohiḥ śatimībhir adhváraṁ sahasraṇībhir upa yām yajñam- 7.92.5 "come to our vehicle with hundreds of mares, to (our) sacrifice with thousands (of mares)".

Finally we may compare the compound ratheṣṭhá with adhvareṣṭhá (10.77.7) to exemplify the meaning 'vehicle' of adhvará. It is not enough to translate the latter simply as 'bei der Opferfeir beschäftigt' (Grassmann) or 'bei der heiligen Handlung zugegen' (Geldner). The meaning 'standing in the vehicle (in the form of the sacrifice)' is very much there.

If, as suggested above, ádhvan primarily means a water course, a river stream, an expanse of water then it is worthwhile to investigate if traces of the primary meaning of adhvará 'a conveyance to go on watery course, a boat' can be found in the Ṛgveda. It seems possible to demonstrate this meaning in the following passages :

(1) tā no hinvantv ádhvaram 1.23.17 "May those (heavenly waters) urge on the vehicle." The vehicle to be urged forward by the waters can only be a boat.[27]

(2) svidhmā yád vanádhitir apasyāt sūro adhvaré pári ródhanā góḥ 1.121.7 "when the axe for cutting the woods, which has accummulated good sticks, is active, the sun (is) in (his) vehicle beyond the obstructions." Since

the sun moves in water, his vehicle must be one to be used on water. The verse apparently refers to the sun's coming out of the stony receptacle in which he dwells at night.[28]

(3) ā yó mūrdhānaṁ pitror árabdha ný adhvaré dadhire sūro árṇaḥ 10.8.3 "(Agni) who touched the head of the parents, they placed the floods of the sun (light) (viz. the Agni who had gone to the heaven) in the vehicle."[29] Agni when gone to heaven is identified with the sun moving in his vehicle on the waters.

(4) ūrjó nápātam adhvaré dīdivāṁsam úpa dyávi 3.27.12 "(Agni) the son of strength, shining in the vehicle, near the heaven". Here also Agni, when near the heaven, is identified with the sun shining in his vehicle. This Agni who is said to be in his adhvará is called aptúr "crossing the water" in the preceding verse.

In the Nividadhyāya (Khila 5.5.1) occurs the expression rathīr adhvarāṇām. The Ait. Br. 10.2 while commenting on this refers this passage to the sun. If the sun is called the charioteer of the vehicles then, considering the fact that his daily course lies through the water, adhvará must refer to the vehicles on the water.[30]

Corresponding to rathīyati from rátha we have adhvarīyati from adhvará. It is true that adhvarīyati in most cases means 'act as an adhvaryu, perform the sacrificial duties.[31]' But in 1.23.16 cited above, it clearly means those going in vehicles, and in the context of water, in boats. Similarly the form adhvaryati, also derived from adhvará, means 'going in a boat'[32] in 1.181, 1b adhvaryántā yád unninīthó apām which is addressed to Aśvins. As pointed out by Geldner the line alludes to the legend of Rebha who, as mentioned in 1.116.24, was rescued from the waters by the Aśvinā. Hence 1.181. 1b is to be understood as "when (you i. e. the Aśvinā) took (him) out of the waters while going in your boat".

The primary meaning of adhvará then may be said to be a conveyance to go on water, a boat and then it also means 'a vehicle on land (or air if referring to gods)'. Secondarily it means sacrifice.

Notes

1. Kātantra Unādi 6.59; Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa 2.1.283; Prakriyāsarvasva 4.126.
2. IF 3. 201 ff (1894), 8. 180 ff. (1898)
3. Pisani IF 58.254 f. (1942), Mayrhofer KEW 1.32; in Walde-Pokorny I. 130 and in Alt. Gr. II. 2. 717b uncertainty is indicated regarding this relationship. Pokorny, Indogerm. Etym. Wörterbuch 40-41, records it under andh, anedh (zero grade ṇdh) 'hervorstechen, spriessen, bluhen' although there is a difference in the meaning.

4. For the sun's daily course through the waters, see Lüders, Varuṇa I. 294 ff.
5. Also cf. 1.146.3 (anapavṛjyā ádhvano mimāne "measuring out the (watery) courses which cannot be ended."
6. The mothers are the heavenly waters (āpó devīḥ) mentioned in 1.23.18.
7. Also cf. 4.58.7 and 9.52.2.
8. Saramā is said to have flown to the ends of the heaven (páridivó ántān subhage pátantī 10.108.5)
9. Translated against the accent. astám 'thrown' should be accented on the last syllable. But then there does not seem any necessity for repeating ástam 'home'.
10. Aśvinā are said to have rescued Bhū from this watery expanse (ádhvan or samudra or udameghá (1.116.3) with the help of a boat or boats floating in the mid region (naubhìḥ ....antarikṣaprúdbhiḥ)
11. In contrast to this, adjectives with ádhvan are not commonly used, and where they are, they are colourless ones like urú (8.3.11), dīrgha (1.173.11), ananta (1.113.3) etc. The only significant adjective used with ádhvan is anārambhaṇá (Khila 1.2.1).
12. Pathin is secondarily used also of river streams on earth (pathā vār iva dhāvatu 10.145.6) and in heaven (rádat pathó váruṇaḥ sūryāya 7.87.1). The word devayāna occurs more frequently with pathín. In the context of ṛtá, pathín (and pathyā) alone occurs.
13. Cf. 6.16.3, 6.46.13, 10.22.4. Sāyaṇa tries to show the distinction either by calling them mahāmārga and kṣudramārga or as ways on the earth and in the mid-region or as ordinary ways and those on the battlefield. Geldner renders them as die strasse and der weg.
14. Old Persian has abis and Avesta has aiwyō. These seem to be direct descendants of ab-bhiḥ and ab-bhyaḥ. In Sanskrit, these forms were at some stage substituted by ad-bhiḥ and ad-bhyáḥ.
15. This derivation has often been availed of by Sāyaṇa to explain adhvará when it occurs by the side of yajñá in the same verse. See below note 23.
16. J. Gonda, Old Indian, p. 168, Leiden- Köln, 1971. Also his earlier article adhvará—and adhvaryú— in the Vishve. Indol. Jour. 3.163-177 (1965). One wonders whether the title of the paper was really intended to be ádhvaw and adhvará. All earlier references can be found in Gonda as also in Mayrhofer KEW I. 32.
17. Also cf. 8.11.2 and 4.15.2, and Gonda VIJ 3.173.
18. Also cf. 1.27.1.
19. Also cf. 3.27.8, 4.15.1. According to Gonda, VIJ 3.p.170 the meaning 'vehicle' can also be seen in expressions like prásthite adhvaré 8.35.23, payatỳ adhvaré 8.13.30, 71.12; 10.21.6, and also in passages like AV 5.12.2 and 18.2.32 (p. 171) where adhvará denotes something which can

be removed or transferred'. Further, he sees the same meaning for adhvará in ádhvaresya péśah 7.42.1 (p. 172).

20. See Gonda, op. cit., p. 173 and his footnote 52.
21. For adjectival use of adhvara in such cases see, Gonda Vishve. Ind. Journ. III. 174 ff.
22. Cf. above the explanation on adhvará given in the Nirukta. In 4.9.7 and 10.21.6 where, however, adhvará is rendered by him as yāga, he explains yajñá as yajñasādhaṁ (or yajanīyam) haviḥ.
23. Also cf. 4.9.7.
24. Also cf. 8.10.4.
25. Also cf. 6.10.1 where prayatí occurs with yajñé.
26, Also cf. 10.1.5. The banner of the sacrifice is Agni (3.11.3) Geldner understands under it the sacrificial post.
27. Gonda, VIJ 3.171 feels that the meaning 'vehicle' of adhvará can also be seen in the other passages where the verb hi-'to set in motion, to urge on' is used with reference to it as in 7.56.12, 10.30.11.
28. The treatment of this verse is not found in Lüders, Varuṇa.
29. The translation follows Lüders, Varuṇa II. 594-595, for the first half. His translation runs as : "Der das Haupt der Eltern erfasst hat, den haben sie beim Opfer niedergesetzt, cine Glut von Sonne." He further remarks : "Das "Haupt" der Eltern, d. h. den Himmel, erfasst Agni, Wern er in den Himmel eingeht."
30. I agree with Gonda (VIJ 3.174 f.n. 58) in not accepting Keith's translation of the Ait. Br. passage.
31. E. g. in 2.1.2,
32. If, however, adhvaryati is derived directly from ádhvar- (alternating stem of ádhvar-) then it would mean 'go on a watery course, on a wide expanse of water'. 'Is ratharyati formed on the analogy of adhvaryati ?

सारांश

प्रस्तुत लेख में 'अध्वन्' और 'अध्वर' इन दो शब्दों की ऐतिहासिकता का विभिन्न ग्रंथों के आधार पर विवेचन किया गया है। ऋग्वेद, अथर्ववेद और अवेस्ता में 'अध्वन्' का मुख्य अर्थ 'स्रोत, नदी, झरना' है। 'अध्वर' ऋग्वेद में मिलता है जिसका अर्थ है 'त्याग'। यह निघण्टु में भी मिलता है। इसकी उत्पत्ति* 'अध्वर' से मानी जाती है जो कि 'अध्वन' का एक रूप है। 'अध्वर' का अर्थ 'वाहन, सवारी' भी होने का संकेत मिलता है। अतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि 'अध्वर' का मूल अर्थ 'जलीय स्रोत के पार जाने योग्य सवारी' रहा होगा।

ASŪSŪ

BY M. A. MEHENDALE

The word *asūsū́* (adj.) occurs only once in the AV 10.10.23. According to the lexicons (BR[1] and MW) it has the same meaning as *asū́* (adj.) 'not giving birth, barren'. In his Grammar § 1147c, Whitney also regards this as a root noun with reduplication (like *sasyád*, *cikít* etc.). But he further notes a second possibility: "*asūsū́* is probably to be understood as a compound, *asū-sū́*." (For the meanings assigned by Whitney, see below his translation and note). The same view is put forth in the Alt Gr. II 2, p. 40. It is regarded as formed either with the reduplication of √*sū*- and hence, in meaning, equal to *asū́* 'not giving birth (nicht gebärend)'; or, it is treated as a double compound and assigned the meaning 'giving birth to one who is barren (die Unfruchtbare [*a-sū́*-] gebären machend ?').[2]

AV 10. 10. 23 runs as :

sárve gárbhād avepanta jáyamānād asūsvàḥ /
sasū́va hí tám āhúr vaśéti bráhmabhiḥ kḷptáḥ sá hy àsyā bándhuḥ //[3]

Whitney translates the verse as—"All trembled at the embryo, while being born, of her who gives not birth (? *asūsū́*)[4]; for "the cow hath given birth", they say of her; shaped (m.) by charms (*bráhman*); for it is her connection." Whitney admits that much in this verse is not clear and hence doubtful. He notes that the *padapāṭha* does not analyse the word *asūsū́*, but that the accent indicates that it is a compound to be analysed as *asū-sū́* 'giving birth to one who does not herself give birth'. He considers the connection of *kḷptás* with *vaśá* as strange but also says that it probably belongs to *gárbhas* understood.

1. It may be noted that in the BR (also in the abridged edition) the word is recorded as *asū-su* (with the final vowel short).

2. Or does the German expression mean 'making the sterile one to produce ?'

3. In the *paippalāda* 16.109.3 there is some variation towards the end. *brahmaṇā kḷpta uta bandhur asyāḥ.*

4. Also J. Narten agrees with BR in assigning the meaning of *asū́* to *asūsū́* 'barren'. In the opinion of Narten the use of *asūsū́* and *sasū́va* is meant to create a paradox. See *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica* p. 128, f.n. 58 (1971).

According to the Kauś. sūtra 66.20, AV 10 10 and 12.4 are recited when a *vaśā*[5] is sprinkled with water and given to a *Brāhmaṇa* for sacrifice. According to H.P. Schmidt, KZ 78. 38-39, 1963, this *vaśā* is not a common cow but has a characteristic by which she is predestined to be given away to a learned *Brāhmaṇa* and then to be sacrificed by him. According to Schmidt this characteristic (Eigenschaft) is stated in 10.10.23. He translates the verse as follows : "All trembled at the embryo as it was born of the (cow), who gives birth to a (cow) who herself does not give birth. For it is said of her : 'the *vaśā* has given birth' ; (the embryo) is formed with hymns (durch Gedichte geformt)—it is indeed her origin." According to Schmidt one obtains the following complete sense from the mantra : the *vaśā* to be offered is sterile, her birth is accompanied by a sign (Zeichen) which makes all beings tremble and causes them to adore her (cf verse 1 *námas te jáyamānāyai jātáyā utá te námaḥ*). The embryo is formed by *bráhmāṇi* which, in this context, can only mean that the embryo, even before its birth, is predestined for the carriers of the *bráhman*, i.e. the *brāhmaṇāḥ*.

Perhaps, this interpretation is not likely. The verse does not make any mention of the characteristic (Eigenschaft) which predestines the newly born calf to be given away to a *Brāhmaṇa*-for, this may not be the meaning of *bráhmabhiḥ kḷptáḥ*—, nor of a sign (Zeichen) which accompanies the birth of the sterile cow and makes the beings tremble.

On the other hand one may feel certain that the verse says four things quite clearly :

i. all (onlookers) tremble at the sight of the *gárbha* while it is born ;

ii. the mother of the *gárbha* is *asūsá* ;

iii. the reason (*hí*) of the trembling is given by what the onlookers say about her : 'the *vaśá* has given birth';

iv. the *gárbha* is formed (or made complete ?) by *bráhman*.

---

5. According to Whitney the name *vaśā* used for the cow throughout the hymn (AV 10.10) implies non-pregnancy.

When one takes into account these points one is inclined to refer this verse to a particular procedure which is enjoined in the sacrifice of a barren cow (*vaśá*),[6] called *anūbándhyā*, to Mitra and Varuṇa after the concluding rite (*udayanīyā iṣṭi*) of a Soma sacrifice.[7] When the cow has been immolated it is necessary that the priests make sure that the cow is, indeed, barren. Her barrenness cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, when the cow is quieted the *adhvaryu* asks the *śamitṛ* to pull out the omentum and search for an embryo. If no embryo is found then nothing is required to be done, but if an embryo is found then a special procedure for its disposal has to be gone through.

It will be clear that the verse in the AV 10. 10. 23 refers to the sight of this *gárbha* when a supposed barren cow is sacrificed and, on examination, is found to contain an embryo. This is a surprise and an event which calls for atonement. That is the reason why the onlookers tremble at the sight of the embryo of a cow who was deemed to be barren. They tremble and exclaim "the *vaśá* has given birth."

The word *asūsú*, applied to the mother cow, is taken to mean 'giving birth to a sterile calf'. This may be justified when the calf later proves to be sterile But how can one say this right at the birth of the embryo ? From what has been said above regarding the sacrificial procedure, the word can be interpreted in a different way. As an adjective it can mean 'a barren and a not barren (*asūś ca sā sūś ca*)' and will apply to the sacrificed cow who was deemed to be barren but was, in fact, found to be not barren. Even the old meaning can be understood in the present context in the following way. It will refer to a cow who gives birth to one who, being in an embryonic stage, is not going to beget or give birth to any one.[8]

---

6. *átha yadā ná káścana rásaḥ paryáśiṣyata táta eṣā́ maitrāvaruṇī́ vaśā́ sámabhavat tásmād eṣā́ ná prájāyate.* Śat.Br. 4.5.1.9.

7. The procedure is described in the Śat.Br. 4. 5. 2. 1-18. The same procedure is also adopted when a pregnant cow (*vijñātagárbhā*=*prajñātagárbhā* according to the comm.) is offered to Aditi towards the end of a *Rājasūya* (Śat. Br. 5.5.2.8).

8. As mentioned in the Śat.Br. 4.5.2.10, the embryo may be one that can be ascertained as male, or as female, or may be indistinguishable.

In the procedure referred to above it is enjoined that if the cow is found to contain an embryo then the latter is to be drawn out not from the *udára* but by tearing as under the thighs (*virújya śróṇī*).[9] When the embryo is being pulled out the followirg mantra is to be recited : *éjatu dáśamāsyo gárbho jarāyuṇā sahá* 'may the embryo, ten months old, come out with the caul'. On this the Śat.Br. comments : *yadā vai gárbhaḥ sámṛddho bhávaty átha dáśamāsyaḥ / tám etád ápy ádaśamāsyaṁ sántaṁ bráhmaṇaivá yájuṣā dáśamāsyaṁ karoti* "when, indeed, an embryo becomes fully developed, then it is ten months old. This (recitation) makes him, even when not ten months old, one of ten months with the help of a *bráhman*, a *yájus*." Thus with this mantra the *gárbha* is made fully developed (*sámṛddha*) although it is really not so.[10] The expression *bráhmabhiḥ*[11] *kḷptáḥ* in the verse 10. 10. 23 very probably refers to this symbolically making the embryo fully developed although really not so. Or, it may refer to the very conception of the mother cow. Since she was considered as incapable of bearing a calf, the embryo, found in her, is looked upon as formed, not in the natural way, but by certain *bráhmans*.

The end of the verse, *sá hy àsyā bándhuḥ*, means either that the *gárbha* (referred to by *sáḥ*), indeed, is her relation (and not a bull, because the conception is believed to have occurred in a miraculous way). Or, it may refer to the *Brāhmaṇa*, called to the mind by the use of the word *bráhmabhiḥ*, who is the chanter of the mantras responsible for the conception of the cow or for making the embryo fully developed and worthy of sacrifice (*dáśamāsya, yajñíya*). He is, indeed, her relation.

---

9. Ultimately the *gárbha* is offered to the *Maruts* on the cooking fire of the animal (*paśuśrapaṇa*).

10. There is one more *mantra* (Vāj. S. 8. 29), called *bráhman* or *yájus*, with the help of which the priest makes the embryo, which is unfit for sacrifice, fit for sacrifice (*áyajñiyā vai gárbhaḥ / tán etád bráhmaṇaivá yájuṣā yajñíyaṁ karoti* Śat.Br. 4. 5. 2. 10).

11. As noted in f.n. 3, the *paippalāda* version has the singular *brahmaṇā*.

TWO VEDIC NOTES

(1) *kīrín?*

Grassmann, in his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (1872), has two separate entries *kīrí* subst. (m) and *kīrín* both adj. and subst. (m). To the former he assigns the meaning 'singer' and to the latter 'praising' and 'singer'.[1] He lists three occurrences of the forms of *kīrín*, two as instr. sg. *kīríṇā* 5.4.10 (= TS 1.4.46.1) and 5.40.8, and one as nom. pl. *kīríṇas* 5.52.12.[2] But the form *kīríṇā* can as well be derived from *kīrí* and for this form a separate stem *kīrín* would not be necessary.[3] But this is not true of *kīríṇas*. For its derivation, a stem *kīrín* would be necessary. The verse where the form in question occurs runs: *chandaḥstúbhaḥ kubhanyáva útsam ā́ kīríṇo nṛtuḥ*. The line refers to the dancing of the Maruts near the *útsa*.[4] The author of the Padapāṭha gives the Saṃhitā word as *kīríṇas*, and following him scholars have interpreted the form as nom. pl. of *kīrín* and translated it as 'bards' or 'singers'.[5] But it is also possible to analyse the Saṃhitā text *kīríṇo nṛtuḥ* as *kīríṇā u nṛtuḥ* where *kīríṇā* could be instr. sg. and can come from the stem *kīrí*. The line would then mean that the Maruts danced, and the singer of the hymn, to whom they had manifested themselves (*té me . . . āsan dṛśí* . . . 'they (i.e. the Maruts) appeared to me' 5.52.12) danced with them too. In this interpretation we are going against only the Padapāṭha. But the analysis of *kīríṇo* as *kīríṇā u* also gives good meaning and does not compel us to assume a separate stem *kīrín* which would be attested only once.[6] In the ṚV

[1] BR (*Wörterbuch*) has only *kīrí* (subst.), but the shorter dictionary of Böhtlingk and Mayrhofer's *EWA*, I, 1956, have both *kīri* and *kīrin*. According to Böhtlingk the former is a subst., the latter an adj., while according to Mayrhofer both are adj. Mayrhofer (p. 215) thinks that *kīri* 'small, humble, poor' is perhaps a loan from Dravidian. But on p. 565 he refers to Bailey, *TPS*, 1955, 63, who compares *kīri* 'weak, poor' with Iranian—Khotanese *khīraa* 'sad, depressed'—and suggests the identification of a base *kī* beside *khī* with the meaning 'depressed'. The etymology of *kīrin*, which M. translates as possibly 'romping', is according to him 'unsicher'.

[2] Grassmann (*Wörterbuch*) s.v. *kīrí* makes a suggestion to read *kīríṇe* in the place of *kīríṇā* in ṚV 1.100.9. This would then be another form (dative) to be derived from *kīrín*. But this suggestion is not approved by Oldenberg, *Ṛgveda-Textkr. und exeg. Noten*, 1909, I, 96, who remarks 'Der Instrum. aber ist tadellos . . .'. Geldner also, as his translation 'mit dem Armen' (*Der Rig-Veda*, I, 1951) indicates, does not accept Grassmann's suggestion.

[3] Wackernagel–Debrunner, *Altind. Gr.*, III, § 147, p. 279, note. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, II, also derives *kīríṇā* in 5.4.10 and 5.40.8 from *kīrí* and translates it with 'bloss'. See his note on 5.40.8 where he details the different shades of meaning to be obtained from the basic meaning 'bloss'.

[4] According to Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, II, 58, footnote on 12b, *útsa* is perhaps the Soma tub ('Somakufe') and at the same time it alludes to the Gotama legend of ṚV 1.85.11. According to Lüders, *Varuṇa*, II, Göttingen, 1959, 384–5, *útsa* is the inexhaustible source or the container which the Maruts milk, swell, or pour out for the thirsty and around which they dance.

[5] 'Barden' Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, II, 58; 'Sänger' Lüders, *Varuṇa*, II, 386. Geldner thus clearly distinguishes *kīrín* (subst.) from *kīrí* (adj.) possibly assuming a different etymology.

[6] On this supposed *hapax legomenon* see F. B. J. Kuiper, *Indian Linguistics*, XIX, 1958, 361–2. He considers Skt. √*krīḍ* and √**kīr* to be of foreign origin < **kīḍ*. In the first, the cerebral *ḍ* of the foreign word is kept intact but the initial simple consonant is replaced by a cluster with *r*; in the second, the foreign *ḍ* is rendered by *r*. He translates *kīrín* 'frisking, dancing'. This explanation of *kīrín* has, however, certain difficulties of which the author himself shows awareness.

kīri is usually followed by the particle *cid*. In the interpretation suggested above it can be said that the particle *u* has taken the place of *cid*. This, in all probability, has happened in order to fit the metre, as otherwise with *cid*, there would be one syllable more (*kīriṇo* and *kīriṇā cid*).

(2) *maná*

Grassmann (*Wörterbuch*) has two entries for *maná*. To *maná* 1, to be derived from √*man*, he assigns the meanings: 'devotion, affection' ('Ergebenheit, Anhänglichkeit'); 'jealousy, anger' ('Eifersucht, Zorn', cf. *manyú*).[7] About the second *maná* he says: 'perhaps a weight (in gold)' ('wol ein Gewicht (an Gold'). He compares with this latter Gk. *mnā*, Lat. *mina*.[8] In the Ṛgveda, the second *maná* is supposed to occur only once, 8.78.2. The verse runs:

ā́ no bhara vyáñjanam gā́m áśvam abhyáñjanam/sácā maná hiraṇyáyā.

Geldner translates 2c as 'with golden saddle-cloth (?)' ('nebst goldener Schabracke(?)').[9]

It does not seem necessary, however, to assume a substantive *maná* (meaning some kind of weight, or utensil, or ornament, or saddle-cloth) homophonous with *maná* which means 'devotion, thought, etc.'.[10] The latter meaning can very well serve for *maná* occurring in 8.78.2. We can translate the verse as 'bring to us a bull, (which can serve as) a distinguishing mark,[11] a horse, (which can also serve as) a distinguishing mark,[11] together with a golden (i.e. shining) devotion'. The seer prays to the god to endow him with lustrous devotion. Or we may translate 2c as 'with golden (i.e. full of gold) thought'. In that case the poet wants the god to give him a mind which seeks gold. This would agree with verse 9 of the same hymn in which the poet refers to his *kā́maḥ hiraṇyayúḥ* 'a desire which seeks gold'.[12]

M. A. MEHENDALE

[7] BR (*Wörterbuch*) and Mayrhofer (*EWA*, II, 1963) also have two entries for *maná*.

[8] According to BR it is perhaps to be derived from √*mā* 'to measure'. According to Mayrhofer (*EWA*, II, 574) it is a designation of a golden ornament, etymologically perhaps related to Skt. *maṇi*.

[9] He (*Der Rig-Veda*, II, footnote on 8.78.2) declares *maná* to be uncertain, semantically as well as formally. In the next footnote, however, he wonders whether *maná* can be related to *carmamná* 'tanner' ('Lohgerber') which occurs in 8.5.38. He further refers to 8.1.32b where *sahá tvacā́ hiraṇyáyā* is rendered by him as 'samt goldener Schabracke'.

[10] Böhtlingk's shorter dictionary and MW have only one *maná* with the meanings of *maná* 1 of Grassmann.

[11] This seems to be the meaning of *vyáñjana* and *abhyáñjana* and not 'what adorns' ('was ziert (?)') and 'ointment' ('Salböl') as Geldner in his translation of this verse understands them to mean. *abhyáñjana* occurs also in 8.3.24 and 10.85.7. In the former it refers to an illustrious horse presented to the singer by his patron. It is very likely that in 10.85.7 also it refers to a distinguished horse which Sūryā rides to go to her husband.

[12] In the first two verses of the hymn, the seer asks Indra to bring him a *puroḍā́śa*, hundreds of cows, a bull, a horse, together with *maná*. All these are again referred to in verse 9 when he speaks of *yavayúḥ, gavyúḥ, hiraṇyayúḥ*, and *aśvayúḥ kā́maḥ*.

SAPTA DEVALOKĀḤ

M. A. MEHENDALE

Lüders in his *Varuṇa* I p. 57 ff. points out that in the *Ṛgveda* we often read about the three heavens, the three midregions and the three earths. He then observes (p.64 f.) that in the late Vedic period the 'seven worlds of gods' (*sapta devalokāḥ*) take the place of the 'three heavens' of the early Vedic period. In this regard he refers to a passage in the *Kauṣ. Br.*20. 1 which reads as : *tad devāḥ samāruhya sarvāl lokān anu pariplavante devalokaṁ pitṛlokaṁ jīvalokam imam apodakam*[1] *agnilokam ṛtadhāmānaṁ vāyulokam aparājitam indralokam adhidivaṁ varuṇalokaṁ pradivaṁ mṛtyulokaṁ rocanaṁ brahmaṇo lokaṁ nākaṁ saptamaṁ*[2] *lokānām*. He translates it as : "After mounting this (i.e. the wheel of the gods), the gods move around all the worlds: the world of the gods, the world of the fathers, this world of the living beings, *Apodaka*, the world of Agni, *Ṛtadhāman*, the world of Vāyu, *Aparājita*, the world of Indra, *Adhidiv*, the world of Varuṇa, *Pradiv*, the world of Mṛtyu, *Rocana*, the world of Brahman, *Nāka*, the seventh of the worlds."

Lüders rightly observes that in the above enumeration two different lists of the worlds have been put together. The first comprises the world of the gods, the world of the fathers, and the world of the living beings; the second list gives the seven worlds of the gods beginning with *Agniloka* and ending with *Nāka*. It is, however, not clear why Lüders considers *Apodaka*, *Ṛtadhāman* *Aparājita* *Adhidiv*, *Pradiv* and *Rocana* as the names of the worlds of Agni, Vāyu, Indra, Varuṇa, Mṛtyu, and Brahman respectively.

1. v. l. *upodakam*.
2. v. l. *sattamam*. Keith in his translation of the *Kau. Br.* accepts this reading and translates it as 'the most real'. He says that the reading *saptamam* is 'clearly wrong'. But Lüders considers *saptamam* as the 'only correct' reading. He also rejects Keith's translation of *sattamam*. In the opinion of Lüders *sattama* can at the most mean 'the best' (*Varuṇa* I. 65. 6 n 1). The reading *sattamam* is accepted in the Kauṣ. Br. edited by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma (Wiesbaden, 1968).

He says that *Adhidiv* is a fitting name for the world of Varuṇa since he lives in the highest heaven; that Indra's world is called *Aparājita* because Indra himself is called *aparājita* 'invincible';[1] that *Rocana*, the world of Brahman, is the oldest designation of the heaven's 'space of light' (Lichtraum); that *Ṛtadhāman* as the name of the world of Vāyu, appears to be reminiscent of *ṛtadhāmāsi svarjyotiḥ* occurring in the *VS* 5. 32;[2] and that *Apodaka* 'waterless' is self-explained as the name of Agni's world.

It appears that Lüders has been led to the above interpretation of the passage in the *Kauṣ. Br.* because in this passage the world of Mṛtyu is characterised as *pradiv*[3] and Lüders believes (p.62) that in the *AV* 18.2.48 *Pradiv* is mentioned as the name of the heaven in which the fathers live. There is probably nothing wrong in identifying the *Mṛtyuloka* of the *KB* with the third and the highest heaven in which the fathers live, of the *AV*. But there is nothing in the *AV* verse to indicate that it purports to give the names of the three heavens. The verse in question reads as: *udanvátī*[4] *dyaúr avamá pīlúmatīti madhyamá tṛtī́yā há pradyaúr íti yásyām pitára ā́sate*. Lüders believes that this verse gives *udanvatī*, *Pīlumatī*, and *Pradiv* as the names of the lowest, the middle, and the third (which is apparently the highest) heaven respectively. But these three worlds can easily be interpreted as only giving the special characteristics or the location of the three heavens, and hence they need not be looked upon as proper names. Thus, according to this verse, the lowest heaven is characterized by water, the middle one by *pīlu*,[5] and the third by the fathers. The prefix *pra* in *Pradiv* is only indicative of the highest location among the

1. It may, however, be noted that in the *ṚV.* 3.12.4 and 8.38,2 Agni, together with Indra, is also called *aparājita*. In the VS 28.2, perhaps, *tanūnapāt agni* is called *aparājita*. In the AV 10.2.33 Brahmā is said to have entered the golden *púḥ* which is *aparājitā*.
2. The connection between *VS* 5.32 and *KB* 20.1 is not clear. In the *VS*, as explained by the commentator, the *mantra* is addressed to the branch of the *Udumbara* tree. The word *ṛtadhāman* occurs once again in the *VS* 18.38. Here it is Agni who is said to be *ṛtadhāman*. Apparently the association of Vāyu with *ṛta*, as given in the *Kauṣ. Br.*, is based on some different tradition and not on the *Vāj. Saṁ.*
3. Incidentally *pratidivam* is the reading accepted by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma.
4. The words *udanvatí* and *pilumatī* are accented on the last syllable in *Varuṇa* I.62.4. *udanvatī* is also to be found in the Roth-Whitney edition.
5. Whitney, following the commentator's 'worthless etymological guess', translates *pilu* as 'stars (?)'. But verse 35 of this hymn seems to suggest that the

three heavens since no such word as *uttamá* is used regarding the third heaven to contrast with the words *avamá* and *madhyamá* used of the other two heavens. And what has been achieved by the possessive suffixes *vant* and *mant* in *udanvátī* and *pīlúmatī* has been sought to be achieved by the expression *yásyām pitára ásate*. In other words this expression is as good as *pitṛmatī*. If *pitṛmatī* would have been actually used, then probably Lüders might have considered that, and not Pradiv, as the proper name of the third heaven.

If *pradiv* is not the proper name of the highest heaven in the *AV*, there is little justification in interpreting *apodakā* and other words of the *KB* as proper names. It is, therefore, better to understand *apodaka* 'without water'[1], *ṛtadhāman* 'the seat of *ṛta*', *aparājita* as 'invincible', *adhidiv* as 'the heaven above (the preceding three)', *pradiv* as 'the heaven further up', and *rocana* as 'shining.'[2]

In the above interpretation *rocana* is taken as an adjective and not a noun (for a proper noun). Lüders has clearly shown (p.66 ff) that in the *RV rocaná* occurs as a noun and refers to the invisible part of the heaven, to the region of light above the firmament (unsichtbarer Himmel, Lichtraum). But he also demonstrates (p. 71 ff) that towards the end of the Vedic period, the word *rocaná* has come to be used as adjective meaning 'shining lustrous' (glänzend, leuchtend). Not only this. He further makes clear (p. 78) that *rocaná* seems to have been used as an adjective already in the *Ṛgveda* in three places : 3.5.10; 3.61.5; 10. 189.2.

It seems possible to show that *rocaná* occurs as an adjective also in two other places in the *Ṛgveda*. In 5.69.4 we read about

middle heaven is characterized by *svadhā* (*yé......mádhye divódḥ svadhdyā mādáyante*). Hence *pīlúmatī*, which also refers to the middle heaven, may be translated as 'full of the drink of the fathers'. However, it should be noted that in the verse 48 it is the highest heaven, and not the middle one, in which the fathers are said to live.

1. If, as seen above, one of the divisions of the world is characterized by water (*udanvátī*) then, perhaps, the reading *upodakam*, as adjective of *Agniloka*, is to be preferred to *apodakam*. It would mean that the *Agniloka* is close (*upa*) to that division of the heaven which is characterized by water (*udaka*). In that case *apodakam* would be an emendation of one who did not know what to do with *upodakam*. He thought that *apodaka* 'waterless' would go better with Agniloka. *Upodakam* is also the reading accepted in the edition of E. R Sreekrishna Sarma. Further, in this edition *imam* is construed with *Agniloka*, and not with the preceding *jīvaloka*.

2. Keith also does not look upon these words as proper names. He renders *ṛtadhāman* 'established in moral order', *adhidiv* 'over the sky', *pradiv* 'the highest sky', *rocana* 'the welkin'.

Mitra and Varuṇa : *yá dhartárā rájaso rocanásyotádityā divyá párthivasya*. Lüders interprets *rocaná* here as a noun and translates[1] : "Those you, the heavenly Ādityas, who are the holders (Erhalter) of the expanse of the light space (Lichtreichraum) and of the earthly (one)."[2] But in this line there is clearly intended a parallelism between *párthiva* (*rájas*) and *rocaná rájas*. In other words, *rocaná* here takes the place of *divyá* and hence, like *párthiva*, it should be understood as an adjective qualifying *rájas*. The line, therefore, may be translated as : "you, the heavenly Ādityas, who are the holders of the shining space (i.e. the invisible heaven) and of the earthly space (i.e. the earth)". Lüders usually translates *rocaná* as 'Lichtraum', but since in the present passage he takes both *rocaná* and *rájas* as nouns he combines the two into a single expression 'Lichtreichraum', which hardly seems to differ from 'Lichtraum'.

In the *ṚV* 1. 19. 6 we read about the Maruts : *yé nákasyádhi rocané diví devása ásate* which Lüders translates (p.66) ; "who live as gods in heaven, in the lightspace of heaven (Die im Lichtraum des Himmels, im Himmel als Götter wohnen)". He observes on p. 76 that in this line the word *nákasya* has been chosen in place of the usual *diváḥ* because the word *diví* occurs in the same line. Hence, according to Lüders, in the above line *nákasya rocané* is as good as *diváḥ rocané* 'in the lightspace of the heaven'. Understood this way, there occurs an unnecessary repetition of 'heaven'. It is therefore better to interpret *rocané* as adjective qualifying *diví* and understand *náka* in its usual Ṛgvedic sense attributed to it by Lüders viz. 'the visible heaven, the firmament'. The line may then be translated as : "who, as gods, live in the shining heaven on the firmament."[3]

According to Lüders (pp. 75-76) *náka* appears, not in its special meaning 'firmament', but in the generalized meaning 'heaven' clearly only in two places in the *Ṛgveda*, viz. 1. 164. 50=10.90.16 and 1. 19.6. It is true that these references are from the later portions of the *Ṛgveda* and hence the occurrence of *náka* in them in its generalized meaning is not surprising. But, as shown above, in 1. 19. 6 *náka* can very well mean the 'firmament'. If this is true then the clear use of *náka* 'heaven' in the *Ṛgveda* is reduced to one.

1. *Varuṇa* I, p. 66.
2. "die Erhalter der Lichtwelt und der irdischen Welt" Geldner.
3. "Die über dem Lichte des Firmaments, im Himmel als Götter wohnen..." Geldner.

While discussing the *Kauṣ. Br.* passage referred to above, Lüders calls attention (p. 65) to the fact that *nāka* has been named last in the list of the worlds of the gods which, at least apparently, is thus made also the highest among the *sapta devalokāḥ*. He says that this is rather peculiar since *nāka* originally designates just the lowest, the visible part of the heaven and not the highest. He tries to reconcile this contradiction by pointing out that in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* this distinction between the visible and the invisible parts of the heaven was forgotten.

But although *nāka* appears last in the *Kauṣ. Br.* enumeration it does not, on that account, mean that it is also to be considered the highest. The author of the *Brāhmaṇa* obviously starts the enumeration of the invisible worlds of the heaven beginning with *Agniloka*. And having mentioned the sixth, the *Brahmaloka*, which is apparently the highest, it mentions in the end *nāka*, the lowest, only to add that it is the *saptama*, i.e. it makes the total of seven complete.[1] Hence in this passage *nāka* can very well be interpreted as designating only the lowest visible part of the heaven.

It can be shown that the word *saptama* does not point to the highest but to the lowest world in one more passage cited by Lüders on p. 65 where the 'seven worlds' include not only the parts of the heaven but also the earth and the midregion. In the *Muṇḍaka Up.* 1. 2. 3 it is said that one who gives the offering at a wrong time[2] (*ahutam*) or in a wrong way (*avidhinā hutam*), for him the offering destroys the worlds upto i.e. including the seventh (*āsaptamāṁs tasya lokān hinasti*). Lüders says that Śaṅkara is right when under the 'seven worlds' he understands *bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, suvaḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ,* and *satyam*.[3] Now when it is said that a sacrificer who offers badly loses the worlds, there can be no question of saying that he loses them all including the highest. What is obviously meant is that he by his wrong act loses all the worlds including

1. P 5.2.48 : *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* and 49 : *nāntād asaṁkhyāder maṭ*.
2. Śaṅkara : *samyag agnihotrakāle 'hutam*.
3. Śaṅkara : *bhūrādayaḥ satyāntāḥ sapta lokāḥ*. Śaṅkara also gives an alternative explanation of *sapta lokāḥ* which is far-fetched. Lüders, apparently, does not look upon it worth mentioning. According to this explanation *sapta lokāḥ* may refer to the seven generations, the three preceding and the three following, and the one of the sacrificer himself which are related to him by the rite of the offering to the deceased (*piṇḍadānādyanugraheṇa vā sambadhyamānāḥ pitṛpitāmahaprapitāmahāḥ putrapautraprapautrāḥ svātmopakārāḥ sapta lokāḥ* ......). The meaning 'generation' assigned to *loka* by Śaṅkara is rather peculiar.

the lowest, i.e. he loses even this world[1], and this is what the expression *ā saptamān lokān* should mean. Thus, here, earth, which is the first in the enumeration, and lowest in order when looked at from the highest world, is designated as *saptama* 'seventh', i.e. the one which completes the total of seven.

1. *nāyaṁ loko 'sty ayajñasya kuto 'nyaḥ kurusattama*, Gītā 4.31.

EKAVṚ́DH AND *EKAVṚ́T*[1] IN VEDIC LITERATURE

M. A. Mehendale

POONA

In the *Śat. Br.* 13.2.1 are mentioned food offerings (*annahoma*-s) which are offered as a part of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The offerings consist of different materials like *ājya, saktu, dhānā* and *lāja*. They are offered throughout the night. The offerings commence with those offered to *prāṇa, apāna* etc. and then come those which are offered to the cardinal numbers like *eka, dvi, tri* etc. and go upto *śata* and *ekaśata*. Everytime the numbers are raised successively by one. The formulas, accompanying the offerings, like *prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā* etc. are found in the *Vāj. Saṁ.* 22.23-24. While explaining the significance of raising the numbers each time by one the *Śat. Br.* (13.2.1.5) observes : *ékasmai svā́hā dvā́bhyāṁ svā́hā śatā́ya svā́haikaśatāya svā́hétyaupūrvám juhoti | anupūrvám evaínāṁs tat prīṇāti | ékottarā juhoti | ekavṛ́d vaí svargó lokáḥ | ekadhaivaínaṁ svargáṁ lokáṁ gamayati|* "To one hail ! to two hail ! ...... to a hundred hail ! to a hundred and one hail !' He offers in the proper order : in the proper order he thus gratifies them (the gods). He performs oblations successively increasing by one, for single, indeed, is heaven : singly he thus causes him (the sacrificer) to reach heaven" (Eggeling).

The word *ekavṛ́t* is used in the above passage to describe heaven. Eggeling translates it as 'single' which shows that he looked upon the word *ekavṛ́t* to contain the root noun *vṛ́t*. But since the word occurs while giving justification for raising the numbers each time by one (*ékottarā juhoti*) it appears that it would be better to interpret *ekavṛ́t* as the nom. sg. of *ekavṛ́dh* 'rising by one'. In the Vedic literature when the heaven is looked upon as consisting of the three or seven divisions, these are supposed to lie one above the other and the sacrificer rises (*ā-ruh*) gradually up to them.[2] Since the divisions are looked upon as placed singly one above the

---

1. BR assigns to *ekavṛ́t* the meaning 'einfach'.
2. See "*Die Dreiteilung des Himmels*" and "*Sieben Goetterwelten*", Lueders: *Varuṇa* I pp. 57ff.

other, the heaven is properly described with the epithet *ekavṛdh* and not *ekávṛt*. Only such interpretation of the word will bring out clearly the relationship between the oblations to the numbers rising by one (*eka-uttarāḥ āhutayaḥ*) and the heaven also rising by one (*eka-vṛt* < *ekavṛdh svargaḥ*).

It is not intended to suggest that *ekavṛ́t*, with the root noun *vṛ́t* as the second member, does not occur at all in the Vedic literature. It occurs, for example, in the *Śat. Br.* 3.6.3.14 in connection with the spreading of the sacrificial grass. The text reads as: *gṛhītvā́ prastarám ekavṛ́d barhíḥ stṛṇāti* "having taken the Prastara he spreads the altar-grass in a single layer" (Eggeling). The commentator on the *Kāty. Śr. S.* 8.2.25 and 8.7.12[1] where the word occurs in a similar context also explains it as 'having one layer' (*ekavṛt-ekadhātu*) i.e. the grass is spread only once (*ekavāram*).

Even in cases where it is certain that the stem is *ekavṛ́t*, and not *ekavṛ́dh*, it is difficult to decide whether the latter part of the compound contains the root noun *-vṛ́t* (from √*vṛt* 'to be, to exist') or the root noun *-vṛ́-t* (from √*vṛ* 'to cover').[2] When *ekavṛ́t* appears in connection with the sun as in the *AV* 13.4.12 *sá eṣá éka ekavṛ́d éka evá* or in 13.4.15 *yá etáṁ deváṁ ekavṛ́taṁ véda* one can be sure that *ekavṛ́t* contains the root noun *-vṛ́t* and means 'existing alone, existing by oneself'.[3] But in the same hymn when it is said *eté asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhavanti* (13), it seems that *ekavṛt* contains the root noun *-vṛ́-t* "These gods in him become covered by one (i.e. by the sun)".[4]

In the end we may note the occurrence of *ekavṛ́t* in the *Maitr. Saṁ.* 4.2.13. The passage reads as: *devā́ vái sárve sahā́ntarvanto 'bhavaṁs té*

1. Also *Mānava Śr. S.* 2.2.4.3. The word *ekavṛt* occurs also in the *TS* 5.2.3.7. (*ekavṛ́taivá suvargáṁ lokam* etc.). But since the context there is of piling the altar in one layer, *ekavṛ́t* having the root noun *vṛ́t* is quite in order.
2. See *Alt. Gr.* II. 2, p.43; also see the views of BR and Hertel cited there.
3. This becomes clear when we read about the sun in the following verses (16ff.) *ná dvitī́yo ná tṛtī́yas* etc.
4. But Whitney translates : "These gods in him become single".

sárve sahá vyájāyanta/tád[1] *ekavṛ́d áśayat sáṁvṛttam/tád devā́ íttháṁ cetthaṁ ca vyátyacaraṁs tán mitrā́váruṇā acāyatām* "The gods, verily, all became pregnant together. They were all born together. That lay alone (i.e. by itself, without procreation) rolled together. The gods passed by and beyond it in this way and that. Mitra and Varuṇa observed it." In this passage also *ekavṛ́t* is to be interpreted as containing the root noun *-vṛ́t*.

1. It is not clear what this *tád* stands for. It is narrated further that a cow was created from that *tád*.

THE ABODE OF MITRA

M. A. MEHENDALE

Having demonstrated (*Varuṇa* 1. 9-12) that the abode of Varuṇa is in waters, Lüders observes (pp. 12-13) that it is much more difficult to determine what the abode of Mitra is. The question, he says, can be answered really negatively : it is not water. But he next proceeds to point out that there is only one passage in the *Ṛgveda*, viz,. 5.3.1 which permits us to draw the conclusion that Mitra has something to do with light.[1] In the verse it is said that Agni is Varuṇa when born ; he becomes Mitra when kindled (*tvám agne váruṇo jáyase yát, tvám mitró bhavasi yát sámiddhaḥ*)[2]. Lüders rightly points out that the basis for the first statement is that Agni is born in waters and Varuṇa dwells in waters. He argues that a similar relationship appears to have existed between Mitra and the rising flame which forms the basis for the latter statement of the verse. He admits that at this stage anything more can hardly be said.

Lüders has, no doubt, very ingeniously thrown out the hint that the flame of the fire might he considtred the abode of Mitra. But it appears that while doing so he has, perhaps, missed the mark only slightly. The two words *jáyase* and *sámiddhaḥ* in the verse cited above seem significant. Agni is Varuṇa at the moment of his birth (*jáyase*) in waters. The birth in waters is implied by his being called Varuṇa who dwells in waters. Next, he becomes Mitra when he rises in flames (*sámiddhaḥ*) and this stage occurs when the spark that was produced from water comes into contact with some kind of wood (*óṣadhi, vána, vánaspáti*). Hence it is more likely that wood, rather than the rising flame of fire, is the abode of Mitra. Agni thus becomes Mitra when it comes into contact with wood

1 "....dass Mitra etwas mit dem Lichte zu tun hat." What Lüders very probably means by 'Licht' is not 'light' but 'fire'. This becomes clear from his later remark : ' Mitra hat also wirklich seinen Sitz im Feuer, wie Varuṇa im Wasser—etwas, was sich uns schon früher als wahrscheinlich ergab", (p 38).

2 For Agni being looked upon as Mitra when born see RV 3. 59. 4 and Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, p. 49.

which is the abode of Mitra. This kind of the rise of fire from waters and wood appears to be the one which happens as a result of the stroke of lightning.[1] This is described in the Nirukta 7.23 as follows : *yatra vaidyutaḥ śaraṇam abhihanti yāvad anupātto bhavati madhyamadharmaiva tāvad bhavaty udakendhanaḥ śarīropaśamanaḥ* । *upādiyamāna evāyaṁ saṁpadyata udakopaśamanaḥ śarīradīptiḥ* "where the lightning (fire) strikes a receiving substance (like wood), as long as it is not received it continues to have the property of the middle (fire), (viz.) being kindled in water and becoming extinguished in a solid substance. Only when it is received, it gets transformed into this one (i.e. the terrestrical fire), (having the property of) becoming extinguished in water and burning in solid bodies."

It is perhaps possible to find some support for the above suggestion, viz. that wood is the abode of Mitra, in a Mantra which, with certain variants, occurs in the Atharvaveda and in the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda. In the VS 6.22, for example, it reads like—*mápó maúṣadhīr hiṁsīr dhámno-dhāmno rājaṁs táto varuṇa no muñca* । *yádāhúr aghnyá íti váruṇéti śápāmahe táto varuṇa no muñca* । *sumitriyá na ápa óṣadhayaḥ santu durmitriyás*[2] *tásmai santu yó 'smān dvéṣṭi yáṁ ca vayáṁ dviṣmáḥ* "Do not injure the waters, nor the plants ; from every abode, from there, oh king Varuṇa, release us. When they said (while taking the oath) "inviolable (are the waters)" ; when we take the oath saying "oh Varuṇa", release us, oh Varuṇa, from there (i.e. from that oath). May the waters, the plants be good-contracted (or friendly) to us, bad-contracted (or inimical) they may be to him who hates us and whom we hate."

Notes : (1) The formula *mápó maúṣadhīr hiṁsīḥ* must have been recited while administering the oath. The person taking the oath is warned not to injure the waters and the plants i.e. not to violate the oaths taken in their presence. This will indicate that oaths were taken not only in the presence of water but also of plants.[3]

(2) In the text that follows *dhámno-dhāmno...muñca*, Roth[4] suggested to emend the text to *dámno-dāmno* in spite of the complete

1. This wonderful event is probably meant when Agni's birth in 5. 3. 3. is said to be *citrám*. For similar rise of fire also cf. RV 3. 9. 2.
2. *durmitriyás* in Weber's edn. looks like a misprint.
3. For a request to the plants to get release from the shackle of the oath cf. RV 10. 97. 16. For the ritual use of the formula *mápó* etc. see Śat. Br. 3. 8. 5. 10, KātŚS 6. 10 3 ff.
4. ZDMG 48, 108 (1894).

agreement of the traditional evidence to the contrary. H.P. Schmidt[1] accepts this suggestion and renders the passage as : "Von jeder Fessel, o König-hiervon löse uns, o Varuṇa ;" But this emendation is not necessary. The word *dhā́man* in the formula obviously refers to the waters which are the abode of Varuṇa and which are mentioned in the opening portion of the formula. These waters, taken in hand to take the oath, represent the oath and the reciter of the Mantra prays that he be released from every such *dhā́man* i.e. from every oath taken in the presence of this *dhā́man.*[2] Since in what precedes this formula both *ā́paḥ* and *óṣadhayaḥ* are mentioned it is conceivable that the expression *dhā́mno-dhāmnaḥ* refers to both of them as abodes. Now *ā́paḥ* have already been recognized as the abode of Varuṇa. Hence it might not be wrong to assume that the *óṣadhayaḥ* are the abode of Mitra. Although in the Mantra Varuṇa alone is mentioned, an appeal to Mitra for release from the bond of oath taken with *óṣadhi* can be assumed.

(3) In the formula cited above from the VS 6. 22 we get aghnyī *íti váruṇéti* which are clearly to be treated as the *pratīkas* of the two formulas recited while taking an oath.[3] But since in the VS 20. 18 and in all the other parallel passages we get *ā́po aghnyā́ íti váruṇéti* (for the accent differences in respect of *aghnyā* see below) it is clear that in the VS 6. 22 the word *ā́po* has been omitted. J. Narten[4] suggests that the Mantra, of which only the beginning has been cited above, can be reconstructed on the basis of RV 7. 49 and we may assume that the Mantra read as **ā́po aghnyā́ ihá mā́m avantu**. But there is no reasonable ground to connect this *pratīka* with RV 7. 49. If at all we have to imagine how the Mantra might

1. KZ 78. 10 (1963).
2. Also cf J. Gonda, The Meaning of the Sanskrit Term *dhāman-* pp. 76-77 (1967). While recognizing that in this formula *dhā́man* refers to water as typical representative of Varuṇa's power and presence, he goes too far in explaining the actual significance of this reference. "The *āpaḥ* and *aghnyāḥ* mentioned in the formula may,...., be regarded as locations or refractions of the god's nature and so were, it would appear to me, such displays of his power as the diseases which he sent to punish the wicked. From these *dhāmāni* the person praying wishes to be released." Regarding *sárvā dhā́māni muñcatu* in AV 7. 83.1 he says "Here also Varuṇa seems to be requested to "release" i.e. to "dismiss", to "eliminate" all *dhāmāni*".
3. This is also the view of J. Narten, Acta Orientalia Neerlandica (Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch Oriental Society held in Leiden on the occasion of its 50th Anniversary, 8th-9th May, 1970) p. 133 (1971).
4. Op. cit. p. 133.

have continued then, on the basis of the context where it appears, we can think that it ran as **ápo aghnyá óṣadhayo aghnyáḥ** "Waters (are) inviolable, the plants (are) inviolable"[1]

(4) In view of the fact that in the opening of the Mantra the oath-taker is warned not to injure (*hiṁs*) the waters and the plants, *aghnyá* in the second section of the Mantra means 'invioable, not to be transgressed'. It is neither a name of the waters,[2] nor does it mean 'erlesene Kühe' as a poetic expression for waters.[3]

(5) There are difficulties about the accent of the word *aghnyá*. These difficulties have been referred to and discussed by H.P. Schmidt and J. Narten. In some versions, e.g. in the AV 7. 83.2 the text reads *yád ápo ághnyā íti váruṇéti*. But in others, e.g. in the TS 1. 3. 11. 1, we read *yád ápo ághniyā várunéti*. Since *varuṇa* is voc. and *ápaḥ* can be voc., Whitney changed the accent of *aghnyáḥ* in the AV. to *ághnyāḥ* (as in TS) and treated it as a vocative. H. P. Schmidt agrees with this emendation. But this emendation is also not necessary. The text as it is can very well be understood as the beginning of a Mantra recited at the time of taking an oath with waters (or with plants) and be a solemn declaration to the effect that '(these) waters are inviolable" (and "(these) plants are inviolable"). With this declaration he vows not to violate the oath or the contract. As regards the text in the TS where *ághniyāḥ* is clearly a vocative, we have to agree with J. Narten who looks upon the form of the Mantra in the TS as secondary.[4] Or we may suggest that in this formula the Black YV tradition has the word *ághniyā* with the initial udātta (as, e.g in RV 8. 75. 8, also TS 2. 6. 11. 2; MS 4. 11. 6). In that case the words *ápo ághniyāḥ* in the formula need not be treated as vocatives. They can both be nom. ..., exactly as *ápo aghnyáḥ* in the parallel passages, and can be similarly rendered as "the waters (are) inviolable."

It may be argued that *ághnya* with the initial udātta is a peculiarity of the Ṛgveda. It occurs in the Saṁhitās of the Black YV only in so far as the Mantra in question is a repetition from the Ṛgveda. In that case we may say that the Mantra *āpo aghnyāḥ* etc.

1. Because in the opening of the Mantra both waters and plants are alluded to.
2. H. P. Schmidt, Op. cit p. 10.
3. J Narten, Op. cit p 134.
4. Op. cit. p. 131. She suggests the possibility of "magische Gleichsetzung" of *aghnyáḥ* with *óṣadhayaḥ* (p. 132).

now lost to us except in this *pratīka* was current in two forms, one as *ápo ághnyāḥ* (both nom.) in the Ṛgveda tradition and the other as *ápo aghnyáḥ* (both nom.) in the Atharvaveda tradition. The tradition of the Black YV agrees with the former, that of the white YV with the latter.

(5) In the final portion of the Mantra the reciter expresses the wish that the waters and the plants be *sumitriyá* to him and those on his side but *durmitriyá* to his opponent. The two words may, of course, be taken to mean 'friendly' and 'inimical'. But they can also mean 'good-contracted' and 'bad-contracted', i.e. the reciter of the Mantra expresses the wish that the waters and the plants in whose presence the oaths are taken and, perhaps, the contracts executed, may help him to carry out what he has promised in the oaths and contracts. But let them not do so to his opponent so that he will incur the wrath of Varuṇa and Mitra.[1] That the word *mitra*, from which the two above words are derived, has a reference to a contract becomes clear from the fact that in the comment on the use of this Mantra in the ritual it is said in the Śat. Br. 3. 8. 5. 11 that thereby the sacrificer enters into a contract (*mitradhéya*) with waters and plants.[2] The use of the term *sumitriyá* and *durmitriyá* with waters and plants would again indicate a close relationship between *óṣadhi* and Mitra, possibly that of the abode and the one who lives in it. With reference to *ápaḥ*, the term *sumitriyá* is as good as *suvaruṇyá*.

1. "Contract' is 'friendly' and 'terrible' in exactly the same way as 'True-Speech." P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, p 52.
2, *áthābhímantrayate | sumitriyá na ápa óṣadhayaḥ santu durmitriyás tásmai santu yò 'smā́n dvéṣṭi yáṁ ca vayáṁ dviṣmá íti | yátra vá eténa pracáranty ā́paś ca há vá asmā́t tā́vad óṣadhayaś cāpakrā́myeva tiṣṭhanti | tád u tā́bhir mitradhéyaṁ kurute tátho hainā́ṁ tā́ḥ púnaḥ právišanti* "He then addresses the Mantra : *sumitriyā́ḥ* etc. Where they practise this (i e. conceal the heart-stake in the ground) the waters, verily, and the plants also, as though going away from him (sacrificer) stay away; (by reciting the Mantra *sumitriyā́ḥ* etc.) he enters into a contract with them. Thereby they enter into him again (i.e. return to him)."

THE ṚGVEDA-SAṀHITĀKĀRA AND FATHER ESTELLER*

M. A. MEHENDALE

It is customary in such addresses to take stock of the work done during the period between the past and the present session and it is a good practice. But I feel, this year, for the Vedic Section this is not necessary because the third Volume of Dr. R. N Dandekar's Vedic Bibliography has just appeared. This Volume takes care of all that has been done in the Vedic field until about the middle of 1972. The excellence of this Vedic Bibliography speaks for itself and is there for any one who turns to its pages.[1]

For this address I have chosen to confine myself to a limited task, viz. to examine the thesis propounded by Fr. Esteller (E) regarding the nature of the present Saṁhitā text of the Ṛgveda — a thesis which, I am sure, is known to many of you.

I shall state my conclusion first: I find myself in total disagreement with the learned Father. But if I have to criticize his views it does not mean any disrespect for his scholarship. In fact I owe a debt of gratitude to him. He was one of my teachers in Bombay while I was studying for M.A. and it was he who first initiated me into the subject of comparative philology. I am also aware of the fact that Fr. E has spent more time than I have in the study of both the Veda and the texts which can be called the modern Vedāṅgas — I mean the texts like Grassmann's Wörterbuch, Oldenberg's Prolegomena and Noten, Arnold's Vedic Metre, Bloomfield's Vedic concordance and Ṛgveda Repetitions, and Bloomfield—Edgerton—Emeneau's Vedic Variants. But in the light of what little experience I have of working in this field I fail to see the correctness of Fr. E's thesis. But let me repeat. I mean no discourtesy to my teacher, to a Vedic scholar, and to a past president of this very section.

Gathering my information from Dr. Dandekar's second and third Volumes of the Vedic Bibliography I find that Fr. E has been publishing his views on this subject since 1953. His principal forums have been the platforms of the Vedic Section of the AIOC and his publications have almost

---

* This is a slightly revised version of the Sectional President's Address delivered in the *Vedic Section* of the 27th Session AIOC, Kurukshetra, 26th-28th December 1974.

1 A few works have since appeared, for instance Peder Kwella's Flussüberschreitung im Ṛigveda (RV III 33 und Verwandtes), 1973, but these are still only titles for us.

exclusively appeared in Indian Journals. His thesis is that the traditional text of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā is a "palimpsest" i. e. a "written-over" text, because it has been redactorially tampered with by the transmitters whom he chooses to call by the collective name the Saṁhitā-Kāra (SK). The question then arises: with all the means that are available to us, is it possible for us to reconstruct the original text as composed by the ṛṣi-kavis? Fr. E's answer to this question is an emphatic "yes". His guiding principle in this task of text-restoration is that the metre and the so-called archaisms are to be considered paramount and they have a decisive value over the traditionally handed down text.

It has been long recognized that some of the metrical discrepancies in the Ṛgvedic verses regarding the number of syllables required in a pāda or the structure of a pāda can be removed if the sandhis, and the long vowels and diphthongs are resolved or if we resort to svarabhakti. It is also occasionally necessary to change the vowel length for metrical reasons. But these restorations affect only the pronunciation of the text and not its words, or forms of words, or the word-order. These phonetic restorations referred to above do not call for any addition or suppression of the words. Starting from such phonetic restorations Fr. E proceeds to argue that since the SK did not hesitate to disturb the metre for the sake of his later sandhi rules and other matters of pronunciation, metre should be shown paramount consideration wherever it comes in conflict with the present text and that it must be restored *at any cost*. Fr. E believes in this unquestioned paramountcy of the metre, i.e. he is convinced that the mantras composed by the ṛṣis were metrically perfect throughout and hence, going beyond and even against Oldenberg, he asserts that "...if mere phonetics, pronunciation and saṁdhi and the restoration of archaic forms are not sufficient to restore the standard pattern, it must be due to the fact that the SK must have made use of other redactorial devices – the most obvious and likely being naturally *a change in the order of words*."[2] But it is not just for the change in the word-order that Fr. E blames the SK; he also charges him for having changed the morphological forms of words, for having suppressed or added words, and lastly for having substituted the words of the original Saṁhitā text with his own and all this sometimes even for extraneous reasons.[3]

We are informed by Yāska of the three stages with regard to the composition and the transmission of the Vedic mantras: (1) The first stage was marked by the "seeing" of the mantras (or *dharman*) by the ṛṣis (*sākṣātkṛta-dharmāṇa ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ*); (2) the second stage was marked by the handing over of these mantras by the ṛṣis to the later generations who did not or could

---

[2] ABORI 50.16.
[3] ABORI 50.37.

not "see" the mantras for themselves (*te 'varebhyo 'sākṣātkṛtadharmabhya upadeśena mantrānt samprāduḥ*); (3) the third and the final stage was marked by the arrangement of the mantras and the composition of the Vedāṅgas (*upadeśāya glāyanto 'vare bilmagrahaṇāya imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsiṣuḥ vedaṁ ca vedāṅgāni ca.*).[4]

When Fr. E speaks of the redactorial activity by which the original text of the ṛṣis was turned into a palimpsest, he probably has in mind the activity of the second stage and the beginning of the third stage mentioned above.[5] What we should note in this regard is the fact that the persons involved in the first and the second stages are clearly distinguished by a very important characteristic – those to whom the *dharman* was *sākṣāt* and those to whom it was *not*. This would necessarily mean that those who merely received the text from those who had 'seen' it must have looked upon it from the very beginning as very sacred. We have no reason to doubt this. This sacredness of the text was marked bv two formal features – the words in the text were looked upon as fixed (niyatavacoyukti)[6] and their order was also considered fixed (*niyatānupūrvya*)[7] – and in this respect they markedly differed from any other text. I do not think that the Vedic texts were supposed to have these characteristics only after the third stage noticed above. They were looked upon as "revealed" and hence sacred in the second stage already.

Fr. E blames the SK for having disturbed the metre of the original text for the sake of his later grammar. But he also says that if the SK could "dodge" the sandhi by changing the word-order he did it and thereby avoided doing any damage to the metre. Changing word-order of the received sacred text meant, according to Fr. E, a minor evil to the SK than reduce the number of syllables in a pāda as a result of sandhi. To me the matter seems to be exactly the opposite. Since the SK at numerous other places tolerates a metrically deficient pāda, he would have easily tolerated it in a few more cases, but would not have changed the word-order of the "revealed" text.[8] He would do the sandhi if his grammar required it and rest content there.

---

4 Niruka 1.20.
5 ABORI 51.61.
6 Nirukta 1.15.
7 Ibid.
8 Fr. E himself notes that the SK "lived in a traditional conservative atmosphere" where mantras were looked upon as sacred and religious texts (ABORI 50.20-21). But he fails to draw the necessary conclusion from this fact. Moreover, when Fr. E evaluates the different solutions suggested by him for a given line of the Saṁhitā text, while preferring one to the other solutions, he speaks of "the advantage of preserving every letter of the transmitted text quite in tact" or "of the very weighty advantage of keeping the traditional order" (IL Bagchi Mem. Vol. 65). If Fr. E feels occasionally concerned about the preservation of the text in the 20th century how much more *must* the SK be in the centuries before Christ.

To take a hypothetical example given by Fr. E a ṛṣi could say *indrasya agneḥ* without doing sandhi and have five syllables. But the SK must do sandhi and thereby reduce the number of syllables to four (*indrasyāgneḥ*). But if he could avoid the sandhi by reshuffling the order of words as *agner indrasya* and thus retain five syllables he would do it as a "minor evil".[9] To me the case looks the opposite. The SK in such a case would rather rest content with the sandhi giving him four syllables as a "minor evil", or no evil at all, than change the word-order and commit an unpardonable evil. What we have to remember is that the two characteristics of the received text noted above—viz. fixed words with a fixed order—do not say anything about changes in pronunciation due to sandhi etc. But they clearly point out that no morphological, syntactical or lexical change was to be effected in the *mantras*.

I will now present a few examples to show to you how completely unacceptable are the suggestions of Fr. E regarding the changes he proposes to make in the Saṁhitā text in order to turn the "palimpsest" into the "pure" original text of the ṛṣi-kavis. I admit that I have not read all the articles of Fr. E. I had not enough time for that. But from the eight articles[10] which I read for this purpose I think I am sufficiently well informed about Fr. E's views on this subject. In the examples that I now cite I will, in most cases, state after I have stated Fr. E's ideas, how I interpret the available text without making any change in it. If the solutions suggested by me, or by other scholars working in this field, are not acceptable to you I would admit the continued existence of the problem but not change the text one way or the other to consider the problem as definitively solved. My examples are restricted to the changes proposed by Fr. E in word-forms or word-order i. e. to cases where he thinks he can go beyond Oldenberg.

As was mentioned a little while ago Fr. E blames the SK both for breaking the metre as well as for trying to save it at the expense of the word-order or the word-forms used by the ṛṣi-kavis. RV 2. 1.16 opens as *yé stotṛ́bhyo... ágne rā́tim upasṛjánti sūráyaḥ*. The next half then runs as *asmā́ñ ca tā́ṁś ca prá hí néṣi vásya ā́ bṛhád vadeama vidáthe suvī́rāḥ*. Since the stanza begins with the correlative *yé* Fr. E expects the next half to begin, "stylistically and idiomatically" as *tā́ṁś ca asmā́ñ ca*.[11] But since it does not, Fr. E sees the hand of the SK reshuffling the word-order. The reason ?— to dodge

9 ABORI 50.18.

10 IL (Bagchi Memorial Vol.) 54-75, 1957; Proc. Tr. 22nd AIOC Vol. II. 6-31, 1966; IA (Third Ser.) 2.1. 1-23; and 2.4. 1-20, 1967; JASB 41-42 (1966-67) New Series, 1968; ABORI (Golden Jub. Vol.) 1-16, 1968; ABORI 50. 1-40, 1969; ABORI 51, 59-76, 1970.

11 IA (3rd Ser.) 2.1.13.

the sandhi. The word-order as imagined by Fr. E would have forced the SK to introduce the vowel sandhi and recite it as *tāṁścāsmāñca* which would give him only four syllables instead of the expected five. Hence the SK quietly changed the word-order of the received text! This is absolutely unbelievable. In my opinion, sacrificing a syllable at the altar of his iṣṭa-devatā- sandhi[12]-would have meant a minor evil, or no evil at all, to the SK than changing the word-order of the received sacred text. The fact must be that he simply retained the word-order as he heard it. The reason for the kavi to begin his pāda with *asmān* (the singers), and not *tān* (the patrons), could be that he wanted to give prominence to the singer-kavi's while requesting Agni to lead them, and their patrons, to a better condition. After all the kavis were the *purohitas* (lit. placed in front) and hence to be led first[13] and it was they who were to speak aloud in the *vidátha.*

Although Fr. E has now withdrawn his suggestion[14] it may be pointed out that at one time he had proposed to change the refrain *bṛhád vadema vidáthe suvīrāḥ* to *bṛhád vadema vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ,* not because there was any metrical irregularity in the pāda, or any sandhi to be avoided as a result of this change, but simply because he felt that there existed "a natural connection" between *vidátha* and *dhīra* (cf. *ágne yahvásya táva bhāgadhéyaṁ ná prá minanti vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ* RV 3.28 4), and also because the refrain as reread by him would have "a striking parallel" in *gántāro yajñáṁ vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ* RV 3.26.6.[15] Fr. E even now wants to change the refrain of the seventh Maṇḍala *yūyáṁ pāta svastíbhiḥ sádā/naḥ* in a variety of ways[16] simply because, to him, "the 'yūyam' in the SK's text hangs completely in the air." I doubt whether any one would agree with Fr. E regarding this ground for the change. He himself must have realized its non-compelling force because in one of the three alternatives proposed by him this very word *yūyám* has been retained by him.

Fr. E attributes to the SK some silly misunderstandings of the text he had received from the ṛṣis and says that he made changes in the text due to those misunderstandings. Fr. E wants to do away with those SK's changes and give us the original text of the ṛṣis[17]. Hymn 10.21 has eight

12 To use Fr. E's words.

13 Cf. RV 4.50.8 : *sá ít kṣeti súdhita ókasi své .... yásmin brahmā́ rājani pū́rva éti.*

14 IA (3rd Ser.) 2.1.13-14.

15 It may be noted that it is on the basis of this refrain, which Fr. E. once wanted to change, that he now wants to accuse the SK, for having changed *suvīrāsaḥ śatáhimāḥ badema* to *mádema śatáhimāḥ suvīrāḥ* RV 6.4.8. For other fantastic grounds for this change see ABORI Golden Jub. Vol. 5-6.

16 JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 29.

17 IL Bagchi Vol. 69.

stanzas, of which seven are addressed directly to Agni, and five of these seven actually contain a voc. *agne*. But stanza 5 is not directly addressed to Agni. It contains a nom. sg. *agníḥ* and two third pers.sgs. *vidát* and *bhúvat*. It reads as *agnír jātó átharvaṇā vidád víśvāni kāvyā bhúvad dūtó vivásvataḥ...* Fr. E feels that the kavi could not have a stanza, in the middle of his sūkta, which, like the other stanzas, is not directly addressed to Agni. Therefore he wants to change *agníḥ* to *agne* (voc.) and consequently *vidát* and *bhúvat* to *vidaḥ* and *bhuvaḥ* (2nd per. sg.) assuring us that that was how the kavi had composed his stanza. Fr. E chooses to describe this assumed act of the SK as 'a miserable redactorial mis-correction". Now let us follow the footsteps of Fr. E in order to understand the genesis of SK's 'mis-correction'. According to him the SK felt that *ágne* (voc.) was put in apposition to *jātáḥ* by the kavi! And since he could not understand how this was possible he changed *ágne* to *ágníḥ*, so that it can be "syntactically smoother" with *jātáḥ*, and then also changed the two verbal forms noticed above. I just cannot believe all this. If the text heard by the SK had really *ágne* (voc.) and two verbal forms in second pers., could he not understand that here we have only to supply *tvám*? It is better to accept the text as it is and think that the kavi, in the middle of his sūkta, changed his style probably to address his colleagues and tell them something about Agni.

ṚV 2.19.2 reads as *asyá mandānó mádhvo vájrahasto 'him índro arṇovṛ́tam ví vṛścat/prá yád váyo ná svásarāṇy ácchā práyāṁsi ca nadī́nāṁ cákramanta.* Fr. E asserts[18] that in the last quarter, *nadī́nām*, coming after *ca*, should have been *nadyàḥ* (nom. pl.) so that it could be coordinated with *práyāṁsi* due to *ca* and both could be looked upon as subject of *cákramanta*. This *nadyàḥ* (nom. pl.) of the original text was misunderstood by the SK as gen. sg. and was further changed to gen. pl. *nadī́nām*.

This theory is unacceptable. If the original text really contained *nadyàḥ*, it could not be misunderstood as it came after *práyāṁsi* and the conjunction *ca*[19]. And even assuming this mistake, why should the SK further be guilty of changing the sg. into the pl.? Here is Fr. E's answer : the SK did it in order to get three syllables as in his orthoepy *nadyàḥ* gave him only two. Fr. E adds one more reason which, however, is not quite clear to me. He says the SK changed the sg. to pl. " both to fill up HIS pāda and possibly to indicate that the RIVERS were concerned some how...when "nadīnām" alone would fit into the context AND the plural of "prayāṁsi". I guess what he means is that *nadīnām* (pl.) was used because according to the SK, the water released by killing Vṛtra belonged to many rivers and also because the form *práyāṁsi* was in the plural.

---

18 IA (3rd series) 2.4.2-3.

19 The particle *ca* placed after the first, instead of the second word, cf. Macdonell, Ved. Gr. (Students), p. 228.

The possibility of misunderstanding on the part of the SK has first to be set aside. The conclusion forces itself on us that the SK has remained faithful to the text that was received by him. Oldenberg tries to justify the text as it is by suggesting that it is the result of perhaps mixing up of two constructions *prá yác cákramanta* and *prá ca cakramanta.* Geldner feels that *ca* has been put at the improper place. He supplies some verb like 'machte', to be coordinated with *ví vṛścat*"...und (machte), dass die Labsale der Flüsse (dem Meere) zueilten."[20] Renou wants to supply some word meaning 'strengths' before *práyāṁsi* (...en sorte que (les forces) et les récomforts des rivièrs pussent marche (vers la mer)." Prof. Velankar takes a clue from *arṇovṛ̥tam* in b and supplies *árṇāṁsi* before *ca* " when the Soma offerings and (the floods) of the rivers flowed forth (to their respective goals i. e. Indra and the ocean)." It is possible to accept the suggestion to add *árṇāṁsi* but interpret it as referring to waters in the heaven. The last quarter (*árṇāṁsi*) *práyāṁsi ca nadīnām cákramanta* would mean (the heavenly waters) and the waters of the rivers flowed forth; or, it may be suggested to add *ádrayaḥ* 'pieces of the rock',[21] before *práyāṁsi*, which are alsodescribed as rushing forward together with the waters freed by Indra in ṚV 4.19.5 *ráthā iva prá yayuḥ sākáṁ ádrayaḥ*; or, we have to think that the kavi has already begun to think of the cows which Indra frees from the cave of Vala and therefore supply *gā́vaḥ.* We may note that in the very next stanza (2.19.3) the kavi combines both the Vṛtra and the Vala myth.[22]

I shall now give an example where Fr. E has charged the SK for having done word-substitutions due to his misunderstanding of the received text.[22a] In ṚV 10.39.14 we read *etáṁ vāṁ stómam aśvināv akarmātakṣāma bhṛ́gavo ná rátham.* At first glance the line seems to convey the sense : " this your praise-song, oh Aśvinā, we have done, we have fashioned it as Bhṛgus (fashion) the chariot." But since the Bhṛgus are not famous for the art of chariot fashioning, but the Ṛbhus are, Fr. E is quick to see here the handiwork of the SK. He asserts that the original line of the ṛṣi must have read as *átakṣāma ṛbhávo ná rátham.* He admonishes the SK in the following terms : "The flabbergasting connexion with *chariot* making for the Bhṛgus is a pure invention of the SK's over-cleverness." The question that stares us in the face is - if the SK heard the text with *ṛbhávaḥ*, why should he have changed it to *bhṛ́gavaḥ?* The metre, the sandhi, nothing seems to be wrong. Fr. E attempts an answer to this question

20 Fr. E. ridicules these honest attempts of Oldenberg and Geldner by saying "The tortured efforts of GELDNER and OLDENBERG are misspent on the SK's disfigured palimpsest."

21 Lüders, Varuṇa 171, f.n. 9.

22 *sá máhina índro árṇo apā́ṁ práirayad ahihā́cchā samudrám /*
ájanayat sū́ryaṁ vidád gā́ aktúnā́hnāṁ vayúnāi sādhat //
Also cf. Lüders Varuṇa, 193.

22a IA (3rd Series) 2.4.9-10.

when he has dealt with this line again.[23] "The answer seems to be," observes Fr. E, "that the SK misunderstands the text in both cases as involving the sense: '*We, Ṛbhus,*[24] *have fashioned this hymn like a chariot*'". He continues, "But if it has to be some kind of ṛṣi-kavis who lay claim to the authorship of the hymns in question, it could not naturally be supposed to be the Ṛbhus, but the Bhṛgus, who are repeatedly mentioned in the role of authors of divine praises..." That the SK has misunderstood the text the way Fr.E imagines is out of question. I cannot believe that the SK overlooked the presence of the particle of comparison *ná* which would have clearly shown to him that *ṛbhávaḥ*, if that would have occurred in the original text, was an upamāna.

As a matter of fact Fr.E himself has drawn our attention to the fact that the SK has retained *ṛbhávaḥ* in stanza 12 of this very hymn (10.39) *ā téna yātaṁ mánaso jávīyasā ráthaṁ yáṁ vām ṛbhávaś cakrúr aśvinā*. The SK therefore is quite clear in his mind about the activities of the Ṛbhus and the Bhṛgus and it is fair to assume that he has made no confusion. It is therefore better to attempt an interpretation of the text as it is without changing it for our convenience. I feel that in the line *etáṁ vāṁ stómam aśvināv akarmātakṣāma bhṛ́gavo ná rátham* the word *rátham* is not to be understood literally but as standing for a hymn.

Similar considerations apply to ṚV 4.16.20 *evéd índrāya vṛṣabhā́ya vṛ́ṣṇe bráhmākarma bhṛ́gavo ná rátham* where also Fr. E accuses the SK for replacing *ṛbhávaḥ* with *bhṛ́gavaḥ* for similar reasons. To me here also the word *rátham* stands for a hymn.

Fr. E unfortunately, does not end his story about the Bhṛgus and the Ṛbhus here and I am therefore required to dwell a little longer on these lines. According to Fr. E the change proposed by him in the two verses above - to read *ṛbhávaḥ* in the place of *bhṛ́gavaḥ* – is confirmed by the fact that at least in one place the SK did exactly the opposite, i. e. he replaced *bhṛ́gavaḥ* of the original by his *ṛbhávaḥ* – and this, in the words of Fr. E! "to compensate the Ṛbhus by making *them* take the place of the Bhṛgus in a similar situation." The stanza in question ṚV 10.80.7 opens with the words *agnáye bráhma ṛbhávas tatakṣuḥ*. But since it is the Bhṛgus, and not the Ṛbhus, who are known to have a special connection with Agni, Fr. E is quite confident that in the original text of the ṛṣi-kavi there must have occurred the word *bhṛ́gavaḥ* which the SK altered to *ṛbhávaḥ*. Why? You have the Father's answer: In making this change "the SK sees a chance of attributing to the Ṛbhus exactly what he had taken away from

23 Proc. Tr. 22nd AIOC II 21-22.

24 By mistake printed as *Bhṛgus*.

them" in the two stanzas mentioned above. Thus starting from the requirements of metre Fr. E. has gone far away in detecting the causes for the so-called changes made by the SK.

In order to explain this last passage as it stands Geldner proposed that the singers identified themselves with the Ṛbhus. But Fr. E avers that "Geldner is surely wrong." I would understand the passage the way I did the other two above viz. by interpreting in this context the word *bráhma* as *rátham*. The singers say : For Agni the Ṛbhus had fashioned a hymn (like a chariot).

Consider one more example where Fr. E detects the hand of the SK making changes in the received text not for the sake of sandhi, nor for metre, nor even due to misunderstanding, but for reasons which one can never believe.[25] ṚV 1.122.3 reads as *mamáttu naḥ párijmā vasarhā́ mamáttu vā́to apā́ṁ vṛ́ṣaṇvān/ śiśītám indrāparvatā yuvā́ṁ nas tán no víśve varivasyantu devā́ḥ//* As regards the third pāda Fr. E says that it is metrically perfect. Yet he thinks that the SK has reshuffled the original word-order which Fr. E 'sees' as *yuvā́ṁ naḥ indrāparvatā śiśītam*. Here are Fr. E's reasons :

(1) "In 3c the style and change of address recommend the transposition..." I do not quite know what Fr. E means by this. Perhaps he seems to suggest that in the first two pādas Vāyu and Vāta are addressed but in the third pāda Indra and Parvata are addressed. If the first two pādas begin with a verb, the ṛṣi-kavi could not have begun the third pāda with a verb when there was a change in the deities addressed. Or, he seems to suggest that in the first two quarters the deites are addressed indirectly while in the third the deities are addressed directly. Hence if the first two quarters begin with a verb the third cannot.

(2) Here is one more reason to support the above. If the SK had allowed the text to remain as proposed by Fr. E then the words *indrāparvatā śiśītam*, recited the saṁhitā way, might have led those who came after the SK to misunderstand them as *indrāparvatā aśiśītam*. The SK wanted to save the posterity from this calamity and hence he changed the word-order.[26]

(3) And there is one more final reason. In effecting this change the SK tried to imitate not only the first two pādas of this stanza by beginning it with a verb (but then why not begin the fourth one also with *varivasyantu* ?) but also many other verses in the Ṛgveda which begin with *śiśīhi* and *śiśīte* (see Vedic Concordance).

I do not think it necessary to take these reasons seriously. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of venturing a guess that if the pāda in question

25 ABORI 51.66.

26 For similar reshuffles of word-order to avoid confusion see JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 29, and for the change of form p. 32.

had really occurred in our Saṁhitā as Fr. E. desires it to be — that is as *yuvám naḥ indrāparvatā śiśītam* — he would have looked upon that as an example of SK's reshuffling of the word-order and would have suggested to read it exactly as it now stands — that is as *śiśītám indrāparvatā yuváṁ naḥ* - because, he would have then said, there are many parallel lines [27] in the RV in which *śiśīhi* stands at the head of a pāda and therefore the kavi must have begun his 3rd line with *śiśītám*.

I shall now take up a case of a somewhat different nature.[28] RV 1.25.21 reads as *úd uttamáṁ mumugdhi no ví pāśaṁ madhyamáṁ cṛta/ávādhamāni jīváse.* It is strange that in the third quarter we have *adhamāni* (neut. pl.) when in the first two quarters the ṛṣi-kavi has used *pāśam* (mas. and sg.). We expect to read in c *adhamáṁ*, and not *adhamāni*. See, for example, RV 1.24.15 where we read *úd uttamáṁ varuṇa pāśam asmád ávādhamáṁ ví madhyamáṁ śrathāya.* Tradition ascribes both the sūktas (1. 24 and 25) to Śunaḥśepa.

Following his practice to ascribe any oddity in the Saṁhitā text to the mishandling of it by the SK, Fr. E hits upon the original text to be *áva adhamáṁ nú jīváse*. But he is unable to pick up metre or grammar as a ground for the SK's change. He therefore imagines that in the oral transmission of the text *adhamáṁ nú* got altered to *adhamā nú* and thence to *adhamāni*.[29] Normally Fr. E leaves out the question of accent in his discussion. But here he finds it possible to account for the disappearance of the udātta of *nú*. He wants us to believe that *adhamānú* was mistaken for *adhamā+ ánu* and hence was pronounced *adhamānu*. From this we go over to the final change *adhamāni*.

All this is too much for any one to take in. It is impossible to believe that the SK himself did not notice the incongruity between *uttamám* and *madhyamám pāśam* on the one hand and *adhamāni* on the other. And if he had felt himself free to alter the text he would have changed *adhamāni* to *adhamáṁ* long ago. But if he has not done anything of the sort, the conclusion is inescapable that he did not feel himself free to alter the text and hence left to the posterity what he had heard from his predecessors.

I would therefore see if I can explain the use of *adhamāni*. Perhaps *adhamāni* refers not so much to the *pāśa* as to the constituent strings or some

27 It is interesting to observe that what are parallels for Fr. E become pseudo-analogies if, as assumed by Fr. E., they are used by the SK.

28 IA (3rd series) 2.1.15 ff.

29 The intervening stages imagined by Fr. E. are absurd. They are : First *adhamám nú* > *adhamán nú* due to assimilation; then *adhamánnú* > *'adhamánú* by hapology (is this really haplology ? There is no repeated pronunciation of *n*, only its implosion is lengthened), and compensatory lengthening: finally *-un* > *-ni* due to the assimilative force of palatals ji in *jīváse*.

such thing which made up the *pā́śa*. And if the word for the string, or whatever it was, was neut. a neut. pl. can be understood., Or, it may be argued that in the last quarter the ṛsi chose to speak in terms of *énas* instead of *pā́śa* and hence the neut. Freedom is sought as much from the *pā́śa* as from *énas* and the same verbs *muc* and *śrath* are used with them. Cf. *kṛtáṁ cid énaḥ prá mumugdhy asmát* RV 1.24.9 and *vidvā́ ádabdho ví mumoktu pā́śān* 1.24.13; or *rājann énāṁsi śiśrathaḥ kṛtā́ni* 1.24.14 and *úd uttamáṁ varuṇa pā́śam ... śrathāya* 1.24.15.

An example[30] of word-substitution by the SK due to his having misunderstood the text is provided, according to Fr. E, by RV 7.8.6 which reads as *idáṁ vácaḥ.../ śáṁ yát stotṛbhya āpáye bhávāti dyumád amīvacā́tanaṁ rakṣohā́ / /*

Fr. E. observes a problem which is grammatical, not metrical, for *rakṣohā* is mas. and therefore cannot qualify *vácaḥ*. According to Fr. E the anomally is the creation of the SK who has substituted *rakṣohā́* for the original *jaritré* on account of a number of misunderstandings.

In order to understand the how and why of this substitution we have to follow Fr. E.'s detective work.[31] First, with the help of the modern Vedāṅga texts, Fr. E discovers that RV 2.38.11 has a line somewhat similar to the above: *śáṁ yát stotṛbhya āpáye bhávāty uruśáṁsāya savitar jaritré* on the basis of which he concludes that the original mantra 7.8.6 must have read as .... *dyumád amīvacā́tanaṁ jaritré.* We may ask : why did the SK make the change? Fr.E's reply : since the same line contains synonymous words *stotṛbhyaḥ* and *jaritré*, the SK retained the former and changed the latter. Incidentally, Fr. E does not raise, and therefore does not have to answer, the question : why did the SK not remove *jaritré* from 2.38. 11 which also contains *stotṛbhyaḥ* ?

A second question : how did the SK hit upon *rakṣohā́* when he decided to remove *jaritré*? Fr. E's reply : because RV 10.97.6 *vípraḥ sá ucyate bhiṣág rakṣohā́mīvacā́tanaḥ* contains *rakṣohā́* and *amīvacā́tanaḥ* side by side, therefore the SK put *rakṣohā́* by the side of *amīvacā́tanaṁ* in 7.8.6.

A third question : how is it that the SK brought a neut. *vácaḥ* and a mas. *rakṣohā́* in syntactic relationship ? Fr. E's reply : since in RV 1.129.6 we have *yá iṣávān mánma réjati rakṣohā́ mánma réjati* where a *mánma* neut. and *rakṣohā́* mas. occur close to each other therefore the SK felt no hesitation in relating *vácaḥ* with *rakṣohā́* forgetting for a moment that in one case there was subject-object relationship between *rakṣohā́* and *mánma* and therefore there was

30 IA (3rd series) 2.1.12 ff; JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 28.
31 The expression "we, the modern text-critical detectives" is used by Fr. E himself, ABORI 50.15.

grammatically nothing wrong in having them syntactically related,[32] whereas in the other case there was noun–adjective relationship between *vácaḥ* (neut.) and *rakṣohā́* (mas.) and hence it would be a grammatical anomally if they were brought in syntactic relationship.

Reading this detective story one would come to the conclusion that the SK, as depicted by Fr. E, had very poor knowledge of Sanskrit. But the author of this detective story himself tells us again and again that grammar was the iṣṭadevatā for the SK and that the SK moved in the circle ot the Śiṣṭas. If this is true we cannot entertain for a moment the correctness of the reasons given by Fr. E. If the SK retained *rakṣohā́*, inspite of the apparent difficulty, he must have heard the text that way. We have to see if we can explain it.

In the ṚV 10.162.1 we read *bráhmaṇāgníḥ saṁvidānó rakṣohā́ bādhatām itáḥ*. Here, Agni, when joined with *bráhman*, is called *rakṣohā́*. It is therefore likely that in our passage also, in which a hymn is said to have come into being for Agni and for whom it is supposed to be doubly strong (?) (*idáṁ vácaḥ...agnáye janiṣīṣṭa dvibárhāḥ*) the singer says "May Agni become *rakṣohā́*" [(*agníḥ vácasā*) *rakṣohā́* (*bhavāti*)].[33] Or, we may look upon this as an instance of a slight corruption in the handed down text. Perhaps, the original text contained *rakṣohá* (neut. sg.) which would agree with *vácaḥ* and that in transmission it became *rakṣohā́*.

Even the famous Gāyatrī mantra *tát savitúr váreṇyaṁ bhárgo devásya dhīmahi / dhíyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt* // (ṚV 3.62.10) has not escaped the textual attack of Fr. E[34]. In his opinion since the stanza opens with *tát* we must have *yát*,[35] and not *yáḥ*, in the relative clause. True, this is what we expect. But if it is not what we expect, there must be some reason for the kavi to use *yáḥ*. Instead of trying to understand it, Fr. E. blames the oral tradition for altering *yán naḥ* to *yó naḥ* in stages, first by haplology *yannaḥ > yanaḥ* and then by assimilation *dhiyo ya naḥ > dhiyo yo naḥ*.[36]

---

32 Geldner mentions the possibility of looking upon *rakṣohá* as an adj. of *mánma* noting that the former appears in mas. form instead of neut. Oldenberg, though he prefers to treat *rakṣohá* as mas., remarks ""demon-slaying prayer" (Griffith) ist denkbar..."

33 Geldner and Velankar take *rakṣohá* as an adj. of *vácaḥ*.

34 ABORI 50.31-32.

35 For the impossible and irrelevant supports sought for the *tát...yát* construction, see JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 37-38. In one case, ṚV 1.141.1, Fr. E. extracts *yát* out of *yáto* and in another text he reads *yát* where it does not exist (5.82.1). From these he seeks support for his argument.

36 For the other impossible phonetic alterations in the oral transmission imagined by Fr. E one may note *na āt pathiyāḥ* first giving by sandhi and Pāli-like assimilation *nāppathiyāḥ*, and further by wrong analysis joining the initial *nā* to the previous word *jajñā* and miscorrection to *jañānáḥ pathíyāḥ* of ṚV 10.14.2 (Cf. IL Bagchi Mem. Vol. 62; also 70 for other fanciful observations). Again, Fr. E., on metrical grounds wants to read ṚV 6.40.2 which opens as *ásya piba*, as *asya āt piba*. This, he says, first changed to *asyāppiba*, and then to *asyā piba*, and was finally edited as *asya piba!*

If Fr. E is correct in his guess that in the original text we had *yát* in c then the verb *pracodayāt* will have to be connected with *bhárgaḥ* through it. But this result is undesirable. In almost all the uses of the verb *cud*, or of its derivatives like *códa*, *coditṛ́* or *codayitrī́*, one notices that it is looked upon as an activity of some deity like Agni, Indra, Aśvinā, Soma, Uṣas and some others. Only in a few cases (3.42.8, 8.68.7, 10.120.5, 2.13.9?) does it occur in connection with a priest or a singer. But in not a single case does the verb *cud* have an abstract notion like *bhárgaḥ* as subject. It is therefore proper to judge that in the Gāyatrī mantra the seer wanted to relate the activity of stirring up the minds of the poets, to the deity Savitṛ and not to his *bhárgas* and hence he used *yáḥ*. This conclusion receives support when we find that in the parallel passages it is the deity who is requested to stir (or sharpen) the minds of the poets. In 6.47.10 we read *índra mṛḷá mahyaṁ jīvā́tum iccha codáya dhíyam áyaso ná dhā́rām*.[37] Indra is called *codayanmati* in 8.46.19 and Agni in 5.8.6. Pūṣan and Vāyu are called *coditā́rā matīnā́m* 5.43.9, and there are many other passages.

In addition to the change of *yát* to *yáḥ*, Fr. E also wants *savitúḥ* to be changed to *savītúḥ* for the sake of rhythm.[38] But why should the SK change the long vowel to the short one? For, as noted by Fr. E himself, has he not retained the long ī in *prasavītā́* in two places 4.53.6 and 7.63.2[39]? The SK had certainly an ear for rhythm, as much as we do, and if in spite of that he has passed on *savitúḥ* to the posterity, he must have certainly heard the text that way.

Dative Singular in -āi

Fr. E looks upon his discovery of the archaic dat. sg. in *-āi* in the RV as one of his most significant contributions to the study of this text. As is well-known the available Saṁhitā knows only the *-āya* ending. But Fr. E is convinced that that is the result of the SK's changing the archaic *-āi* to the later *-āya* ending in the received text. Let us consider a few examples cited by Fr. E. to prove his case, and, to begin with, the one discussed by him as "one of our key-problem texts"[40].

RV 7.88.6 reads as yáāpir · *nityo varuṇa priyáḥ sán tvā́m ā́gāṁsi kṛṇávat sákhā te / mā́ ta énasvanto yakṣin bhujema yandhí ṣmā víprah stuvaté várūtham//* I shall not say here anything regarding the drastic changes proposed by Fr. E in the third pāda but restrict myself only to the consideration of his suggestion to change *víprah* (nom.) to *víprāi* (dat.) in the last pāda. Fr. E gives two reasons for effecting this change. (1) In the first instance he points to the other passages

37 Also cf. *codáḥ kuvít tutujyā́t sātáye dhíyaḥ* 1.143.6.
38 ABORI 50.31.
39 Only the Padapāṭha in both places has *pra-savitā́*.
40 Proc. Trans. 22nd AIOC Vol. II. 10-14; JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 35-36.

in the ṚV where *vipra* and the participle *stuvat* occur in identical case forms, e.g. *viprāya stuvaté* 8.85.5; *viprasya vā stuvatáḥ* 8.19.12 etc. Therefore, he argues, in our passage also we should expect a dat. of *vipra* by the side of *stuvaté*. (2) Secondly, *vipraḥ*, as nom. sg., has to be interpreted as referring to Varuṇa – and this is what Geldner, for example, does[41] –but, argues Fr.E, although *vipra* in the ṚV is used with reference to other deities, chiefly Agni, it is never used with reference to Varuṇa.

Both the arguments are inconclusive. Let me start arguing this way. If the SK heard *viprāi* in the text recited to him and he understood it correctly – Fr. E does not grudge this to the SK – he would have rendered *viprāi* into *viprāya* and not *vipraḥ*. To say that he did not do it because it would have given him one syllable more is not convincing because the SK has allowed metrical irregularities to remain elsewhere any way, and, he was not so insensible to meaning as to change a dat. into nom. And, if the number of syllables was his main concern, and not the meaning, why did he not change *viprāi* to *vipre* (loc. sg.) as Fr.E himself believes he has done elsewhere?[42] In fact *vipre* would have been better instead of the "unfitting" *vipraḥ*.

The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn is that the SK heard *vipraḥ* in the text learnt by him and he faithfully preserved it. In fact we should be grateful to him for having resisted the temptation to change *vipraḥ* to *viprāya* in view of the parallel passages mentioned by Fr. E. These passages, certainly, could not have gone unnoticed by the SK.

As mentioned above, earlier scholars have understood *vipraḥ* to refer to Varuṇa. In support Geldner refers to stanza 4 of this very hymn where Varuṇa is clearly called *vipraḥ* (*vásiṣṭhaṁ ha váruṇo nāvyādhāt... stotāraṁ vipraḥ...*). But Fr. E wants to get rid of this evidence, inconvenient to him, by blaming the SK for having changed there the original *vipram* to *vipraḥ*. And why should the SK do it there? Fr. E says in order to give support to his change in the stanza under discussion and to show that Varuṇa was called *vipra* in the ṚV!

But there is one more passage where *vipraḥ* is clearly used with reference to Varuṇa. In 6.68.3, which is addressed to Indra and Varuṇa, we read *vájreṇān-yáḥ śávasā hánti vṛtráṁ siṣakty anyó vṛjáneṣu vipraḥ*. But here too Fr. E wants to change *vipraḥ* to his dative *viprāi* because the root *sac* governs dat. (and more frequently accusative). But that is no reason to change *vipraḥ* to *viprāi* in this verse. It is not necessary that the seer should have clearly expressed the object of the verb. Obviously he has chosen to keep it unexpressed. And if the SK

41 Keith JRAS 1908.1127, on the other hand, looks upon this as an example of the use of nom. as voc.

42 "....the SK's locatives are original datives....." Proc. Tr. 22nd AIOC II.25.

wanted to get rid of *víprāi*, why did he not change it to *vípram* since *sac* governs also the acc.? But *vípraḥ*, the nom. as going with Varuṇa, is significant. In the first half of the line, in which *anyáḥ* refers to Indra, he is described as performing the deed ascribed to him with the help of his *vajra* and *śavas* (indicative of physical strength); in the latter half of the line, in which *anyáḥ* refers to Varuṇa, he is described as performing the deed ascribed to him by virtue of his being a *vípra* (indicative of the power of inspiration).

And now let us consider what Fr. E has to offer as the final confirmation of the *-āi* dative.[43] RV 1.19.1 reads *práti tyáṁ cā́rum adhvarám- gopīthā́ya prá hūyase*. Fr. E agrees with Geldner according to whom *gopīthá* means only "protection".[44] But if this is true, why does Fr. E want a change?[45] Are not gods invited to give protection (cf. Grassmann *hū*)? But Fr. E notes that Sāyaṇa interprets *gopīthā́ya* as *somapīthāya*.[46] And taking his hint from there Fr. E fixes the original text as *somapīthāi pra hūyase* with his archaic dative. If the SK had changed it to his classical dative *somapīthāya* it would have given him five syllables and disturbed the metre. He, thus concludes Fr. E, therefore, quietly changed it to *gopīthā́ya*.

All this is nothing but play of imagination. I would not like to join Fr.E in this game, but I am tempted to. I would like to bring to the notice of the SK that if he wanted to change *somapīthāi* he could have done it and still avoided the metrical flaw by suppressing *prá* of the original text: *somapīthā́ya hūyase* would have enabled him to remain closer with the original text and avoid a very bold change to *gopīthā́ya prá hūyase.*

And one thing more. If Fr. E really means what he says then he should not have at least expressed his agreement with Geldner in the interpretation of *gopīthá* in this stanza. If the SK changed *somapīthá* to *gopīthá* he must have understood by the latter term 'a drink of milk' and not 'protection'.

I do not think it necessary to add more examples. I have given enough to show how untenable Fr. E's conclusions regarding the change in word-forms and word-order are. Now I wish to draw your attention to a theory according to which even the changes which affect pronunciation will have to be looked into carefully. The purpose of such changes was to achieve metrical and rhythmic

43 Pr. Trans. 22nd AIOC II.26.27.

44 Grassmann and BR have 1. *gopīthá* 'protection' and 2. *gopīthá* 'milk-drink'. The word is similarly treated in Alt. Gr. I 20 and II 719.

45 That an offering of honey mixed with Soma (*somyáṁ mádhu*) is mentioned in stanza 9 does not mean that there must be a reference to Soma in stanza 1.

46 The word actually used by Sāyaṇa is *somapānāya*. Fr. E could have more properly referred to Yāska (10.36) who interprets the word similarly and whom Sāyaṇa follows and quotes.

regularity. But scholars have already started suggesting that at least in some cases metrical irregularities were introduced into the verses on purpose by the seers. The seers structured the pādas in such a way as to reflect symbolically the thought conveyed by them. This idea was expressed by P. Thieme, perhaps somewhat hesitatingly at first, in a footnote to his article published in *Language* 31.434 f.n. 4 (1955)[47]. With regard to the metrial defect found in Ṛ̣V 5.59.2 b *naúr ná pūrṇā kṣarati vyáthir yatī́* "(the earth) drips like a fully loaded ship while moving forward rocking"— it has 11 instead of 12 syllables— he points out that it is not necessary to correct the 'defect' by pronouncing *naúr* as disyllabic. He first points out that the line is an example of a typically deficient Jagatī in which the caesura occurs after the fourth syllable but the line continues as if the caesura had occurred after the fifth.[48] He then says that it is also possible to venture a guess that the choice of structuring the line that way was intended to serve an artistic purpose. "The line first hesitatingly halts at the early caesura and then rushes to the end, skipping on its hurried way, as it were, the fourth (long) syllable after the caesura, and picturing thus the rocking movement of the ship."

Thieme appears now convinced about the correctness of his view expressed above. In an article published recently[49] he takes up this, as well as some other examples, in order to establish his view-point. With regard to the above verse he says firmly that only the monosyllabic pronunciation *naús* is correct and asks "where else would exist a disyllabic *aü* arisen out of *āu* in the Ṛgveda?"

Another example given by Thime is ṚV 3.59.2d *náinam áṁho aśnoty ántito ná dūrā́t* which has a rather longish opening of seven, instead of five, syllables before the caesura. Scholars suggested to get rid of this anomally by dropping, for example, *enam* (thus Oldenberg, Proleg. 86, also Noten). Thieme looks upon these 'violent attacks' (gewaltsame Angriffe) on the text as absolutely uncalled for. According to him even if one were to forget the word *áṁho* 'narrowness, distress' one would get a metrically correct opening. But, he argues, one cannot strike out that word on that account. In fact, by crowding the beginning of the verse with the syllables of the very word *áṁhas* the poet has depicted in language the sense of narrowness and distress conveyed by the word.[50]

The examples given by Thieme from the Veda and later literature in his article make a very interesting and refreshing reading. I shall mention here only one more of his examples for the same has been used by Fr. E in support of

47 P. Thieme, Kleine Schriften 702.
48 Oldenberg, Prolegomena 66.
49 Sprachmalerei KZ 86. 64-81 (1972).
50 This view was earlier expressed by Thieme in his book Mitra and Aryaman p. 44 f.n. 31a.

his thesis of the archaic dative in the ṚV.[51] Fr. E suggests to restore rhythm to ṚV 7.88.3 *prá preṅkhá īṅkhayāvahai śubhé kám* by word shuffling and diphthong-resolution. Thieme points out (pp. 70-71) that it is true that the verse does not have a caesura after the fourth or the fifth syllable, but the verse can at once be rendered normal if we decide to locate the caesura in the middle of the word *īṅkha yāvahai* after the first two syllables. The structure of the pāda here symbolises the movement of the ship on a swing (*preṅkhá*). The pause in the middle of the word depicts the abrupt stopping of the movement for a moment when the swing has reached its highest point on either side.

Even as it is I doubt very much whether any one would agree with Fr.E in accepting the absolute paramountcy of the Vedic metre from which he derives his authority to handle the received text the way he likes. Now the above consideration would force us to take a second look at the very starting point of Fr. E's thesis, viz. the metrical defects, for the removal of which he has taken all these pains.

* * *

Fr. E's entire attempt is directed towards proving that " the SK's Saṁhitā is a veritable palimpsest ".[52] The dictionary meaning of this somewhat unfamiliar word is – " Writing-material, manuscript, the original writing on which has been effaced to make room for a second." According to Fr. E it means- " a manuscript text that has been *written* over a pre-existing text by using one and the same writing surface a second time after effacing the original script by white-washing it over in one way or another."[53] Two considerations emerge from this explanation. First, as emphasized by Fr. E himself by underlining the word ' written ', the word ' palimpsest ' refers to writing; and, secondly, it indicates that in palimpsests only the writing material is the same, but the texts need not be the same. The second text could be as different from the first as a Rāmāyaṇa is from a Mahābhārata or much worse. The texts to which the word palimpsest is applied are quite different from the ones that are effaced (cf Encycl. Br. and Encycl. Am.). Now first consider that the activity of the SK could certainly not be called a writing activity. Fr. E has described the SK's text as " a real *śruti* text in the sense that it is originally not a lipi text ".[54] And secondly the nature of the changes which Fr. E alleges the SK has made in the Saṁhitā text concerns orthoepy and beyond that the forms of certain words, suppression or addition of a few words, and the change in the order of the words. These changes do not make the second text totally different from the first. Fr. E has, in fact, asserted that " the SK was not ... producing his redactorial text in a

51 Pr. Trans. 22nd AIOC II. 16.
52 I.A. (3rd Series) 2.1.3.
53 ABORI Golden Jub. Vol. 15.
54 IA (3rd Series) 2.1.6.

vaccum, but in circless that were consciously and professionally conservative... hence he could not be an out and out radical iconoclast."[55] He has also given his judgement to the effect that the SK has been moderate in his retouchings with the result that "the overall substantial import of the Ṛgveda remains practically the same."[56]

We may leave aside for a while the question whether the word 'palimpsest' applies to the writing material or to the text written on it. But if the SK was conservative by profession and his alleged touches moderate, even if we were to believe everything what Fr. E has said about the changes, is the SK's text qualified to be called a 'palimpsest'? Is this not gross exaggeration calculated to prejudice the reader against the SK even from the start? I may appear over-sensitive in my objecting to this word 'palimpsest'. I admit it is difficult for me to accept in academic discussion a word that highly exaggerates the facts.

This leads me to touch an aspect of Fr. E's writings which I most reluctantly do. I would have preferred to neglect it if it had not extended so profusely over his writings. I have so far practically refrained from giving you samples of the exaggerated expressions used by Fr. E with reference to the activity of the SK. But now consider the following expressions used by him to convey the simple meaning "The SK has changed or altered the ṛṣi-kavi's text":--

" The SK has meddled with the original text; SK's woefully defaced palimpsest; SK's deleterious palimpsest-making; brazen palimpsesting; redactorial spuriousness; redactorial manipulations by which the SK attempted to concoct a few stanzas; the whole text has been ruthlessly tampered with; SK edits his text in that outrageous way; redactorial ... trick of the trade; saṁdhi is SK's hobby-horse; SK uses the fraudulently " clipped " forms; normal pādas now ruined by the SK; any flaw in versification is due to the well-intentioned but deleterious meddling (and ignorance) of the reciters and saṁhitākāra; he adds and reshuffles pseudo-analogically - without scruple ! ; the glaring after-thought represented by the foolish ... ; SK's text is senseless; this is pedantry-paṇḍitry in excelsis " ; the Vedic Saṁhitā-Kāras are a freely editing tribe."

But Fr. E generously concedes that there is a " method in " SK's " madness ". Yet he deserves to be characterized as " the woebegone redactor " or referred to with such exclamations as " of such stuff is the SK made ! " or " The SK is the limit ! Poor ṛṣi-kavis. "

These expressions give an impression that the SK was a wily gangster indulging in fraudulent activities which produced faked and spurious products.

55 IA (3rd Series), 2.1.5.

56 ABORI 50.21.

No wonder Fr. E. speaks in terms of catching the SK "red-handed at his little game."

Unfortunately the story does not end here. The Father can use language replete with violence. He speaks in terms of the use of the knife in a surgical room : "... what kind of a radical redactorial surgeon that SK was who brought his scalpel to bear on the archaic hymns of the ancient Ṛgvedic bards. Scarcely anything escapes his operating touch"; or to the use of the knife outside the surgical room – but still leaving the unfortunate victim alive : "(the "improvements" of the SK) ... lamed and maimed the verses, and with them, figuratively, their innocent authors"; or "Add to this the brutally mangled ..."

And much to one's regret one notes that Fr. E chooses to speak even in terms which leave the victim altogether dead. The reference may be in terms of a child-sacrifice : "... they (i. e. the SKs) went so far that for the sake of *their* new-fangled correctness they ruthlessly sacrificed to *their* own "modern" fashionable "iṣṭa-devatās" ("śikṣā" and "vyākaraṇa") the pet child of every self-respecting poet, "chandas" the archaic metre and rhythm of the ṛṣi-kavis..."; "...hence his second rhythmical murder at the analogical Moloch's altar..." [Moloch was the Cannanite god to whom children were sacrificed] ; or it may be an act of butchery : "This is the way our Saṁhitā palimpsest was butchered innumerable times"; or it may refer to guillotines and murders : "... which has been practically everywhere *systematically guillotined* (by the Procrustean Redactor) ..." [Prokroustēs, a robber who made victims fit his bed by stretching or lopping them] ; "... which has throughout been redactorially tampered with in a most cavalierly-procrustean style ..."; "The latter (i. e. the SK) has no scruple to "murder" the original rhythm ..."; "But SK has his own system ... which he clamps upon the original text ***even if it murders the meter*** (*sic*) and rhythm." (Italics in the original, not mine).

No wonder Fr. E considers the Saṁhitā text a "dessicated (*sic*) mummy."[57] I venture to ask : If Fr. E really means what he says, what chance has he of reconstructing the original mantras in their freshness and vigour on the basis of a desiccated mummy, or the material which he looks upon as maimed, butchered or murdered ?

Another question : Is it proper to use such strong and unbecoming language in academic writings? True, these child-sacrifices, guillotines and murders are all metaphorical. But is this play of rhetoric, emphasized occasionally by italicizing or printing in bold type, in place ?

You will kindly note that all I have said regarding the use of the word 'palimpsest' or of the other exaggerated expressions is not a part of my argument against Fr. E's thesis. It is not that if this was removed from his writings everything will be all right.

[57] ABORI Golden Jub. Vol. p. 16; JASB 41-42 (New Ser.) 42.

Finally, consider one implication of Fr. E's reconstructions. As for himself he is convinced that his suggestions make the Saṁhitā text "infinitely better"[58] because they bring to the available text metrical and rhythmic regularity, archaic orthoepy and grammaticality, better word order and logicality. Now if by some means, more solid than what I have tried to present today, it is proved beyond doubt that the SK has really not altered the text of the kavis, then it would mean that in the opinion of Fr. E the text presented by him is far superior to the one composed by ṛsi-kavis themselves.

I am not sure my arguments will convince Father E. and that he will withdraw all his suggetions. But the picture, happily, is not altogether without its silver lining. On the one hand we note with gratitude that Fr. E does have a few good words for the SK. He calls the Saṁhitā-Kāras "master-builders of the Ṛgvedic tradition" and "towering giants, not only in the religious-cultural aspect but also in the linguistic-literary one."[59] And, on the other, he has stated on occasions that his text-critical observations are only provisional. He has shown courage to withdraw some of his earlier restorations in favour of the received text. As late as 1969 he has gone to the extent of admitting that "even the kavis themselves have already set the example"[60] implying thereby, I presume, that the kavis themselves have, in some cases at least, composed metrically irregular pādas. I shall therefore overlook for the time being his assertion that "..... the vast majority (of restorations) have already reached the stage of text-critical definitiveness that shall not be in need of revision.... "[61] or his pronouncements, made with supreme confidence : "...there can be not the slightest text-critical doubt that the restored form.... is and can only be *the* original Ṛgveda which underlies the SK's Saṁhitā-palimpsest...,' and request Fr. E to give up his role of a "modern text-critical detective" which he has taken up in order "to follow the trail of their (i.e. SKs') innovations, crack their redactorial code, and with growing certainty unmask their well-meant but disfiguring "improvements."[62] I appeal to him to be quick in his "readiness for self-correction"[63] and pray to him objectively to evaluate this humble criticism -I shall not say from "a fellow scholar" but—from his one time pupil, a fact which I restate with a feeling of respect for the learned Father.

Thank You.

58 IA (3rd Series) 2.1.14.
59 ABORI 50-21.
60 ABORI 50.20.
61 ABORI Golden Jub. Vol. 16.
62 ABORI 50.15.
63 ABORI 50. 39-40.

TWO COMPOUNDS WITH *AGNÍ*

M. A. MEHENDALE

1. *agnihvará*

The word *agnihvará* appears in the Maitr. Saṁ 1.3.35 in one of the *mantras* used at the time of drawing the *dadhigraha*. The *mantra* in which the word occurs runs as : *upayāmágṛhīto 'si prajā́pataye tvā jyótiṣmate jyótiṣmantam gṛhṇāmi ṛtáṁ devébhyo dákṣāya dakṣavṛ́dham agnihvarébhyas tvā ṛtāyúbhyā índrajyeṣṭhebhyo ...... pṛthivyaí tvāntárikṣāya tvā divé tvā !*

With a few changes in the order of the words, the above *mantra* appears in the TS 3.5.8.1, the KS 39.5 and the KapS 45.6. But the one important difference is that in the *mantra* of the latter three Saṁhitas we read *devébhyo 'gnijihvébhyaḥ* 'to gods whose tongue is Agni' in place of *devébhyo .... agnihvarébhyas* of the Maitrā-Saṁ.

MW gives, with a question mark, 'making a mistake in the fire-ceremonial' as the meaning of *agnihvará*, apparently deriving *hvará* from *hvar* 'to deviate or diverge from the right line'. But this meaning is hardly suitable in the context.

It is, however, possible to explain *hvará* as a primary derivative from either *hū* 'to call' or *hu* 'to offer' with the suffix *-ara* (Alt. Gr. II, 2§112, pp. 215-216). The word *hvará* would mean 'inviter' or 'offerer' and the compound *agnihvará* would mean 'whose inviter is Agni' or 'whose offering priest is Agni'. This meaning would neatly suit the context. It may be noted that the gods are called *agníhotāraḥ* in the ṚV 10.66.8 (*agníhotāra ṛtasā́po adrúho 'pó asṛjann ánu vṛtratū́rye*).

At the end of the MS 1.3.35 occurs a *mantra* which is recited at the time of praying after the *dadhi* offering has been given. The first line of this *mantra* runs as *tisró jihvásya samídhaḥ párijmano 'gnér akṛṇvann uśíjo ámṛtyave* where *jihvá* occurs as an adjective of *agní*. A similar *mantra* appears in the ṚV 3.2.9 with *yahvásya* in place of *jihvásya*. It reads as *tisró yahvásya samídhaḥ párijmano 'gnér apunann uśíjo ámṛtyavaḥ*. It is difficult to look upon *jihvá* of the MS as a corruption of *yahvá* of the ṚV. The shorter dictionary of Böhtlingk records this *jihvá* as an adjective of Agni but does not give any meaning. However, Böhtlingk seems to connect *jihvá* with *jihvā́* 'tongue'.

In the light of the word *hvará* occurring in the same section of the MS and its explanation suggested above it is possible to look upon *jihvásya*

of the MS as a corruption of *juhvāsya*. The word *juhvā*, like *hvara*, can be explained as derived either from the reduplicated form of *hū* 'to call' or *hu* 'to offer'. It can carry the same meaning as *hvāra*. The corruption of *juhvāsya* to *jihvāsya* is easily understandable.

2. *agnīṣomabhāgau*

In the Nirukta 14.31 is cited a somewhat obsure stanza the first line of which runs as *ā yahīndra pathibhir īḷitebhir yajñām imāṁ no bhāgadheyaṁ juṣasva*. In the cryptic comment which is given after it *yajñām imāṁ no bhāgadheyaṁ* has been first repeated with some change as *yajñam imaṁ no yajñabhāgam*. This passage thus explains the text word *bhāgadheyam* 'share' as *yajñabhāgam* 'share, i. e. offering given in the sacrifice'. This explanation is then immediately followed by the compound word *agnīṣomabhāgau*. As the verse is addressed to Indra and he is requested to come to enjoy the offering given in the sacrifice, *agnīṣomabhāgau* cannot mean offerings given to the deities Angi and Soma, either jointly or separately. Hence the compound has to be taken to mean as further explaining *yajñam* and *yajñabhāgam* which precede it. This is possibly done because *yajñam* and *yajñabhāgam* apparently mean the same thing. The commentary, therefore, seems to make further clear that *yajñam* stands for 'fire' and *yajñabhāgam* for *somabhāgam* 'Soma offering (given in the sacrifice)'. The compound expression *agnīṣomabhāgau* thus means 'fire and the *Soma* offering'. The compound in that case should have really been *agnisomabhāgau*. But it appears as *agnīṣomabhāgau* on the analogy of the frequently occurring compound form *agnīṣomau*.

aṁsalá

by M. A. Mehendale, Poona

Among the rules to be observed during the Dīkṣā ceremony we read the following in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.1.2.21): *áthainaṁ śā́lāṁ prápādayati / sá dhenvaí cānaḍúhaś ca nā̀śnīyāt / dhenvanaḍuhaú vā́ idáṁ sárvaṁ bibhṛtaḥ/ ... tád dhaitát sarvā̀śyam iva yó dhenvanaḍuháyor aśnīyā̀d ántagatir iva/ ... tásmād dhenvanaḍuháyor nā̀śnīyāt/ tád u hovāca yā́jñavalkyaḥ—aśnāmy evā̀hám aṁsalám céd bhávatī́ti* "He (the Adhvaryu) then makes him enter the hall. Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. ... Hence, were one to eat (the flesh) of an ox or a cow, there would be, as it were, an eating of everything, or, as it were, a going on to the end (or, to destruction). ... let him therefore not eat (the flesh) of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender' " (Eggeling).

Thus Eggeling translates *aṁsalá* as 'tender'. Similarly Jacobi[1], Encycl. of Religion and Ethics s.v. Cow (Hindu), remarks: "The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, when prohibiting the eating of the flesh of the cow (iii 1,2,21) adds the interesting statement: Yājñavalkya said: "I, for one, eat it provided that it is tender"." The meaning 'tender' has been assigned to *aṁsalá* also by Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 127, f.n. 8.

According to BR., however, *aṁsalá* means 'strong'. They derive the word from *áṁsa* 'shoulder' and refer to P. 5.2.98 where it is noticed that the suffix *-la* is added to *aṁsa* in the sense 'strong' (*vatsāṁsābhyāṁ kāmabale*). The Sanskrit lexicons[2] also give the same meaning (*balavān, balī*) for *aṁsala*. In this meaning *aṁsala* is used also in the classical literature. Apte's dictionary cites Raghu 3.34 and 16.84, and Daśakumāra. 169 (ed. by Godbole and Parab, Bombay 1883)[3].

Weber, Ind. Stud. 17.281 (1885), rendered *aṁsalá* as 'feist', while Oldenberg, Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, p. 209, foot-note, used just the word 'gut' to render *aṁsalá*. Keith (Cambridge History of India I. 137—138) observes as follows in connection with the above passage from the Śat.Br. "... the great sage Yājñavalkya

[1] For this and the other references in this paper I am indebted to L. Alsdorf's *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien* (1961), pp. 55/56.

[2] Cf. Amara 2.6.44 *balavān māṁsalo 'ṁsalaḥ*. Hemacandra 448 *aṁsalo balī*. On Amara., the commentator says *aṁso balam asyāstīty aṁsalaḥ*.

[3] On the Daśakumāra. passage, the Comm. says *aṁsalapuruṣaḥ māṁsalapuruṣaḥ*.

ate meat of milch cows and oxen, provided that the flesh was *aṁsala*, a word of doubtful import, rendered either 'firm' or 'tender' by various authorities."

Thus Keith does not wish to commit himself to any particular meaning of the word *aṁsalá*. In the opinion of Alsdorf, op. cit. p. 56, foot-note 1, the meaning of *aṁsalá* is unknown. He observes that the different translations of the word, referred to above, are no more than mere guesses. He adds: "daß es 'zart', 'saftig', 'gut', 'feist' o. dgl. heiße, ist mir äußerst unwahrscheinlich; viel eher dürfte es irgend eine rituell relevante Eigenschaft bezeichnen, die das Rindfleisch nach Yājñavalkya auch während der Dīkṣā unbedenklich macht . . .".

One would readily agree with the above observation of Alsdorf. It seems further possible to define the 'rituell relevante Eigenschaft' which, according to Alsdorf, is denoted by *aṁsalá*, and which, according to Yājñvalkya, renders beef unobjectionable even during the *dīkṣā*. As will be shown below, the ritually relevant quality is only indirectly, and not directly, denoted by *aṁsalá*.

The word *aṁsalá* occurs once again in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3.8.4.5–6)[4]. There in the context of the cutting off of the hind-part *(guda)* of the sacrificial animal for the principal, the *sviṣṭakṛt*, and the *upayāja* offerings, we read: *sá ha tv èvá paśúm ālabheta yá enaṁ médham upanáyet/ yádi kṛṣáḥ syā̆d yád udaryàsya médasaḥ pariśiṣyéta tád gudé nyṝṣet/ . . . gudó vai paśúḥ / médo vaí médhaḥ / tád enaṁ médham úpanayati / yády u aṁsaló bhávati svayáṁ upetá evá tárhi médhaṁ bhavati* "He alone, indeed, should slay the animal who may take to it sacrificial essence *(medha)*. If it (i.e. the animal) be lean, let him put into the hind-part what may remain from the fat of the belly (after a portion for the *iḍā* offering has been cut off). . . . The hind-part, verily, is the animal, the fat, verily, is the sacrificial essence. (When he puts the remainder of the fat from the belly into the hind-part of the lean animal), he carries in this way the sacrificial essence to it (i.e. to the animal). If, however, it (i.e. the animal) be *aṁsalá*, then it has itself approached the sacrificial essence".

The context in which the word *aṁsalá* occurs in the above passage leaves no room for doubt with regard to its meaning. *aṁsalá* is contrasted with *kṛśá* 'lean'. Further we are informed that if the animal be lean, it does not itself contain enough sacrificial essence. Hence it is necessary to add some fat from its belly to its hind-

[4] *aṁsalá* occurs also in the Taitt. Br. 3.4.17.1 in the context of the Puruṣamedha. An *aṁsala* animal is bound for Agni *(agnáye 'ṁsalám)*. But this occurrence does not help in determining the meaning of the word. Sāyaṇa explains *aṁsalam* = *balavantam*, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains it as *pīnāṁsam*. In the Kāty. Śr.S. 7.2.24 we read *aṁsalabhojanaṁ vā*. The option indicated here by the word *vā* has, as explained in the commentary of Karka, a reference to the view held by Yājñavalkya in regard to beef-eating referred to in the Śat.Br. above.

part because fat is identical with sacrificial essence. This is as good as adding sacrificial essence to the animal since *gudá* is identified with *paśú*. We are further told that if the animal is *aṁsalá*, and not *kṛśá*, no such addition is necessary, for, the animal itself in that case is supposed to be full of sacrificial essence. *aṁsalá*, therefore, clearly means 'full of, rich in, fat'[5]. Sāyaṇa is nearer to the correct interpretation of the word when he explains *aṁsalaḥ* as *puṣṭāṅgaḥ*, although one may not be sure about his derivation of the word from *aṁsa* 'shoulder' which he indicates by the use of *pravṛddhāṁsaḥ*[6]. But Eggeling is not so good when he translates the above line as, "But if it be tender (juicy), then it has itself obtained the sacrificial essence."

aṁsalá thus primarily means 'full of fat', and secondarily denotes, through the Brahmanical identification of *médas* with *médha*, 'full of sacrificial essence'. Hence, when Yājñavalkya says that he has no objection to eating beef even during the *dīkṣā* if it is full of fat (*aṁsalá*), he does so presumably because in his opinion the fat in the beef makes it full of sacrificial essence. The presence of *médha* in the beef is the 'ritually relevant quality' which renders it unobjectionable for him. As rightly observed by Alsdorf[7] it is not proper to misunderstand Yājñavalkya and make fun of him by imagining that he was only fond of 'tender' beef.

A reference to the above peculiar Vājasaneya teaching regarding beef-eating is found also in the Dharmasūtras[8]. In the Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra (14.45f.) we read: *dhenvanaḍuhāv apannadantāś ca / bhakṣyau tu dhenvanaḍuhau medhyau vājasaneyake vijñāyate.* Bühler translates the passage as "Not milch-cows, draught-oxen, and animals whose milk teeth have not dropped out[9]. It is declared in the Vājasaneyaka that (the flesh of) milch-cows and oxen is fit for offerings." As already noted by Alsdorf (p. 60), Bühler has inadvertently left out the word *bhakṣyau* in his translation. Alsdorf next refers to J. J. Meyer's view who does not agree with Bühler's translation of *medhyau* as 'fit for offerings'. In Meyer's view, the word means 'magisch-rituell rein'. In the Āp.Dh.Sū. (1.5.17.30f.), where the same topic is dealt with, we find: *dhenvanaḍuhor bhakṣyam / medhyam ānaḍuham iti Vājasaneyakam:* "(Fleisch von) Kuh und Ochs ist eßbar. (Eßbar ist) opferreines Ochsenfleisch laut Vājasaneyaka". In the opinion of Alsdorf we have to understand the word *medhya*

[5] In the Taitt. Saṁ. we find the use of the word *sthávimat*. In 6.4.1 we read *jaghanārdhā́d áva dyati ... sthavimató 'va dyati* "He cuts off from the hind portions, ... he cuts off from the thick side ..." (Keith). Also cf. Maitr. Saṁ. 3.10.4 where *sthavimat* is contrasted with *aṇimat*.

[6] As for the etymology, perhaps it would be better to extrapolate *aṁsa 'fat'.

[7] ALSDORF, op. cit., p. 56, foot-note 1.

[8] ALSDORF, op. cit., pp. 59–60.

[9] i.e. their flesh should not be eaten.

in the two passages above in a highly significant sense[10], viz., as 'intended for sacrifice', i.e. consecrated for sacrifice, or, when freely expressed, 'coming from a sacrificial animal'[11]. He, therefore, translates the Vas.Dh.Sū. passage as, "(Verboten sind) Kuh und Ochs und Tiere, deren Milchzähne noch nicht ausgefallen sind. Eßbar aber sind Kuh und Ochs, wenn es sich um Opfertiere handelt, nach der Lehre des Vājasaneyaka".

One can agree with Alsdorf when he says that the word *medhya* in the above passages from the Dharmasūtras is to be understood as having a highly significant sense; but, in the light of the view held by Yājñavalkya (Vājasaneya), as expressed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it seems that the word *medhya* has to be interpreted differently. The secondary derivative *medhya*, with the suffix *-ya*, means, not 'intended for sacrifice', but 'full of sacrificial essence (*medha*)'. As already mentioned in the Śat.Br. passage cited above, *medha* and *medas* are identical. Hence the word *medhya* can secondarily denote 'full of fat'[12], i.e. the same thing as *aṁsalá*.

The Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra 14.45 f. should therefore be translated as: "The cow and the ox and the animals whose milk teeth have not yet fallen (are forbidden for eating). But it is learnt in the Vājasaneyaka that cow and ox which are full of sacrificial essence can be eaten"[13]. The Āpastamba Dharmasūtra 1.17.30 f. should be translated as: "(The flesh) of cow and ox can be eaten. The flesh of an ox[14], which is full of sacrificial essence (can be eaten) according to Vājasaneyaka."

Understood the way suggested above we may draw the following inferences regarding the view held by Yājñavalkya and the tradition established by him with regard to beef-eating. At the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, when beef-eating was not prohibited generally, a restriction was put on its eating by the sacrificer during the *dīkṣā*. But Yājñavalkya held the view that even during the *dīkṣā* a sacrificer might eat beef if it was full of fat (i.e. also full of sacrificial essence). Later, in the period of the Dharmasūtras, when beef-eating as a general practice was being prohibited, those who followed the teaching of Yājñavalkya held the view that beef might be eaten if it was full of sacrificial essence (by virtue of its being full of fat).

[10] 'in einem sehr prägnanten Sinne'.

[11] "zum Opfer *bestimmt*", also zum Opfer geweiht oder freier ausgedrückt "von einem Opfertier stammend".

[12] It may be noted that the Kośakalpataru Vol. 2.7253 (Deccan College edition, 1966) gives *medura*, which may mean "full of fat", as one of the meanings of the word *medhya* (*medhyaṁ śucau medura āśrame ca*).

[13] As noted above, they are full of sacrificial essence, if they are full of fat.

[14] And by implication, also of a cow.

PROF. THIEME'S ETYMOLOGY OF SKT. *así* AND ITS BEARING ON THE IRON-AGE IN INDIA

The word *así* (m.) is attested in the Sanskrit literature since the *Ṛgveda*. Its meaning, there, is 'knife' used for cutting the slaughtered animals. As 'sword', a weapon used in battles, *así* appears since the *Atharvaveda*.

What was this gvedic *así* 'knife' made of ?

Since the word *áyas* accurs in the *Ṛgveda* and since it is usually taken to mean copper (or bronze) one inference could be that the gvedic *así* was made of copper.

But this inference would prove wrong if Prof. Thieme's suggestion (Thieme, 1958) regarding the etymology of the word *así* is found to be correct.[1].

We have in Sanskrit correspondences like

hárita 'yellow' : *harít hári* 'yellow'

róhita 'red' : *rohit*, *róhi* red'

Similarly in Greek

álphito - 'barley meal' : *álphit* 'barley meal'

(lit. 'the white one')

Such correspondences make the following correspondence for Sanskrit a possibility :

Skt. *ásita* 'black' : **asit*, **asi* 'black'

This means that for Sanskrit we assume an adjective **asi* which is not attested.

In Greek we have a word *ásis* f. 'river mud'. If we assume an unattested existence of a Sanskrit a djective **asi* 'black' it is possible for us to compare

Sk. **asi* (adj.) 'black': Gk. *ásis* - (Fem.) 'river mud'.

Phonetically this correspondence becomes likely only if we assume that the two words Skt. **asi* and Gk. *ásis* are derived from IE **n̥i* which, as an adjective, would have the meaning 'black'. We have to assume that in Greek the Indo-European adjective 'black' was nominalized to mean 'river mud'.

In Latin we have the word '*ēnsis*' m. sword'. Earlier it was not possible to relate Sk. *así* (iron) sword, and Lat. *ēnsis* '(iron) sword' because, although there

was phonetic resemblance between the two, the meaning 'iron sword' could not be attributed to the reconstructed IE word as iron was not known in that period[2]. But if Latin *ēnsis* 'sword', like Greek *ásis* 'river mud', is considered a nominalization of the IE adj. *ṇsi* 'black', i.e. 'the black one, the black iron sword', then the two words from Sanskrit and Latin can be looked upon as cognates. And not only these two, also Gk. *ásis* 'river mud' can be considered a cognate with them as all three can now be treated as independent nominalizations of the IE adj. *ṇsi* 'black'.

If the above explanation of Skt. *así* 'knife' as a later development of a nominalization 'the black one' of a potential adjective *asi 'black' is correct then it implies that at the time (late Ṛgvedic period) when *así* 'knife' is attested it must have been made of iron. Otherwise the nominalization of the adjective meaning 'black' cannot be explained. This means that on *linguistic* evidence it is possible for us to say that iron was known in the late ṛgvedic period.

All these facts about the etymology of the Skt. noun *así* have already been stated by Prof. Thieme in the review referred to above (1964). The purpose of the present paper is only to bring these facts to the notice of the archaeologists and also to make explicit the implication of this etymology for the iron-age in India.

Prof. Thieme 1958 Review of 'Dictionnaire etymologique du protoindo-europeen' Albert Carnoy, *Language* 34 pp. 510-515.

1964 'The Comparative Method for Reconstruction in Linguistics' *Language in Culture and Society* (ed.) Dell Hymes, pp. 593-594.

M. A. MEHENDALE

---

1. Prof. Thieme's suggestion seems to have its starting point in W. Schulze's etymological hypothesis regarding Greek *ásis* f. 'river mud' (*Kleine Schriften 116 f.*). The paper is inaccessible to me.
2. The words for 'iron' in the languages belonging to the IE family are phonetically quite different from one another : Gk. *sídēros*, Lat. *ferrum*, old Slavic *želēzo*. old irish *ēaru*. Skt. *kṛṣṇāyasa*.

PRAKAMODYA - ITS RELEVANCE TO THE ĀKHYĀNA THEORY

M. A. MEHENDALE

The word *prakāmodya* is attested only four times in the Vedic literature. Its occurrences in the *Vāj. Saṁ.* (30.9) and the *Taitt. Br.* (3.4.6) are not useful for determining the meaning of the word. It occurs twice in the *Śat. Br.* (3.2.4.16 and 3.5.3.11) but since the two sentences in which it occurs are identical, we are, in effect, left with only one attestation on the basis of which we have to interpret the word.

The Adhvaryu priest repeats the *mantra cid asi manási dhīr asi dákṣiṇāsi*[1] while addressing the cow with which Soma is to be purchased. While commenting on the words *dhír asi* in the above *mantra the Śat. Br.* (3.2.4.16) says : *dhiyā́ dhiyā hý etáyā manuṣyā́ jújyūṣanti ánūkteneva prakāmódyeneva gā́thābhir iva tásmād āha dhír asī́ti* "all men seek their sustenance according to their respective knowledge; (some) by the recitation of the *mantra*-s, (some) by *prakāmodya*, (some) by the singing of the *gāthā*-s. That is why he (i.e. the Adhvaryu) says '*dhīr asi*'.

The meanings of the words *ánūkta* and *gā́thā* in the above passage are clear. They refer respectively to the Vedic *mantra*-s which the priests learn and recite in the Vedic ritual and the *gāthā*-s which are sung on special occasions.[2] Both these are fixed and are traditionally handed down among the classes which make use of them. The meaning of the word *prakāmodya* alone remains to be determined.

Sāyaṇa explains the word *prakāmodya* as *icchayā laukikabhāṣaṇam* i.e. everyday conversations done as desired. Böthlingk-Roth give the meaning "Geschwätzigkeit" and Monier-Williams gives 'talking to the heart's content , talkativeness'. Eggeling in his translation of the *Śat. Br.* renders it as 'readiness of speech'.

None of these renderings seems to fit into the context in which the world is used. The context is of earning one's livelihood (*jujyūṣanti*) which is done with the recitation of the *mantra*-s on the one hand and the singing the *gāthā*-s on the other.

The *Ṛgveda* contains some hymns which are known as the *saṁvāda sūkta*-s (dialogue hymns). It is well known that H. Oldenberg in 1883 put forward his *ākhyāna* theory with regard to these hymns. Recently Prof. L. Alsdorf has sought to uphold this theory by furnishing some additional evidence from the Jaina literature.[3]

According to the theory of Oldenberg, the dialogue hymns are the remnants of a literary form which once existed and which he calls as *ākhyāna*. These *ākhyāna*-s contained both verses and prose portions. Whereas the verses were 'fixed', the prose portions were not and were supplied on each occasion by the narrator of the *ākhyāna* as desired by him. These prose portions were consequently lost with the result that in the *saṁvāda* hymns of today we have only the verses and not the prose portions.

Thus, according to the theory of Oldenberg. the old *ākhyāna*-s consisted of the Vedic ṛc-s, preserved in the *saṁvāda* hymns, and the prose portions which were supplied by the narrator. That some of the *ākhyāna*-s contained, besides the ṛc-s and the prose portions, also the *gāthā*-s becomes clear from the following description of the Śunaḥśepa story in the *Ait. Br.* 33.6 ; *tad etat pararkśatagātham śaunaḥśepam ākhyānam* and of the Ṭrita story in the *Nirukta* 4.6: *tatra brahmetihāsamiśraṁ ṛṅmiśraṁ gāthāmiśraṁ bhavati*.

It is, therefore, possible to suggest that the word *prakāmódya* which occurs in the *Śat. Br.* by the side of *anūkta* and *gāthā* and which refers to a means of livelihood, means 'to be spoken as desired.' It would refer to the prose passages in the *ākhyāna* which the narrator added each time as desired by him.

Eggeling seems to have come close to this interpretation of *prakāmo'dya* when in foot note 8 to his translation he adds : "Prakāmodya, rather either 'fondness for talk' or 'effusive speech.' It seems to refer to stoty-tellers (amusing speech)."

If this interpretation of the word *prakāmo'dya* is correct it will be an additional argument in support of Oldenberg's *ākhyāna* theory.

1. *Vāj. Saṁ.* 4.19.
2. Cf. for example *Śat. Br.* 13.1.5.1. ff., 13.4.2.8. They also formed part of the *ākhyāna*.
3. The Ākhyāna Theory Reconsidered, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 13, pp. 195-207, 1963-64.

2. *ATIHĀYAT (?)*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Sanskrit Dictionary Deptt., Deccan College, Poona—6

In the Vedic Word-Concordance, Vol. II (Brāhmaṇas), appears an entry *atihāyat* with a question mark. Apparently the form has been looked upon, doubtfully, as a present participle from *ati-hā* (*jihīte*).

The form in question occurs twice in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* 3. 205 and 3. 208.

The *Jaim. Br*. 3. 205 reads as : ***kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyena kavis san somaḥ pavitram aty eti rebhann[1] ity atihāyan.***

The *Jaim. Br*. 3. 208 reads as : ***supravīr astu sa kṣayaḥ pra nu yāman sudānavaḥ ye no aṁho 'tipiprati[2] ity atihāyan.***

In these two passages, the Brāhmaṇa portion has not been correctly read. What appears as *atihāyan* should really be read as *ati hāyan* = *ati ha āyan* "they have, indeed, gone beyond, i.e., they have indeed, completed (the performance of)". The Brāhmaṇa remark is intended to justify the choice of the *mantras* which contain the words *atyeti* 'goes over, or goes beyond' (*Jaim. Br*. 3. 205) and *atipiprati* 'they carry over or beyond' (*Jaim. Br*. 3. 208). The Brāhmaṇa passages say that these particular *mantras* containing the words *atyeti* and *atipiprati* are used because "they (the priests) have, indeed, gone beyond, i.e., they have completed (the performance of the ritual pertaining to the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*)".

In the second passage (*Jaim. Br*. 3. 208) the author of the Brāhmaṇa could have said *ati ha apiparuḥ*, instead of *ati ha āyan*, because the *mantra* contains the verbal form *atipiprati* (from the root *pṛ*) and not *atyeti* (from the root *i*). But the author chose to repeat

1. *SV* 2. 525 ; *ṚV* IX. 96. 17 (*kāvyenā*).
2. *SV* 2. 702 ; *ṚV* VII. 66. 5.

ati ha āyan from 3. 205, apparently because the justification for the use of the *mantra* was the same, *viz.*, "the priests have gone beyond (the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*)".

The *mantras* in question are used in the *Bahiṣpavamānastotra* and the *Ājya-stotra* respectively of the second of the three *Chandoma* days. In a *Dvādaśāha* rite, lasting for twelve days, the first and the twelfth days are respectively the *Prāyaṇīya* and the *Udayanīya* days. The remaining ten days are divided into three parts, *viz.*, the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha* (lasting six days), the *chandomas* (lasting three days), and the *avivākya* (the tenth day).[3]

In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* it is said about the first of the above three parts as *pṛṣṭhyaṁ ṣaḷaham upayanti* "(the priests) approach the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*." Similarly while speaking about the last day, the *Ait. Br.* says *ye daśamam ahar āgacchanti* "(the priests) who arrive at the tenth day." It is interesting to note the use of the forms of the verb meaning 'to go' in these two passages. Since the three *Chandoma* days occur between the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha* and the tenth day, the *Jaim. Br.* expression *ati ha āyan* obviously refers to the priests who, after approaching (*upayanti*) the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*, have gone beyond it in order to perform the rites pertaining to the *Chandoma* days before finally arriving (*āgacchanti*) at the tenth day.

The *Jaim. Br.* passage contains the form *āyan* in the imperfect, and not *yanti* or *gacchanti* in the present, because what is intended to be conveyed is what the priests have already accomplished. Since they have gone beyond, i.e., completed the ritual pertaining to the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*, the mantras containing the forms *atyeti* the 'goes beyond' or *atipiprati* 'they carry beyond' are considered fit (*rūpasamṛddha*) for the *stomas* of the first of the three *Chandoma* days.

The *Jaim. Br.* remark *ati ha āyan* is no doubt cryptic. But the use of the forms *upayanti* and *āgacchanti* in the *Ait. Br.* and of *yanti* in the *Jaim. Br.* itself (3. 206, 208) makes it fairly certain that the subject of *āyan* is the 'priests'. And the context where the cryptic remark occurs makes it almost equally fairly certain that what the

3. Sāyaṇa, while introducing the *Ait. Br.* 24. 3 (p. 631), says: *dvādaśāhe prāyaṇīyodayanīyarūpe ādyante ye ahanī tayor madhye daśarātro 'sti/ tasmiṁś ca trayo bhāgāḥ/pṛṣṭhyaḥ ṣaḍaha eko bhāgaḥ/chandomanāmakās trayo 'harviśeṣā dvitīyo bhāgaḥ/ daśamam ahas tṛtīyo bhāgaḥ /*

priests have gone beyond, i.e., what they have already completed is the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha.*

It may, however, be pointed out that in the *Jaim. Br.* 3.173 we are told that Prajāpati created the three *Chandoma* days in order to connect the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha* with the following four days (*viz.*, the three *Chandoma* days and the tenth day).[4] In 3.174 we read *Chandāṁsy evaitac chandomān abhy atinayanty uttarasya tryahasya sampāraṇāya* "thus the metres themselves carry (the sacrifice) to the *Chandoma* days in order (further) to go beyond (the ritual of) the three days."

In view of this passage it is possible to understand 'metres' as the subject of *ati āyan* for they are supposed to have gone beyond the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha.*

It may also be observed in the end that we find in the Brāhmaṇas the use of the preterite forms when there is a reference to what the gods or the sages did in the past. Hence there is also the possibility of the 'gods' or the 'sages' being the subject of *ati āyan.*

4. In the *Jaim. Br.* 3. 174 the progress of the ritual form the *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha* to the seventh day (i.e., the first of the three *Chandoma* days) is called *atikrānti.* We may also compare *atikrānto vā etarhi yajño bhavati saptame ahan* (*Jaim. Br.* 3. 182).

M. A. MEHENDALE

DURATIVYATHA—

In the *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* 25.1 we read *iṣuṁ vā etā devās samaskurvan yad upasado 'gniṁ śṛṅgaṁ somaṁ śalyaṁ viṣṇuṁ tejanam / te 'bruvan yo va ojiṣṭhas sa imāṁ visṛjatu / ... na prayājā bhavanti nānuyājāḥ / puro vā ete yajñasya yat prayājānuyājā yat prayājānuyājān kuryāt puro yajñasya kuryād durativyathaṁ syād atīkṣṇām iṣuṁ kuryāt*[1]. « What are Upasads that these the gods indeed made into an arrow, (they made) Agni the tip, Soma the socket, Viṣṇu the shaft. They said, " who among you is the strongest, let him release this (arrow) "... There are no Prayāja offerings, nor the Anuyājas. What are the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings they are, indeed, the forts of the sacrifice. If he were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings he would erect the forts for the sacrifice. (In that case his act of performing the Upasad) would not inflict excessive pain (on the enemies), (for) he would make the arrow (in the form of the Upasads) blunt ».

What is intended to be conveyed in the above passage seems to be that if the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings that would be tantamount to his erecting forts around the sacrifice. Then the arrow, in the form of the Upasad iṣṭi, will first strike against these forts, would become blunt, and consequently inflict very little pain (*durativyatham*) on his enemies.

It is, perhaps, possible to understand the passage this way. However, there appears to be one difficulty. If the above sense was intended, the end portion of the passage would have read *atīkṣṇām iṣuṁ kuryād durativyathaṁ syāt*, and not as the text actually stands.

It is therefore tempting to suggest a small emendation and read *durativyadham* « difficult to pierce through » in place of *durativyatham*. The emendation appears appropriate in the context of the shooting of an arrow. If the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja

1. Also *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha*, 38.4.

offerings he would be erecting forts around his sacrifice. The Upasad-arrow will then find it difficult to pierce through this fort. The sacrificer would also make the arrow blunt, and hence ineffective, by making it first strike against the walls of the fort.

Understood this way, the passage yields better sense. In both the interpretations, *durativyatham* and *durativyadham* are considered adjectives. The former would qualify a noun like *karman* « act » supplied [2], while the latter would qualify the noun *varman* « enclosure », which suggests itself from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage discussed below.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.26 (=4.9) we read: *devavarma vā etad yad prayājāś cānuyājāś cāprayājam ananuyājaṁ bhavatīṣvai saṁśityā apratiśarāya.* This passage is somewhat difficult to understand. Keith translates: « The fore-offerings and the after-offerings are divine armour; (this rite) is without fore-offerings and after-offerings, to sharpen the arrow and to prevent rending ». Haug's translation is much the same except that he renders *apratiśarāya* as « for preventing it from recoiling ».

The above translations are not helpful in understanding the purpose of not performing the fore- and the after-offerings which is expressed with the words *saṁśityai* and *apratiśarāya.*

Sāyaṇa explains the above pasasge in the following way: the Upasad iṣṭi should be performed without the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings because these offerings are like an armour and in the present case there is no use of an armour. When the arrow in the form of the Upasads is shot against the enemies, due to the sharpness of the arrow all of them would get killed by a single shot and there would be no one left amnog them to strike back. Hence an armour becomes unnecessary. But if the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings it would mean that he was in doubt regarding the sharpness of the arrow and hence, apprehending a counter-attack by the enemy, was providing for protection in the form of the armour. That would not be proper. Hence no Prayāja and Anuyāja offerings are offered in order to demonstrate faith in the sharpness (*saṁśityai*) of the Upasad-arrow and to set aside the apprehension of injury to one's side at the hands of the enemies (*apratiśarāya*) [3].

This is no doubt a good attempt to explain the significance of the two datives *saṁśityai* and *apratiśarāya.* But the explanation is, in part, strained. In view of the fact that in the *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are likened to *puraḥ* « forts », it would be better to inetrpret the word *devavarma* in the *Ait.Br.* passage, not as « divine armour » (Keith) or « armour of the gods » (Haug), but as « an enclosure created by the gods, a divine defence ». The *Ait.Br.* passage

2. Cf. the way Sāyaṇa supplies *Upasadākhyaṁ karma* while interpreting the *Ait. Br.* passage discussed below.

3. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya merely says *iṣvāḥ śarasya saṁśityai taikṣṇyāya apratiśarāya apratighātāya.*

would then mean that the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are not offered because that would be like creating a divine defensive wall around the sacrifice. In that case the Upasad-arrow, when shot, would strike against this wall and would become blunt. To avoid this and to ensure the sharpness (*saṁśityai*) of the arrow, the fore- and the after-offerings are not offered. And once the sharpness of the arrow is ensured, there will be no enemy left to strike back with an arrow (*apratiśarāya*).

In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* also (2.6.1.5) the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are said to constitute the *várma* of the sacrifice and the sacrificer. The fact that in this passage it is further stated that it is on this account that a *varūtha* « a defensive enclosure » is erected taller in the front and shorter at the back shows that by *várma* is meant, not « an armour », but « a defensive wall or enclosure ». The whole passage in the Taitt. Saṁ. reads as: *yát prayājānuyājā́ ijyánte vármaivá tád yajñā́ya kriyate várma yájamānāya bhrā́tṛvyābhibhūtyai / tásmād várūtham purástād várṣīyaḥ paścā́d dhrásīyaḥ.*

Aduvas (?)

In a hymn addressed to Agni in the Ṛgveda occurs *mā́ tvā vayā́m sahasāvann avīrā mā́psavaḥ pári ṣadāma mā́duvaḥ* (7.4.6). The author of the Padapāṭha has analysed *mā́duvaḥ as ma áduvaḥ*. Geldner, accordingly, translates: "Nicht wollen wir dich, du Mächtiger, ohne Söhne, ohne Vieh und ohne Achtung umsitzen."

áduvaḥ is thus looked upon as a nom. pl. mas. form coordinated with *avī́rāḥ* and *ápsavaḥ*. One arrives at the masculine plural form *áduvaḥ* either from the base **ádū* 'Gabenlos' (Grassmann and Alt. Gr. III. 81, 197), or as a haplology form from *áduvasaḥ* (Alt. Gr. III. 80).

Thieme[1] is against considering *áduvaḥ* as a haplological masculine plural form. In his opinion *áduvaḥ* is nom. sg.neut. and the nominal sentence (Nominalsatz) *mā́duvaḥ* contains a most abridged reference to the preceding two requests, viz., not to leave the worshippers without heroes (*avī́rāḥ*) and not to leave them without vital force (*ápsavaḥ*). He, accordingly, translates *mā́duvaḥ* as "Nicht [sei] Nichtfreundschaft[2] [von deiner Seite]"

Renou,[3] however, agrees with Geldner in treating *ā́duvaḥ* as a mas. plural form; but he agrees with Thieme in relating *dúvas* with the deity. He therefore explains *áduvaḥ* as 'dénués de la faveur (divine).'

A simpler solution to the problem posed by *áduvaḥ* can be found if we go against the Padapāṭha and interpret the Saṃhitā text *mā́duvaḥ* as standing for *mā́ duvaḥ*. In that case *duvaḥ* can be considered as aorist 2nd pers sg. of dū̆ 'to burn, to torment, to afflict,' or of * dū̆ 'to go afar, to go away from.' The words *mā́ duvaḥ* would give expression to the worshipper's request to Agni either not to torment him (by withholding from him (without granting his requests.)

For the connection of the verbal form *duvaḥ* with dū̆ 'to torment, etc.' we may compare AV 9.4.18 *nainaṃ dunvanty agnáyaḥ* or AV 5.22.2 *agnirivābhidunván*; and for the connection of *duvaḥ* with *dū̆ 'to go away' we may compare Agni's going away at a distance and hiding in waters RV. 10.51, especially *tásmād bhiyā́ varuṇa dūrám āyam* (6), or *yád dūré sánn ihā́bhavaḥ* RV. 3.9.2.

For requests to Agni with the use of *mā́* in this very hymn (RV 7.4) cf. stanza 4 *sā́ mā́ no átra juhuraḥ sahasvaḥ* ("Oh mighty one, that thou mayest not lead us astray."), and stanza 7 *má pathó ví dukṣaḥ* ("Do not seek to spoil the ways.").

DECCAN COLLEGE — M. A. MEHENDALE

1. *W. Schubring Festschrift* (1951) p. 8 and fn. 1.
2. Incidentally, H. Günther is not in favor of assigning the meaning 'Vertraulichkeit', 'Freundschaft' to *dúvas*, *KZ* 69.240 (1951).
3. *EVP* 13.55, 141 (1964).

TWO VEDIC NOTES

M. A. MEHENDALE

(१) अत्यनूक्तम्

The following *mantra* is found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.7.11.1 : आश्रावितम् अत्याश्रावितम् वषट्कृतम् अत्यनूक्तं च यज्ञे. The meaning of the word अत्यनूक्तम् is not immediately clear. Caland looks upon it as an adjective, qualifying वषट्कृतम् and translates it as 'uttered too loud' (?) (der alzuweit gesagte Vaṣaṭruf)[1]. Dumount has only followed Caland while translating it as 'the exclamation vaṣaṭ (वषट्) ... (if it is) excessively loud'.[2]

The above rendering does not seem proper. Caland considers that in the above *mantra* only two acts, done improperly at the sacrifice, are referred to. But this is not correct. It refers to four such acts, as has been made clear by Sāyaṇa by using यत् four times in his commentary on the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.[3] Moreover, Caland has neglected the prefix अनु in his translation of अत्यनूक्तम्.

In the *mantra* अत्यनूक्तम् comes after वषट्कृतम्. In the ritual in the case of certain offerings अनुवषट्कार comes after वषट्कार. Therefore, it may appear at first sight that the prefix अनु in अत्यनूक्तम् is idicative of this अनुवषट्कार. In that case अत्यनूक्तम् might mean 'improperly uttered अनुवषट्कार'. But even this is not acceptable. In the first instance the *mantra* occurs among those formulas which accompany the expiation offerings offered to atone for the mistakes committed in the दर्शपूर्णमास इष्टि. And there is no offering with अनुवषट्कार prescribed in this *isti*. Hence the possibility of an अनुवषट्कार being improperly pronounced does not arise and, therefore no expiation is called for.

Secondly, अनूक्तम् is derived from अनु-वच् and the prefix अनु in अनुवच् or अनु-ब्रू does not mean 'after' but 'agreeable to', 'suited for' (अनुकूल)[4]. When the अध्वर्यु instructs the Hotṛ (होतृ) priest with the words अग्नये समिध्यमानाय अनुब्रूहि (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.3.5.2) what he wants the होतृ priest to do is to recite such *mantras* as are suitable for the occasion. It is only when the होतृ priest recites the *mantra*s are suitable for the occasion, that the sacrificial act becomes perfect in form. This has often been told in the Brāhmaṇas as एतद् वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद् रूपसमृद्धं यत् कर्म क्रियमाणम् ऋग् अभिवदति (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.4.etc. Sāyāa ते च (ऋचौ) कर्मानुकूल्येन रूपेण समृद्धे)[5].

Whatver *mantras* the होतृ priest recites in response to the प्रैष 'अनुब्रूहि' whether they accompany the churning of the fire or bringing forward of the Soma, or whether they are

intended to invite the deity to receive the offering, can be called अनुवचन[6]. And the prefix अनु in अनुवचन is indicative of "being suitable for" and not 'after'.

Hence अत्यनूक्तम् can only mean 'recitation (of a *mantra* in response to अनुब्रूहि which is not suited) (for the occasion)'. This meaning has already been given by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara while commenting on the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* passage. He explains अत्यनूक्तम् as असमीचीनानुवचनम् improper or unsuited अनुवचन'. Probably the same meaning is intended by Sāyaṇa when he glosses अत्यनूक्तम् (as अतिक्रान्तानुवचनम्). Both Caland and Dumont have neglected this correct explanation given by the commentators.

(२) अत्युद्गृह्यः (?)

In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 1.6.6, we read : तं जानुदघ्नं तं नाभिदघ्नं तमंसदघ्नं तं कर्णदघ्नमुदगृह्णीयात्, तं या उत्तरस्मिंल्लोक आसंस्ता अभिसमावर्तन्त, तं कर्णदघ्नं नात्युद्गृह्यो यत्कर्णदघ्नमत्युद्गृह्णीयाद्, यजमानो वर्षिष्ठः पशूनां यजमानमुपरिष्टादग्निरभ्यवदहेत्।

The context is that of carrying the fire from the Gārhapatya to the altar of the *Āhavanīya* at the time of the setting up of the fires (अग्न्याधान). At that time the sacrificer should lift the sticks gradually from the ankle-high position to the kneehigh, the navel-high, the shoulder-high, and finally to the ear-high position. Then, we are told, he should not raise the fire-sticks any further beyond the ears. If he were to do that fire would burn down from above towards the sacrificer.

In this connection the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, cited above, reads तं कर्णदघ्नं नात्युद्गृह्यो (यत् ...). The Vedic concordance of the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Vol. I. p. 108 records this from as अत्युद्गृह्य i.e. nom. sg. of the future passive participle (क्यप्). But this leads to difficulty, since this nominative form is supposed to qualify तम् (अग्निम्) which is in the accusative. This requires the text to be emended to स कर्णदघ्नः नात्युद्गृह्यः

It is, therefore, better to consider अत्युद्गृह्यो as standing for अत्युद्गृह्य उ, the former word being the gerund and the latter the enclitic particle used for emphasis. In that case we have to supply आदधाति after अत्युद्गृह्य उ and translate : "him (the fire), which is ear-high, not raising beyond indeed, (he puts down on the altar)."

For the above interpretation of अत्युद्गृह्य and for the supplying of आदधाति we have the support of the *Mānava-Śrautasūtra* 1.5.4.13, which reads : कर्णदघ्नं नात्युद्गृह्य .... आदधाति. The interpretation suggested here does not force us to amend the text of the Saṁhitā. Moreover the gerund अत्युद्गृह्य is regular while the potential passive form अत्युद्गृह्यः would be irregular.

NOTES:

1. *Das Śrauta-Sūtra des Āpastamba* 3.11.2.
2. *Proceedings of The American Philologica Society*, 105.35.(11961).
3. अस्मिन् यज्ञे यद्धविराश्रावितं समीचीनाश्रावणयुक्तं यच्चात्याश्रावितम् अतिरिक्ता श्रावणयुक्तं यच्च वषट्कृतं सम्यग्वषट्कारेण दत्तं यच्चात्यनूक्तम् अतिक्रान्तानुवचनयुक्तं तत् सर्वम्।
   But Sāyaṇa does not say why the acts done with correct आश्रावण and correct वषट्कार would require expiation. We have to suppose that the author had meant that they were improperly performed.
4. Sāyaṇa explains अनुवाचा by अनुकूलया वाचा *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.5.p.68.
5. Also of यद् यज्ञेऽभिरुपं तत् समृद्धम्, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.5, etc.
6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.3.5.13.

Note: The accent marks in this paper have not been shown for the convenience of the Press. Their absence is very much regretted.

ON THE *BṚHADDEVATĀ 2.102–103*

While writing on 'Nirukta and Aṣṭādhyāyī: Their Shared Presuppositions' (IIJ 23, 1–14, 1981), Johannes Bronkhorst has made certain statements which require careful consideration. For the present I wish to confine myself to his following observation: "On many occasions the *Nirukta* gives several etymologies of one single word in one single meaning. There is reason to believe that all such etymologies were considered simultaneously correct". (pp. 6–7)[1]

In support of his statement Bronkhorst first refers to Śaunaka's Bṛhaddevatā 2.102–03. The two stanzas are difficult, but it is also difficult to admit Bronkhorst's statement to the effect that "their author considered it possible that a word has simultaneously several etymologies". (p. 7). The stanzas read: *yāvatām eva dhātūnāṁ liṅgaṁ rūḍhigataṁ bhavet/arthas' cāpy abhidheyaḥ syāt tāvadbhir guṇavigrahaḥ// dhātūpasargāvayavaguṇaśabdaṁ dvidhātujam/ bahvekadhātujaṁ vāpi padaṁ nirvācyalakṣaṇam//* The stanzas are perhaps be rendered as: "As many roots as have their signs present in the conventional form (of a word), and the meaning(s) (of which roots) is meant to be expressed (by those signs in the word), the analysis of the derived form (viz. the word) is to be done with all those (roots). The word, whose analytical formation is to be explained, is a derived form consisting of parts made up of root(s) and prepositions(s), (and) may arise from two roots, many roots, or one root".

The author of the above stanzas seems rather to say that a certain word may contain traces of one, two, or more roots (with or without prefixes) and is, accordingly, to be derived from as many roots. He wants to tell one interested in derivations that he need not always feel himself restricted to only one root. The word to be derived may, on occasions, show signs of two or more roots and in such a case as many roots become simultaneously valid for the derivation of that word.

It is therefore quite likely that the author of the stanzas has made this suggestion keeping in mind a person like Śākapūṇi[2] who perceives in the word *agni* signs (*liṅgam*) of three roots, *i-*, *añj-* or *dah-*[3], and *nī-* in the constituents *a*, *g*, and *ni* respectively and accordingly uses the three roots simultaneously for deriving it.

The Bṛhaddevatā stanzas thus apply to derivations of words like *agni* from more than one root. They do not seem to apply, as assumed by Bronkhorst, to the derivations of words like *nighaṇṭu* of which three possible derivations are communicated to us by Yāska in the opening section of the Nirukta. The three

Indo-Iranian Journal 29 (1986) 117–120.

derivations are from either *gam-*, *han-*, or *hṛ-*. The authors of these derivations saw, each at a time, the sign of only one of the above three roots in the word *nighaṇṭu* and not of all of them together. Hence only one derivation, at a time, can be considered correct. The author of the Bṛhad. stanzas would look upon *agni*, as derived by Śākapūṇi, as a *bahudhātujaṁ padam*. It is extremely unlikely that he would consider *nighaṇṭu* the same way.

Next, in support of his view Bronkhorst appeals to Durga. It seems to me that he has perhaps misjudged Durga's commentary on this section (Nir. 1.1). It is true that Durga cites the Bṛhad. stanza 2.102 and understands it, in my opinion incorrectly, the way Bronkhorst does. That is, Durga too considers that the stanza applies to multiple derivations of words like *nighaṇṭu*. But although, he does this Durga's final conclusion is not that all the roots suggested in the multiple derivations are to be used simultaneously for the derivation of that word and hence the different derivations become simultaneously correct. What Durga says is this: Since all nouns are derived from verbs a given noun will express the action conveyed by the verb from which it is sought to the derived. Now in a case like *nighaṇṭu*, the derivation of which is not clear, one may feel that the word is expressive of different actions and consequently as many roots will be available for derivation. In the word *nighaṇṭu*, different authors imagined different actions, viz. *nigamana*, *samāhanana*, and *samāharaṇa*, and hence three derivations became likely viz. from *gam-*, *han-*, or *har-*. Since there is no way by which one may accept only one of these three roots and refuse the others, one should make a collection of all such roots (as has been done for example, by Yāska), and suggest derivations from them. Perhaps there is some ambiguity in Durga's formulation: *yāvanto dhātavaḥ svaliṅgam rūḍhigataṁ darśayanti tāvataḥ saṅgṛhya sa rūḍhiśabdo nirvācyaḥ*. This might create an impression that according to Durga the conventional form of the word is to be derived from all the roots together (*saṅgṛhya*), and not individually from one of them at a time. But the doubt gets cleared up from what Durga says further. He says: The three roots *gam-*, *han-*, and *har-* compete with one another and tell (the etymologist) 'derive this word following me, derive it from me'. It is important to note that each root speaks for itself. All of them do not say together: "derive this word from us". Durga continues: The root *gam-* feels that the sound *gha* in the word *nighaṇṭu* is a modification of its *ga* sound, while the roots *han-* and *har-* feel that it is the modification of their *ha* sound. In such a case if one is true, the other, at the same time, cannot be. If the *gh* sound has arisen from *ga*, then it cannot at the same time arise from *ha*. Earlier also Durga says *āhananād eva, na nigamanād ity abhiprāyaḥ . . . evam eṣa nighaṇṭuśabdo gamer vaikopasargād dhantiharatibhyāṁ vā dvyupasargābhyāṁ niruktaḥ*. This should leave no doubt about Durga's view. He considers only one root at a time valid for the derivation of *nighaṇṭu*[4]. If there is a competition (*ahaṁpūrvikā*) between the three roots, only one of them has a chance to succeed, and not all of them together.

There is a story in the Mahābhārata (3.80.124–127) which illustrates this point. This story of a holy place called Rudrakoṭi reads in van Buitenen's translation as follows: "(At Rudrakoṭi) once a crore of seers came diligently and joyfully, desirous of seeing the God. They approached, saying, "I shall be the first to see the bull-bannered God", and "I shall be the first to see him", as the story goes, O king. To prevent these seers of cultivated souls from becoming angry, the Lord of Yoga resorted to his yoga and created a crore of Rudras, one before each of the seers, so that each thought that he had seen him first".

The lesson of the story is clear. If the God had not created a crore of Rudras, only one of the crore of seers gathered at Rudrakoṭi would have been successful in the competition and seen the God first – not all of them simultaneously.

Bronkhorst admits that there is "no explicit statement (in the Nirukta) to the effect that several etymologies of one word in one meaning can be simultaneously correct" (p. 7). Yet he avers that Yāska's procedure seems to indicate the same.

It seems to me that Yāska's procedure indicates just the opposite. His use of such expressions as *vā, api vā, yad vā* while giving alternative etymologies for a given word – and this is also true in the case of the word *nighaṇṭu* – clearly shows that in his opinion these are possible alternatives and it is presumed that a new suggestion cancels the ones made previously.

It is not clear why Bronkhorst ascribes the view regarding the simultaneous correctness of different derivations of a word to Yāska because in the case of the word *anna*, although its derivation from *ad-* is clear, Yāska has chosen to give an additional derivation from *ā-nam-* (Nir. 3.9). It is true it is not easy to say why Yāska does this. It is possible that he did this under the influence of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads where, occasionally, words of known derivation, have been derived in an 'unorthodox' way, witness, for example, the derivation of *yajña* in the Śat. Br. 3.9.4.23, Ch. Up. 4.16.1; 8.5.1, or of *yajus* in the Bṛ. Up. 5.13.2. Or one may say that Yāska did it because to him the derivation of *anna* from *ad-* was not that obvious since not all the roots which end in *-d* yield similar formations, and even in the case of roots like *bhid-, nud-* etc. alternative forms are available. Be that as it may, a case like this cannot be an argument to infer that Yāska believed in the simultaneous correctness of alternative derivations.

There seems to be only one way of understanding the simultaneous correctness of multiple derivations as of *nighaṇṭu*. We have to suppose that at one time the *samāmnāya* was called *nigaṇtu, samāhantu* and *samāhartu* and that in course of time all these designations assumed one identical form *nighaṇṭu*. Only this way the three derivations become simultaneously correct. Bronkhorst rightly discards this assumption, and yet says that Yāska believed in the simultaneous correctness of the alternative derivations. I must admit that I have not followed Bronkhorst when he says: "But if indeed the different derivations of one word in one meaning

were meant to be simultaneously valid, we must again admit that Yāska's etymologies were not intended as descriptions of the histories of the words concerned" (p. 7).

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
Pune 411 004
India

M. A. MEHENDALE

NOTES

[1] As pointed out by the author, this is also the view of J. Gonda, "The Etymologies in the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas" Lingua 5.43.

[2] Nir. 7.14.

[3] Of the two, either *añj-* is valid or *dah-* at a time, and not the two together.

[4] Gonda says that Durga on Nir. 1.14. has "attempted to show that the derivation of a single word from a plurality of roots was already in vogue in the Brāhmaṇas" (Lingua 5.72). But Durga's expression *anekadhātujāni* there refers to the Brahmanical derivation of the three sounds in the word *hṛdaya* from three roots *hṛ-*, *dā-*, and *i-*. It is thus a case similar to the derivation of *agni* referred to above, and not of ***nighaṇṭu.***

ON *MITRADRÚH*[1] AND *MITRADROHA*

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

In the Avesta the expression *miθrəm druj-* means 'to belie a contract, to break a contract' and the adjectival compound *miθrō.drug* means 'one who breaks the contract'. Formally, we have an exact parallel *mitradrúh* in the Vedic literature; and this and the other compound formations like *mitra-droha* are met with in the later literature.

What do these expressions mean in Sanskrit?

It is generally believed that since in the classical Sanskrit literature *mitra* in the sense 'contract' and *druh-* in the sense 'to deceive' are not known, these expressions, in later Sanskrit literature, mean only 'one who injures a friend', 'injury to a friend'.

But does *mitradrúh*, attested in the late Vedic period, also have the same meaning?

Yes, according to Gonda.[2] As is well-known the word *mitradrúh* occurs in the Namuci story as narrated in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1. 7. 1; Maitr. Saṁ 4. 3. 4). Gonda concludes that in that story *mitradrúh* does not mean the "one who breaks a contract", but rather one "who injures (the one who is, or considers himself to be) a mitra". On the other hand, Thieme considers that in the Namuci story the expression *mitradrúh* means 'contract-deceiver.'[3]

According to H. P. Schmidt, however, the meaning 'contract-deceiver' for *mitradrúh* remains unestablished for the Brāhmaṇas. "Strictly speaking," he observes, "the passage[4] does not prove either view: the word *mitradruh* is spoken by the severed head of Namuci when rolling after Indra. It can be translated either way[5] and there is no clue in the context that gives us an indication as to what the author specifically intended."[6]

---

1 *mitradruh* in the Taitt. Br. is initially accented since, according to Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, it is a vocative.

2 *Vedic God Mitra*, p. 98, f. n. 4. Before him Hillebrandt, 'who deceives a friend', *ZII* 3. 5.

3 As mentioned by H. P. Schmidt, *Indo-Iranian Mitra Studies: The State of the Central Problem*, Études Mithraiques, *Acta Iranica*, 1978, p. 358. Thieme's article is not accessible to me.

4 i. e. the one related to the Namuci story.

5 i. e. as 'one who deceives a contract' or as "one who deceives or harms a friend",

6 *Op. cit.* p. 358.

It is true, the term *mitradrúh* in the Namuci story is not quite unambiguous. But one is inclined to side with Thieme specifically because of the context. The story tells us that Namuci's head was cut off by Indra after finding a way out to get rid of the contractual obligation. And if for this act of deceipt — for, Indra certainly violated the spirit, if not the word, of the contract — Namuci's head accuses Indra saying *mitradhrúg asi*, it is more likely that it will accuse Indra of being a 'contract-deceiver', rather than a 'friend-injurer'[7]. The former is more pertinent to the context than the latter.

It is also true that in this story when there is an occasion to refer to the agreement entered into by the two parties, the word used for the agreement is *sandhā*, and not *mitra*. Namuci says to Indra : *sandhā́ṁ te sándadhai* (Maitr. Saṁ. 4. 3. 4) 'let me arrange an agreement with you'. Hence, one would be entitled to say that, if Namuci's head wanted to accuse Indra of breaking the agreement it would have said *sandhādrhug asi*, and not *mitradhrúg asi*. But it is equally true that when, in the same story, they wish to refer to the relationship they wish to establish among themselves as a result of the agreement, they use the word *sakhi* (*sákhāyā asāva*), and not *mitra*. Hence it is possible to counter the above objection by saying that if Namuci's head wanted to accuse Indra of having injured a friend, it would have said *sakhidhrug asi* and not *mitradhrúg asi*.

In the circumstances, it would be reasonable to look upon *mitradrúh*, so close formally to the Avestan *miθrō.drug*, as an inherited technical term signifying 'one who deceives the contract.'

It would be worthwhile to examine if we find any traces of the expression *mitradrúh* (or *mitradroha*) as a technical term meaning 'one who deceives the contract' (or 'deceiving the contract') in later Sanskrit literature. For, even according to Thieme, *mitradrúh* in Classical Sanskrit is understood as 'he who harms a friend'.[8]

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, Vidura conveys to Kṛṣṇa his disapproval of a negotiated peace with the Kauravas. While giving his reasons he lists the various vices (*doṣāḥ*) of Duryodhana and says : *kāmātmā prājñamānī ca mitradhruk sarvaśaṅkitaḥ* (5. 90. 4). What can *mitradruh* in this context mean when it is used with reference to Duryodhana ? Can it mean 'one who harms his friends' ? But Duryodhana from the Mahābhārata is certainly not known for harming his friends. He, no

[7] In spite of the contract, Namuci could hardly be considered a 'friend of Indra.' From the story it seems that not much time passed between the conclusion of the contract and the killing of Namuci.

[8] As reported by H. P. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

doubt, wants to injure the Pāṇḍavas but they are not his friends. In fact, a little earlier, when Duryodhana tries to impress on Kṛṣṇa that there is no enmity or dispute between him (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) and the Kauravas,[9] Kṛṣṇa retorts by saying that one who hates the Pāṇḍavas, also hates him.[10] How can then the Pāṇḍavas, whom Duryodhana hates, be described as his friends ?[11] The expression *mitradruh*, therefore, in the sense 'one who harms a friend' is not fit for Duryodhana.

Whenever there is an occasion to refer to the relationship between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, the word used is *bāndhava*[12] or *svajana*,[13] but never a 'friend'. What Kṛṣṇa too wants to establish between the two as a result of his negotiations is not expressed as 'friendship' but 'good brotherliness' (*saubhrātra*).[14] Hence it becomes necessary to look for some other interpretation of *mitradruh* when it is used with reference to Duryodhana.

Can *mitradruh*, then mean 'contract-deceiver' ? Yes, it can, for this is what Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata really is.

The game of dice was replayed between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas with the following undertaking (*vyavasāya*)[15] : the party which loses the game will live, first, for twelve years in the forest. This is to be followed by a year spent *incognito* ; if discovered during this thirteenth year, another period of forest-life for twelve years was to follow. If, however, the period of living *incognito* was spent successfully, the party which had lost the game, was to receive its proper share of the kingdom.[16]

The Pāṇḍavas lost the game and carried out the undertaking. The *gograhaṇa* incident is reported to have occurred at the *end* of the thirteenth year.[17] Duryodhana, no doubt, was not sure whether the Pāṇḍavas had completed the thirteenth year of life *incognito* and would have therefore liked them to go to the forest again for twelve years.[18] But as he was not

---

9 *vairaṁ no nāsti bhavatā govinda na ca vigrahaḥ* / 5. 89. 22.

10 *yas tān dveṣṭi sa māṁ dveṣṭi* / 5. 89. 28.

11 Actually the Pāṇḍavas are referred to as *sapatna* 'enemy' by Duryodhana and Karṇa (*sapatnavṛddhiṁ yat tāta manyase vṛddhiṃ ātmanaḥ* / Mbh. 1. 192. 27.

12 *tasmān nārhā vayṁ hantuṁ dhārtarāṣṭrān svabāndhavān* / Mbh. 6. 23. 37.

13 *svajanaṁ hi kathaṁ hatvā* / Mbh. 6. 23. 37; *hantuṁ svajanam udyatāḥ* / Mbh. 6. 23. 45.

14 5. 90. 10; also 5. 72. 22.

15 This *vyavasāya* is referred to as an 'agreement' (*samaya* 4. 25. 4; 4. 28. 7) or as a 'stake' (*paṇa* 4. 42. 3).

16 *trayodaśe ca nivṛtte punar eva yathocitam* /
svarājyaṁ pratipattavyam itarair atha vetaraiḥ // 2. 67. 13.

17 *tatas trayodaśasyānte tasya varṣasya bhārata* /
suśarmaṇā gṛhītaṁ tu godhanaṁ tarasā bahu // 4. 30. 3.

18 *anivṛtte tu nirvāse yadi bībhatsur āgataḥ* /
punar dvādaśa varṣāṇi vane vatsyanti pāṇḍavāḥ // 4. 42. 5.

sure about his calculations he left the decision to Bhīṣma. Bhīṣma informed Duryodhana that the Pāṇḍavas had carried out the undertaking exactly as they had promised.[19] It was therefore necessary for Duryodhana to invite the Pāṇḍavas and return to them their part of the kingdom as agreed to in terms of the game.

But Duryodhana was determined not to honour the contractual undertaking and return to the Pāṇḍavas their share of the kingdom.[20]

Hence, if Duryodhana has gone back on his word and if he is called *mitradruh*, the expression is better interpreted to mean 'one who has broken the contract'.

This interpretation of the term *mitradruh* gets support from a passage that is put in the mouth of Bhīṣma towards the end of the Bhīṣmaparvan. Bhīṣma tries to persuade Duryodhana to give up war and conclude a treaty with the Pāṇḍavas (*sandhis te tāta yujyatām* / 6. 116. 40f.). In this context he tells Duryodhana : *rājyasyārdhaṁ dīyatāṁ pāṇḍavānāṁ indraprasthaṁ dharmarājo 'nuśāstu / mā mitradhruk pārthivānāṁ jaghanyaḥ*...(6. 116. 48). Bhīṣma asks Duryodhana to save himself from being charged to be a '*mitradruh*'. Since, according to Bhīṣma, this charge could be avoided only by giving back to the Pāṇḍavas half of the kingdom, i. e. by fulfilling the contract entered into before the game of dice, the term *mitradruh* can only mean its opposite i. e. 'one who falsifies the contract'. "Fulfil the contract, and do not be a *mitradruh*" that is what Bhīṣma tells Duryodhana.

Let us consider one more passage where not only Duryodhana, but also his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra, is called *mitradruh*. Sañjaya tells Yudhiṣṭhira : "If (Duryodhana) behaves towards the Pāṇḍavas who had not belied the contract (*adrugdheṣu*), as if they had done so (*drugdhavat*), that act (of Duryodhana) is not proper (*na sādhu*), that act is not moral (*na dharmyam*). Dhṛtarāṣṭra, in that case, along with his son, will become a *mitradruh*".[21] Here the words *adrugdha* and *drugdhavat* cannot mean 'who had not injured (a friend)' and 'as though they had injured (a friend)', but they have the meaning only in terms of 'not breaking' or 'breaking (the agreement)'. Hence, here also the term *mitradruh* can only mean 'one who has broken the agreement'.

---

19 *sarvaṁ yathāvac caritaṁ yad yad ebhiḥ pratiśrutam* / 4. 47. 5. Kṛṣṇa also had no doubt on this point. He says : *satye sthitais tac caritaṁ yathāvat / pāṇḍoḥ sutaiḥ* 5. 1. 11. For the view of Yudhiṣṭhira, see 5. 70. 10.

20 *nāhaṁ rājyaṁ pradāsyāmi pāṇḍavānāṁ pitāmaha* / 4. 47. 15 ; also cf. 5. 90. 11.

21 *yad yuṣmākaṁ vartate 'sau na dharmyam*
adrugdheṣu drugdhavat tan na sādhu /
mitradhruk syād dhṛtarāṣṭraḥ saputro
yuṣmān dviṣan sādhuvṛttān asādhuḥ // Mbh. 5. 24. 3.

Obviously it is to the act of breaking the contract by the Kauravas that Arjuna refers to when, before the commencement of the war, he says to Kṛṣṇa : *yady apy ete na paśyanti lobhopahatacetasaḥ kulakṣyakṛtaṁ doṣaṁ mitradrohe ca pātakam* (Mbh. 6. 23. 38). What else could Arjuna refer to by *mitradroha*? Certainly it could not be to 'harming the friends' because the Kauravas never considered the Pāṇḍavas their friends. And the possibility of 'destruction' in general in the war is already taken care of by the expression *kulakṣaya*. As the use of the word *ca* shows, Arjuna is referring to some additional sinful act which the Kauravas would be doing by inviting war.

In the light of what has been said above it would be clear that Arjuna could have referred by *mitradroha* only to the breach of contract that the Kauravas were committing by starting the war as a result of not fulfilling the agreement.

It is noteworthy that Arjuna is aware of the fact that in a war both sides are responsible for the destruction, and hence the Pāṇḍavas, very much like the Kauravas, would be committing the sin involved in killing kinsmen in the war. He therefore pleads with Kṛṣṇa : *kathaṁ na jñeyam asmābhiḥ pāpād asmān nivartitum* (Mbh. 6. 23. 39). That by *pāpa* here he means killing one's kinsmen becomes clear when a litter later he chides himself by saying *aho bata mahat pāpaṁ kartuṁ vyavasitā vayam / yad rājyasukhalobhena hantuṁ svajanam udyatāḥ //* (Mbh. 6. 23. 45).[22] But whereas he feels that in fighting the war the Pāṇḍavas would be committing the sin arising from the killing of kinsmen, Duryodhana, and those who side with him, would do not only this but also of *mitradroha*. Since, according to Arjuna, only the Kauravas are guilty of *mitradroha*, but not the Pāṇḍavas, it becomes clear that by *mitradroha* he means the breach of the contract the Kauravas had committed in not fulfilling the agreement.

It may be noted in this regard that the terms *mitradruh* and *mitradroha* do not occur in the earlier parts of the Mahābhārata before the game of dice was played. After the unsuccessful attempt on the part of Duryodhana to burn the Pāṇḍavas alive, Duryodhana is not said to have tried to commit *mitradroha*. He, due to his act, is referred to as *durātman*,[23] *durbuddhi*,[24] *adharmeṇa sthita*,[25] *pāpa*[26] and with similar expressions, but is not accused of *mitradroha*, which he could have been, if the expression had meant anything else.

---

22 Or, as he says earlier, *pāpam evāśrayed asmān hatvaitān ātatāyinaḥ /* Mbh. 6. 23. 36.

23 1. 138. 28.

24 * 1515 after 1. 138. 29.

25 1. 144. 7.

26 1. 183. 8.

In the end we may note the use of *mitradroha* 'breaking the agreement' in the Mahābhārata outside the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava context.

A story is narrated in the Mahābhārata 14. 5ff. which involves Indra, king Marutta, Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa, and his brother Saṁvarta. Bṛhaspati, on one occasion, promises Indra that he will never officiate as a priest in the sacrifice of a mortal.[27] Hence, when king Marutta wants to perform a sacrifice, he, on the advice of Nārada, chooses Saṁvarta as his priest. When Saṁvarta asks the king to do something which will show his steadfastness to him,[28] the latter takes an oath that he would never leave the king.[29] When Bṛhaspati, on coming to know about the sacrifice of Marutta, comes to think about the prosperity that Saṁvarta would enjoy as a result of his acting as a priest in the sacrifice he becomes jealous of Saṁvarta. Indra then tries to persuade Marutta, first through Agni, to abandon Saṁvarta and choose Bṛhaspati for his priest. When he fails, he makes another effort, this time through Gandharva Dhṛtarāṣṭra, to persuade Marutta to part company with Saṁvarta. The king again refuses to oblige. He at that time says that if he were to leave Saṁvarta and choose some one else as his priest he would incur the sin of *mitradroha* for which there was no expiation :

tvaṁ caivaitad vettha purandaraś ca viśvedevā vasavaś cāśvinau ca |
mitradrohe niṣkṛtir vai yathaiva nāstīti lokeṣu sadaiva vādaḥ || 14. 10. 5

There was no long-standing friendship between Saṁvarta and Marutta. In fact, they had just met each other. Hence if Marutta were to abandon Saṁvarta, as desired by Indra and Bṛhaspati and thereby commit *mitradroha* this could not be an act of 'injuring a friend'. The only charge to which he would thereby expose himself was of commiting a breach of contract he had entered into with Saṁvarta. Hence in this context too *mitradroha* must be looked upon as a technical term meaning 'breaking the contract'.

All this is not said to assert that *mitradruh* and *mitradroha* are never used in the epic to mean 'who injures a friend' and 'injuring a friend.'[30] All that is intended to convey is that there are a few situations in the Mahābhārata where one finds the use of these expressions meaning 'who breaks the contract' (adj.), 'breaking the contract' (n.).

---

27 *samāśvasihi deveśa nāhaṁ martyāya karhicit |*
grahiṣyāmi sruvaṁ yajñe .. Mbh. 14. 5. 24.

28 *sthairyam atra kathaṁ te syāt sa tvaṁ niḥsaṁśayaṁ kuru |* Mbh. 14. 7. 21.

29 *yāvat tapet sahasrāṁśus tiṣṭheraṁś cāpi parvatāḥ |*
tāval lokān na labheyaṁ tyajeyaṁ saṁgataṁ yadi || Mbh. 14. 7. 22f.

30 Cf., for such examples, Mbh. 7. 125. 19 ; 7. 2. 19 (8. 26. 53) ; 12. 166. 25 ; 12. 167. 20, 22.

Sāyaṇa's Interpretation of *daurgahé badhyámāne* in the Ṛgveda 4.42.8

M. A. MEHENDALE

ṚV 4.42 is a hymn of ten stanzas[1] of which the first six are 'self-praise' of King Trasadasyu (Anukramaṇī), or of Varuṇa (st. 1-4) and Indra (5-6) (GELDNER). Stanzas 8 and 9 together[2] inform us that Indra and Varuṇa gifted a son, Trasadasyu, to Purukutsānī (wife of Purukutsa) as a result of a horse-sacrifice (performed by Purukutsa) and the worship offered to them by his wife.

Stanza 9 runs as:

asmā́kam átra pitáras tá āsan saptá ṛ́ṣayo daurgahé
badhyámāne / tá ā́yajanta trasádasyum asyā índram ná
vṛtratúram ardhadevám

The stanza refers to a sacrifice for which *daurgaha* was tied to the post. The seven sages acted as officiating priests at this sacrifice as a result of which they got for the queen (Purukutsānī st. 9) a son, Trasadasyu.

The stanza does not tell us who offered this sacrifice. It would be a reasonable guess that it was king Purukutsa, the husband of Purukutsānī. The stanza also does not tell us to whom the sacrifice was offered, and

---

[1] For a highly informative and critical study of the entire hymn see H.-P. SCHMIDT, "The Place of the Ṛgveda 4.42 in the Ancient Indian Royal Ritual". In: *Ritual, State and History in South Asia, Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman*, Leiden 1992, pp. 323-349.

[2] Stanza 7 is attributed by some to the seer Vāmadeva, by others to Varuṇa; st. 10 is "probably a multi-purpose prayer" (H.-P. SCHMIDT 330).

FESTSCHRIFT PAUL THIEME, StII 20 (1996), S. 257-264

again it would be a reasonable guess that it was offered to Indra and Varuṇa. The sacrifice was a horse-sacrifice.

The next stanza 9 reads as:

purukútsānī hí vāṃ ádāśad dhavyébhir indrāvaruṇā námobhiḥ / áthā rā́jānam trasádasyum asyā vṛtrahánam dadathur ardhadevám //

The stanza gives us some more details of the incident. It tells us that Purukutsānī (wife of Purukutsa) honoured Indra and Varuṇa by offering oblations and obeissance. Apparently this worship was something in addition to the sacrifice referred to in the preceding stanza, for it was only then (*áthā*) that the two gods offered her a son.

From the two stanzas it appears that the gift of Trasadasyu to Purukutsa's wife was the result of the joint effort made by the king and his wife — a *yajña* (*ayajanta*) by the king and a *dā́ś* (*ádāśat*) by the queen. This is made explicit by the following *Itihāsa*-stanzas cited by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on st. 8:

purukutsasya mahiṣī daurgahe bandhanasthite /
patyāv arājakam dṛṣṭvā rāṣṭraṃ putrasya lipsayā //
yadṛcchayā samāyātān saptarṣīn paryapūjayat /
te ca prītāḥ punaḥ procur yajendrāvaruṇau bhṛśam /
sā cendrāvaruṇāv iṣṭvā trasadasyum ajījanat /
itihāsam imaṁ jānann ṛṣir brūte ṛcāv iha //

The stanzas tell us that at a particular point (of a sacrifice) when the *daurgaha* (horse) was already bound (to the stake), there arrived, by chance, the seven sages. (Immediately) the chief queen of Purukutsa, realizing that in her husband (who was probably engaged in the sacrifice referred to above) the kingdom was without a (future) king, and since she desired a son, worshipped the seven sages. They, pleased (with the hon-

our done to them), told her to offer again[3] profusely to Indra and Varuṇa. The queen did as told and gave birth to Trasadasyu.

The *Itihāsa*-stanzas thus make clear what was left vague in the two Ṛgvedic stanzas. They clearly tell us that what Purukutsānī did was something in addition to the horse-sacrifice which was being performed by the king and hence the conclusion that the birth of Trasadasyu was the result of the joint effort done in the same direction.

The information supplied by the *Itihāsa* differs from that of the *Ṛgveda* in a few respects. In the first instance the *Itihāsa* does not say that the seven sages were already there present at the sacrifice and acted as its officiating priests. The stanzas say that the sages arrived by chance when the sacrifice was in progress. Secondly, the *Ṛgveda* does not tell us that Purukutsānī worshipped the deities at the instance of the seven sages. Finally, there is a difference in the use of the verbs to express what Purukutsānī did: *dāś-* (*ádāśat*) in the *ṚV*, but *yaj-* (*yaja, iṣṭvā*) in the *Itihāsa*. As a consequence it is likely that what Purukutsānī did according to the *Ṛgveda* was a simple sacrifice requiring some offerings and *namas*; on the other hand, what Purukutsānī was required to do according to the *Itihāsa* was an elaborate sacrifice (*yaja ... bhṛśam*).

Sāyaṇa, however, has completely misunderstood the *Itihāsa*-stanzas and, consequently, the *ṚV* stanzas 4.42.8-9. According to him the word *daurgaha* occurring in the *Itihāsa* and in the Vedic stanza (8) does not mean a 'horse', but it is a patronymic of Purukutsa 'son of Durgaha' (*daurgahe durgahasya putre purukutse*). Stanza 8, as understood by Sāyaṇa, informs us that since king Daurgaha was firmly bound by fetters (*badhyamāne dṛḍhaṁ pāśair yasmāt*) and since the kingdom was without a

[3] I construe *punaḥ* with *yaja*, and not with *procuḥ*, because the sages have not said anything before to justify connecting *punaḥ* with *procuḥ* 'spoke again'. On the other hand, a sacrifice was in progress when they arrived, and hence they asked her 'to offer again' (*punaḥ yaja*) to get a son.

king (*asminn arājake deśe*) the seven sages offered a sacrifice for Purukutsānī and by the favour of Indra and Varuṇa gave her the son Trasadasyu. This sacrifice of Purukutsānī to Indra and Varuṇa was performed by her at the instance of the seven sages (*ṛṣipreritā*) (St.9). Obviously according to Sāyaṇa, Purukutsānī's was not a horse-sacrifice but one accomplished with simple offerings and *namas*.

Before Sāyaṇa, Veṅkaṭamādhava also interpreted *daurgaha* not as a 'horse', but as referring to Trasadasyu himself,[4] who was born in the family of Durgaha (*durgahakulajāte mayi*). Venkaṭamādhava seems to be unaware of the *Itihāsa*-stanzas. According to him Daurgaha's (= Trasadasyu's) enemies tried to take him captive (*śatrubhiḥ badhyamāne*), and his commentary implies that during the fight Indra inhabited Trasadasyu and helped him to foil the attempt of his enemies (*tathendraś ca mām adhyatiṣṭhat*). The seven sages offered a sacrifice for this victorious Trasadasyu who was still in the condition of being inhabited by Indra (*athendrādhiṣṭhitaṁ mām te ā ayajanta*). Purukutsānī, Trasadasyu's mother, also gave gifts to Indra and Varuṇa with offerings and obeissance (*dānaṁ kṛtavatī ... havirbhiḥ namaskāraiś ca yuktā*). According to Venkaṭamādhava there is no connection between the birth of Trasadasyu and the sacrifice referred to in st. 8 and the worship of Purukutsānī referred to in st. 9. The sacrifice (st. 8) in which the seven sages acted as priests seems to have served the purpose of a sort of thanks-giving after Trasadasyu's victory over his enemies. The worship of Purukutsānī (st.9), on the other hand, seems to have been performed *during the fight* to ensure Trasadasyu's victory. Both the gods Indra and Varuṇa, Indra by actually inhabiting Trasadasyu, helped him for his rehabilitation on the earth. Venkaṭamādhava interprets *asyāḥ* in both the stanzas, not with reference to Purukutsānī but with the earth (*asyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ*).

[4] And not to Purukutsa, Trasadasyu's father.

It is not clear why scholars[5] have not objected to the commentators' interpretation of *daurgaha* as something different from a horse. There is nothing in the stanzas, whether Ṛgvedic or *Itihāsa*, to warrant the interpretation of *daurgaha* as 'Durgaha's son' (Sāy.) or as 'one born in the family of Durgaha' (Ven.). Sāyaṇa was led to his interpretation of the *Itihāsa*-stanzas probably because he construed the word *patyau* in the second line with *bandhanasthite* in the first, and secondly because it was the queen, and not the king, who honoured the seven sages on their arrival and then offered a sacrifice as advised by them. He therefore felt that since the king was bound by fetters he was not free to do anything.

But the above interpretation of the stanzas shows that Sāyaṇa's construing is wrong and his presumption unnecessary. According to the *Itihāsa* the king's sacrifice was in progress when the sages arrived and he must have been busy with it and therefore there was nothing unusual in Purukutsānī's taking the lead to honour the sages.

Moreover, as has been already recognized by scholars, the Indian tradition is clearly in favour of interpreting *daurgaha* as a horse. The *Ṛgveda* stanza is quoted in the *Śat.Br.* 13.5.4.5 among the *Gāthās* which record different types of horse-sacrifice performed by kings in ancient times. There can therefore be no doubt that for the author of the *Śat.Br.* in this context *daurgaha* referred to the 'horse' bound for the sacrifice. And he also says in so many words that Purukutsa of the Ikṣvāku familiy offered a sacrifice with the *daurgaha.*[6]

Next, *daurgaha* occurs among the synonyms of horse in the *Nighaṇṭu* 1.14.

[5] Since E. SIEG, *Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda*, 1902, 97. He has drawn attention to the fact that the *Itihāsa*-stanzas also find place in the *Nītimañjarī* (on st. 77) of Dyā Dviveda.

[6] *téna ha purúkutsó daurgaheṇéja aíkṣvāko rā́jā.*

Daurgaha, however, is not likely to be an appellative of horse in spite of Devarājayajvan's (and Mādhava's) attempts[7] to derive it either from *gṛh-* or from *gāh-*,[8] with an irregular loss of *r* in the former derivation and an irregular shortening of the vowel *ā* in the latter. The former derivation implies that *daurgaha-* means the same thing as *durgaha-* and that *durgaha-* 'horse' is so called because it is impossible (*dur-*) to control (*gṛh-*) a horse by those who do not know the science of horse-training (?)[9]; according to the latter derivation *durgaha-* 'water' is so called because it is difficult (*dur-*) to fathom (*gāh-*) its bottom, and *daurgaha* 'horse' is so called because it is born from *durgaha-* 'water'.[10] In support of this is cited a Vedic passage *apsúyonir vā́ áśvaḥ* (*Śat.Br.* 13.2.2.29).

Daurgaha is more likely to be the designation of a *particular* horse (or horses). In the *Nighaṇṭu* list (1.14) *daurgaha* occurs between *paidva* on the one hand and *auccaiḥśravasa* and *tārkṣya* on the other.[11] All the four words are secondary derivatives and, as referring to horses, mean '(the horse) belonging to Pedu, Durgaha, Uccaiḥśravas, and Tṛkṣi' respectively. Paidva is already known from the *Ṛgveda* as a horse gifted to Pedu by the Aśvins (1.116.6; 1.117.9; 1.118.9; 1.119.10; 7.71.5; 10.39. 10). Auccaiḥśravasa is known from the late Vedic tradition as the horse of Indra (*AV* 20.128.15; *ṚV Khila* 5.14.4). It probably means 'horse belonging to Indra Uccaiḥśravas (whose fame rises high or is loudly proclaimed)'. On this analogy Daurgaha and Tārkṣya also could mean 'horses be-

---

[7] *Nirukta (Nighaṇṭu)* with the commentary of Pandit Devaraja Yajvan, Calcutta, 1952, Vol. 1 p. 164.

[8] This latter derivation is of Mādhava who is cited by Devaraja Yajvan.

[9] *durśabde upapade gṛhṇāteḥ gāhe* (? *gāher*) *vā* / ... *rephalopaḥ pṛṣodarāditvāt gṛhṇāteḥ* / *aśvahṛdayānabhijñair gṛhītum* (? *grahītum*) *aśakyatvāt durgaha ity ucyate* / *durgaha eva daurgahaḥ* ... /

[10] (*pṛṣodarāditvāt*) *gāher hrasvatvam* / ... *yad vā 'duḥkhena ga*(? *gā*)*hitavyatvāt durgāham* (? *durgaham*) *jalam ucyate' iti mādhavaḥ, tatra bhavo daurgahaḥ*)

[11] A similar name for a horse, not included in the *Nighaṇṭu* list (1.14), is Taurvaśa (*Śat.Br.* 13.5.4.16).

longing to Durgaha and Tṛkṣi'[12] respectively. Tṛkṣi is known in the *Ṛgveda* as the son of Trasadasyu (8.22.7). A king Durgaha is also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* whose grandsons were generous and had acquired fame among the gods (8.65.12). It is difficult to say whether this Durgaha was identical with Purukutsa himself or it was the name of his father, i.e. whether Purukutsa offered the sacrifice with his own horse or with that of his father.

As regards the principal points of this incident, — that Purukutsa performed a sacrifice with *daurgaha*, that Purukutsānī offered worship to Indra and Varuṇa, and that as a result of these two acts she got the son Trasadasyu who was destined to be powerful like Indra —, there is no conflict in the Indian tradition as represented by the *ṚV* stanzas, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Itihāsa* stanzas. There is a conflict only between the Vedic tradition and the *Itihāsa* on the one hand and the interpretation of the *ṚV* stanzas and the *Itihāsa* by the mediaeval commentators on the other.

Finally a word about *ardhadevá* (8.42.8,9). H.-P. SCHMIDT (329, 330) translates it as 'demi-god'" and remarks that a human being, was "thought to be specially endowed with divine powers which entitled him to be called *ardhadevá*, 'demi-god'" (346). This seems to me to slightly miss the mark. Trasadasyu owes his birth to the favour of two gods Indra and Varuṇa. But he was born inbibed with the qualitiy of only *one* of them viz. Indra. Like Indra he was the overpowerer or breaker of obstacles (*vṛtratúr-*, *vṛtrahán-*). This attribute of Trasadasyu was so striking that it is repeated in both the stanzas 8 and 9 narrating his birth. If Trasadasyu had imbibed at birth the quality also of the other god Varuṇa, then, in his self-praise, he would have referred to it in one of the two stanzas as 'guardian of *ṛta* or *vrata*', which would have made him comparable to

[12] This has been already suggested by FOY (*KZ* 34.366-367) cited by A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* p. 149.

Varuṇa. Trasadasyu was 'half-god' at birth in this sense (possessed of the quality of *one* of the two gods) and not because he was partly human and partly divine. Since according to Venkaṭamādhava Indra had inhabited Trasadasyu, he takes *ardhadevá* to refer to such Trasadasyu as was inhabited by Indra as his 'owner' (*indraś ca svāmī trasadasyuś ca*).

Perhaps now we are in a better position to understand the significance of the word *dvitā́* used by Trasadasyu in the very first stanza. The occasion for the self-praise was admittedly his royal consecration. Equipped at birth with the Indra-quality, he was now, after the consecration, going to imbibe and excercise also the Varuṇa-quality of upholding *ṛtá* and *vratá*. Hence, as a Kṣatriya, his governance was going to be two-fold (*máma dvitā́ rāṣṭrám kṣatríyasya*). He was going to be the king doubly — the Indra-way and the Varuṇa-way. He was thus going to combine in himself what, according to the Avestan tradition, was shared by the two brothers Urvāxšaya and Kərəsāspa (*Yasna*. 9,10.)[13].

[13] H.-P. SCHMIDT, op. cit. p. 342.

On Vedic *Duroṇá*

M.A. MEHENDALE

1.The Vedic word *duroṇá* is given in its loc. sg. form *durṇe* in the *Nighaṇṭu* as a synonym of house (*gṛhanāmāni* 3.4). The Sanskrit dictionaries (Grassmann, Böhtlingk-Roth) too assign to it the same general meaning 'house, home, dwelling place'.

2. An examination of the passages where the word occurs in the *Ṛgveda* would, however, point out that the primary meaning of the word is a 'guest house', 'a dwelling for an *átithi*'.

A start in this direction is given by the following passages:

i. *átithir duroṇá imám no yajñám úpa yāhi* (5.4.5) where Agni is invited to the sacrifice as a guest to a guest house.

ii. *atithir duroṇasát* (4.40.5) which expression clearly points out that the place where a guest takes his seat is the *duroṇá*.

iii. *yáthā śām ádhvan chám ásad duroṇé* 'so that there may be weal on the way, weal in the guest house' (10.37.10).[1]

3. Since Agni is the most cherished guest of the Vedic sacrificers his association with *duroṇá*, a guest house, stands out very prominently in the *Ṛgveda*. Thus we read *agniḥ .... niṣatto raṇvó duroṇé*, 'Agni ...., the agreeable one, seated in the guest house' (1.69.2; also 3 *raṇvó duroṇé*); *ni duroṇé .... sasāda ..... agniḥ* 'Agni has sat down in the guest house' (3.1.18); *reváto duroṇé ... átithiḥ*' (Agni) a guest in the guest house of a richman' (7.42.4)[2]; it is Agni alone who is described as *duroṇáyu* 'longing for a guest house' (8.60.19).

4. On account of Agni's association with *duroṇá*, the word has also come to mean 'the place of sacrifice' where fire is kindled and *soma* is pressed. Hence we read: *ágne .... sámidhyase duroṇé* 'Agni, you are kindled in the place of sacrifice (3.25.5; also 4.2.7 *ā devayúr inádhate duroṇé*); *sámiddho adyá mánuṣo duroṇé* (Agni is kindled today in the sacrificial place of the man' (10.110.1); 3.18.5; a sacrificer wants to please Agni in his own place of sacrifice (*pipriṣati svá .... duroṇé* 4.4.7); also cf. *yāsi dāśvāṁsam ..... iṣṭáye duroṇé* (7.92.3) where Vāyu is spoken of as going to the place of sacrifice to receive offering, and *duroṇá ā devā etu prá ṇo haviḥ* (8.19.27) where a sacrificer expresses his wish that his offering may reach the gods in the place of sacrifice.[3] *Duroṇá* or a place of sacrifice is also a place where *soma* is pressed: *duroṇá ā niṣitam somasúdbhiḥ* '(Indra) is made sharp by the pressers of *soma* in the place of sacrifice' (4.24.8); *dāśúṣo duroṇé sutâvataḥ* 'in the sacrificial place of the sacrificer who has pressed soma' (3.25.4). Sâyaṇa too, on occasions, is seen rendering *duroṇa* as *yajñagṛha* 1.69.2; 4.24.8; 7.92.3; 8.19.27; 10.104.4); *Yāgagṛha* 7.70.2; devayajana (8.87.2); *devayajanagṛha* (5.76.4); also of. 1.117.2); *āhavanīya* 7.12.1.

5. Besides Agni, there are other deities also who visit the place of sacrifice either with Agni or alone.

(i) *yád indrāgnī madathaḥ své duroṇé ..... áthā sómasya pibataṁ sutásya* 'since, oh Indra and Agni, you delight in your own place of sacrifice .... drink of this pressed *soma*' (1.108.7; also 3.25.4).[4]

(ii) The Aśvinā also visit the place of sacrifice of a sacrificer: *yéna gácchathaḥ sukṛto duroṇám* '(the chariot on which, you Aśvinā) go to the place of sacrifice of the pious' (1.117.2; also 1.183.1; 4.13.1); *tám pātam ā gataṁ duroṇé'* (oh Aśvinā, drink that (*soma*), come to this place of sacrifice' (3.58.9); the sacrificer directs the Aśvinā to his sacrificial enclosure as distinct from his house: *imé gṛhā aśvinedám duroṇám* 'these are our houses, oh Aśvinā, this the place of sacrifice' (5.76.4); if not *soma*, it is milk that is ritually made hot which awaits the Aśvinā (*átāpi gharmó mánuṣo duroṇé 'gharma* drink has been heated in the sacrificial place of the man' 8.87.2; also Cf. 10.40.13.

6. Since *duroṇá* a guest house' has also come to mean 'a sacrificial place', a special house of Agni, the *átithi*, the word, in a few places, seems to mean 'oneś own special place'. Thus in 3.14.3 the dawn and the night are said to step into their respective special houses (*uṣāsā ..... ā ..... tasthatur duroṇé*).[5]

Similarly in 7.60.5 we are told that the three Ādityas, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman, grow in the special house of truth which is in the highest heaven (*imá ṛtásva vāvṛdhur duroṇé* 7.60.5).

7. Comments on P. Thiemes paper 'Duroṇá-n.' published in *"Amṛtadhārā"* (Dr. R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume) 1984, pp. 435-444.

Thieme proposes to see in *oná* of *duroṇá*, analysed as *dur-oṇá*, a stem *onā* which he considers to be a cognate of Greek *eunē* 'bedstead'. In that case *duroṇá* primarily would mean '[a house/home] offering a bad bedstead'.

Thieme is conscious of the fact that this etymological explanation conflicts with the notion of comfort that is otherwise associated with *duroṇá*, e.g. in 7.42.4 where a guest is said to rest in a good lap of the *duroṇá* belonging is a rich person (*revāto duroṇé syonaśīr átithiḥ*). Thieme's attempt to get over this difficulty by assuming that this way a host is only modestly describing his house to his guest as 'a place of discomfort' is not likely to succeed.

My comments on his paper follow:

1. p. 435: Thieme cites Yāska's explanation of *duroṇá* (*Nir.* 4.5): *durṇa iti gṛhanāma duravā bhavanti dustarpāḥ* and translates it as: "'duroṇe' is a name of the house (*gṛhās*). It (the house) is difficult to be helped, [that is:] difficult to be satisfied". It is not clear why Thieme renders *duravāḥ* 'as difficult to be helped'. Yāska's *dustarpāḥ* is only a paraphrase of *duravāḥ* and hence both the expressions have to be translated alike. This means Yāska's *av* - = *tṛp* -.[6]

Thieme's translation of Durga's remark given in f.n. 1 on p. 435 is also not accurate. The translation should have started as: "And it is said ...." In the commentary of Durga available to me the words *gṛham upakramya*, given by Thieme, do not occur.

2. p. 435: While rejecting the old etymology of *ona* in *duroṇá* from the root av - 'to satisfy' Thieme says that difficult to be satisfied (by food and drink) does not recommend itself as a designation of a house. That is correct. But it would certainly be an apt designation of a guest house, where guests, notoriously difficult to be satisfied, are accomodated.

3. p. 436: In support of his derivation of *duroṇá* given above Thieme cites the paraphrase of this word given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.7.3.11 : *duroṇasád viṣamasád íty etát* and translates it as: "duroṇasát, that is 'taking his seat in an inconvenient / uncomfortable place/house". This does not seem to be correct. *Viṣamaśát* here means 'taking his seat in different places'. This is shown by the fact that according to the

Śat. Br. Agni in this passage is said to be *sárveṣām vā eṣá bhūtā́nām átithiḥ*. Since Agni has to go to different persons as their guest he is naturally *viṣamasát* 'taking his seat in different (and not the same) place'. We may note also that in a different context Agni's epithet *sahasrambhara* is explained in the Ait. Br. 1.28 as *eṣā ha vā asya sahasrambharatā yad enam ekam santaṁ bahudhā viharanti*". "This indeed is his (Agni's) *sahasrambharatā* that, though one, he is carried in different places".

4. pp. 439-440: Thieme suggests a distinction in the use of *svá duroṇá* as sometimes applied to the place of sojourn of Agni (59) and sometimes to the place of one who offers hospitality (510). But this is not borne out by the evidence. In all the passages cited by him the two words refer to Agni's own place, i.e. the place of sacrifice where he is the guest.[7]

5. p. 440: Thieme is right when he says that *duroṇá* is not by origin a "religious" or "poetical term". It is definitely taken, as he says, "from everyday language as used in everyday situations". But this is shown not by Thieme's etymological analysis but by the specific meaning 'guest house' of *duroṇá*. The word has acquired religious connotation because Agni, as *atithi* 'guest' par excellence, has his place in the sacrificial house.

6. p. 442: Thieme cites *ṚV* 4.28.3 in which he takes *durgé duroṇé* to refer to the place of refuge in the mountains of the enemies of Indra and Agni. He also takes the phrase *kratvā́ ná yātā́m* to refer to the strong will (to fight) of Indra and Agni. This does not seem to be the correct interpretation. The expression *durgé duroṇé* as usual refers to the sacrificial place which was specially made inaccessible to those who wanted to disturb the sacrifice. It was this place of sacrifice which the Dasyus attacked as if with a strong will, and where they were destroyed by Indra and Agni.

7. Finally some corrections: (1) Thieme's *svādathaḥ* in 1.10.8.7 cited twice on p. 437 and p. 440 to be corrected to *mádathaḥ*: (2) 6.41.1 (p. 439) has the word *ákas* and not *durṃá*.

NOTES

1. The aging Ghoṣā who lived with her father until she was married seems to have lived separately from the father in his guest house: *ghóṣāyai cit pitṛṣáde duroṇé*.
2. Also cf. 1.70.2; 6.12.1; 7.7.4; 10.104.4.
3. Also cf. 7.7.4; 7.12.1; 7.16.8.
4. For 4.28.3 see below Comments on P. Thieme's paper (6).
5. Thieme is right in interpreting *duroṇé* in this passage as acc. du. and not loc sg. (see Thieme's paper noted below pp. 442-443.
6. Cf. Durga on this passage: *avatis tarpaṇārthaḥ*.

TWO SOGDIAN ETYMOLOGIES

(II) Iranian

(1) The word for "astrologer" occurs in Buddh. Sogdian as *snptsr* and in Man. Sogdian as *smbṭsr* (cf. W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 21, 22). Benveniste in his edition of the Vessantara Jātaka apparently divides the word into two parts, *snpt* and *sr*, and suggests to compare the first part of the word with Persian *sambāt*, *sambūt* "vision, fantôme" (p. 90.22).

It may, however, be suggested that it would be better to connect this word with Skt. *sāṃvatsara* "astrologer" and regard it as a loan in Sogdian. Skt. *sāṃvatsara* is attested since the epics. The Sogdian form points to a pronunciation *sambatsar* with the shortening of the vṛddhi vowel and the change of *ṃv* to *mb*. The fact that both these types of changes are found in the Buddhist Sanskrit and further that the cluster *ts* is preserved in this language would suggest that the speakers of Sogdian took *sambatsar* as a loan from Buddhist Sanskrit.

For the shortening of the vṛddhi vowel[1] we may compare *abhinadita* for *-nādita* "caused to sound", *anantarīya* for *ānantarīya* "crime bearing immediate fruition, deadly sin", *karaka* for *kāraka* "doer, maker", etc. (F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar*, 3.31). For the change of *ṃv* to *mb* we may note that Edgerton in his *Dictionary of BHS* notes both forms *saṃvara* and *sambara* for *saṃvara* "restraint, control".

We may also note the following instances of this kind of change from the other north-western Indian and Central Asian material. Thus the shortening of the vṛddhi vowel is seen in Khotanese in *valmīki* for *vālmīki* (Ernst and Manu Leumann, *AKM*, XX, p. 497; also cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, 10.917 ff., where he gives such instances as *nivāysva* (*-va* < *-ika*) < *naivāsika* etc.). For the second, we find such cases as *saṃbatśara* (also *saṃvatśara*) in the North-western Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (cf. Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, CII, Vol. II, part 1, pp. cv and 158, 165 and 62). Similarly we get *svayambar* as a loan from Skt. *svayaṃvara* in Uigur (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, II, APAW 1910, p. 21 lines 19 and 7) and *svayampār* in Tokharian (cf. E. Sieg and W. Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 517).

(2) In Buddhist Sogdian we get *'pkš-* (*apkaš-*) "side" (Vessantara Jātaka 8). At one time it was thought that the word was a borrowing from Skt. *pakṣa-*. But this view is now given up since Benveniste (his edition of the Vess. Jāt. p. 90) made the good suggestion to derive it from **upa-kaša*, av. *kaša-*. However, an alternative suggestion may be made to derive the Sogdian form from **apkaša-* going back to Old Ir. **api-kaša-*, which would correspond to Skt. *api-kakṣá-* "region of the arm-pits" (Rv. 4.40.4, 10.134.7).

Deccan College, Poona M. A. Mehendale

[1] I am greatly indebted to Prof. H. W. Bailey for most of the references in this note.

Some Avestan Notes

M.A. Mehendale

1 **tā...aparō** 'with him as second'

In Y. 45.11 occurs **yastā daēvə̄ng aparō mašyąscā tarə̄.mąstā.** Insler[1] proposes to read **ā.parō** in place of **aparō.** In his commentary, he interprets **ā.parō** as nom. pl. of ***ā-par–** 'guilty' which he treats as a derivative of **par–** 'to judge as guilty'. Accordingly Insler translates the above line as "the person who, in this very way, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals".

Humbach[2], on the other hand, translates the passage as "Wer sich mit ihm als zweiter über Daēvas und Menschen erhaben fühlt ".

If Humbach's interpretation of **tā...aparō** is correct we have in this construction an exact parallel to the Sanskrit compound of the type **ātmanādvitīyaḥ** 'with self as a second, i.e. accompanied by one more person' recognised by Pāṇini (6.3.6)

2 **abifra–** 'incomparable'

abifra– (adj.) occurs only once in the Gāthās (Y. 33. 13). Bartholomae (92) assigns to it the meaning 'ohne Gleichen, unvergleichlich'. Humbach[3] accepts this meaning and translates the Gathic passage **rafəδrāi vourucašānē dōišī mōi yā və̄ abifrā** as "Zu Hilfe, o Weithinblickender ! Zeige mir, was eure unvergleichlichen Eigenarten sind". He does not comment on the word.

Insler[4], however, does not accept the above meaning. He renders the passage as "Lord of broad vision, disclose to me for support the safeguards of your rule." Commenting on this word he admits it to be 'difficult'. Since the attested form is not **aibifrā,** he does not look upon the initial **ā**–as *alpha privativum* but takes it to be a shortened form of the preverb **ā–**. In his opinion the attested form **abifrā** stands for the original ***ābifrā.** As regards the form, he derives the stem ***ā-bifra-** from ***ā-bibhra-**, i.e. from the root **ā-bhar-.** For the unexpected change **–bhr–>–fr–,** he cites the parallel AV. **jafra–** 'deep' = Vedic **gabhīrá.** As regards the meaning, he says that the root **bar** in the sense 'support' occurs in the Gāthās. Apparently, according to Insler, the meaning 'safeguard' can be had from 'support'.

H.P. Schmidt[5] has already pointed out the difficulties in admitting Insler's interpretation, but he accepts Insler's derivation of **–bifra–** from **bhar–**. He treats **a–** as *alpha privativum*. The meaning he assigns to **abifra–** is 'not to be carried off, inalienable', because in his opinion **bhar–** has the connotation 'carry off' (cf. Yt. 10.21).

Schmidt's interpretation suffers from the fact that **bhar–** with the preverb **apa–** can have the connotation 'carry off', but not with the preverb **ā–**. That would rather have the opposite meaning to 'carry to or near'.

Accepting Bartholomae's suggestion that **abifra–** means 'incomparable', it is possible to make a suggestion regarding the etymology. While teaching the mode of formation of the ordinals, Pāṇini has used the word **pūraṇa (tasya pūraṇe** ...5.2.48). Accordingly Sk. **dvitīya** 'second' literally means "What fills, what completes the number 'two'." Taking a cue from this it is possible to explain **–fra–** in **–bifra–** from the root Sk. **prā–**, Av.[2]**par– (həm–pāfrāiti)** 'to fill'. **Bifra–**, like **dvitīya–**, then would mean 'what completes the number two, i.e. the second'. **Abifra–**, like **advitīya–**, would mean 'without a second, imcomparable' It is likely that **bifra–**, due to a semantic shift, got the meaning 'double, one to compare with'. The V. 13.44 passage **sūnahe aēvahe aštā bifrəm**[6] would mean 'The one dog has eight doubles or persons to compare with'.

3. **māyavant–** 'full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)

The word, in its fem. form **māyavaitī–**, occurs only once in a younger Avestan text. Bartholomae (1168) assigns to it hesitatingly the meaning 'wo Begattungen stattfinden'. The passage in which the word occurs runs as **kaθa ašāum apa.jaso šitibyasca haca gaomaitibyasca vayavaitibyasca haca māyavaitibyasca–** (Hadōxt Nask 2.16)"... von den Stätten, die mit vierfüssigen Tieren und mit Vögeln bevölkert sind und wo deren Begattungen stattfinden (?)" (Bartholomae 1169). Since the dwelling places are here first described as full of cattle (**gaomaitī-**) and birds (**vayavaitī–**), it would be natural to expect the following word **māyavaitī–** to have a comparable meaning. It is possible to obtain this by interpreting the word **māya–**[3] as 'bleating sound' from Sk. **mā (mímāti)** 'to bleat'. We may compare with this interpretation Av. **anumaya–** 'sheep'. The word **māyavant–** would then mean 'full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)'.

Notes

1) *The Gāthās of Zarathustra,* 1975.
2) *Die Gāthās des Zarathustra.* Band I, 1959.
3) *op. cit.* p. 103.
4) *op. cit.* p. 53.
5) *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33.* 1985.
6) Sg. for pl. The explanation offered here of **bifra–** should answer Bartholomae's question : 'Was bedeutet ***plo–** eigentlich ?" (under **bi-fra–** 965).
7) Accordingly H. Reichelt, *Avesta Reader* (p. 252) 'Cohabitation-supplied, where cohabitations or pairings take place (doubtful)', and M.F. Kanga (*Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane,* p. 250) 'full of... enjoyments of love'.
8) Cf. Sk. **māyu–** 'bleating'.

Bibiiography

1) S. Insler: The Gāthās of Zarathustra, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975.
2) Helmut Humbach: Die Gathas des Zarathustra, Bände I, II, Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1959.
3) Hans-Peter Schmidt: Form and Meaning of Yasna 33, (with contributions by Wolfgang Lentz and Stanley Insler), American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1985.
4) Hans Reichelt: Avesta Reader, Texts, Notes, Glossary and Index, Karl J Trübner, Strassburg, 1911, Photomechanischer Nachdruck, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1968.
5) *Festschrift* Prof. P.V. Kane (A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to.....), ed. by S.M. Katre and P.K. Gode, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941.

TWO AVESTAN NOTES*

by

M. A. MEHENDALE

Poona

I. Vībərəθwant-

This word is attested only once in the Avesta. In Y. 9.14 we read: *tūm... ahunəm vairīm frasrāvayō vībərəθwantəm* "du hast (das Gebet) AhV. vorgetragen unter Einhaltung der Pausen"[1] (Bartholomae).

The meaning assigned by Bartholomae to this word as referring to the mode of recitation by separating the verses or parts of verses with pauses in between seems to be correct. We may compare this use of *vī√bar-* with the similar use of *vi√har-* "to separate (with a pause or insertions)" found in the Sanskrit ritual texts. While prescribing the hymn for the Ājyaśastra of the morning pressing the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (2.35.1) says: *pra vo devāyāgnaya*[2] *ity anuṣṭubhaḥ/ prathame pade viharati,*[3] *tasmāt stry ūrū viharati*[4]*/ samasyaty uttare pade tasmāt pumān ūrū samasyati/* "He separates[5] the first two Padas; therefore a woman separates her thighs. He creates (mistake for 'unites') the last two Padas; therefore a man unites his thighs" (Keith). Cf. Sāyaṇa: *viharaṇaṁ pṛthakkaraṇam/ dvayoḥ pādayor madhye vihāraṁ vicchedaṁ kṛtvā paṭhet.* According to

* I am thankful to Dr. H.-P. Schmidt for some valuable references in this paper.

1 Reichelt follows Bartholomae "by observing the pauses" i.e. with pauses between the three verses of the Ahuna Vairya. Lommel renders, "... hast du ... das Ahunavarya-Gebet hergesagt, das in Abschnitte gegliederte (?)..."

2 RV. 3.13.1.

3 Kau.Br. 14.2 uses *pade vigṛhṇāti.*

4 Cf. with this *yás ta ūrū́ vihárati* RV. 10.162.4.

5 For another use of *viharati* "separates, keeps distinct" cf. Ait. Br. 2.37.1: *tad yad Ājyena Pavamānam anuśaṁsati Praügeṇājyaṁ devarathasyaiva tad antarau raśmī viharati/* "... in that with the Ājya he follows in recitation the Pavamāna, with the Praüga the Ājya (stotra), verily thus he separates the inner reins of the chariot..." (Keith). Kau.Br. 14.4, however, looks upon the recitation of the Ājya and the Praüga as 'intertwining' cf. *te etad viharati yathā rathasyāntarau raśmī vyatiṣajed* "Thus he transposes the two; it is as if one were to intertwine the outer (? mistake for 'inner') reins of a chariot" (Keith). For this use of *viharati* "intertwine" cf. below.

the Kau. Br. 14.2 in this mode of recitation breathing in at the time of the pause between the verses is prohibited (*tasmād anavānaṁ saṁkrāmet*).

The verb *vi√har-* is used not only in the sense of separating the verses with a pause but also in the sense of separating them and intermingling them with other verses. In the Ait. Br. 6.24.5 we find: *pacchaḥ prathamaṁ ṣaḍ vālakhilyānāṁ sūktāni viharaty, ardharcaśo dvitīyam, ṛkśas tṛtīyam* "First he transposes by Padas the six hymns of the Vālakhilyās, by half verses the second time, by verses the third time"[6] (Keith). This kind of intertwining of verses is also referred to by *viharati* and *vyatiṣajati* in the Ait. Ār. In 5.1.6 we read *nadaṁ va odatīnām ity etayaitāni vyatiṣajati pādaiḥ pādān bṛhatīkāram* "He intertwines these hymns with the verse *nadaṁ va odatīnām* (RV. VIII.69.2) joining quarter-verse with quarter-verse making them into bṛhatī verses..." (Keith). The same mode of recitation is referred to earlier in the Āraṇyaka 1.3.5,8 as *tā nadena viharati... triṣṭubhaṁ cānuṣṭubhaṁ ca viharati.* It is interesting to note that in this Āraṇyaka *viharati* is also used in the sense of "adding a syllable" in recitation. Thus in 1.3.7 we find *nyūnākṣare prathame pade viharati* "He extends the first two verses, which are deficient, by a syllable" (Keith) which refers to the addition of the syllable *pu* to RV. 10.120.1[a] and 8.69.2[a]. Similarly with reference to the addition of the syllables *pu*, *ru*, and *ṣa* to the first, second, and fourth quarters of a stanza we read in the Ait. Ār. 5.1.6 *prathamāyāṁ ca puruṣākṣarāṇy upadadhāti, pādeṣv ekaikam avasāne, tṛtīyavarjaṁ sa khalu viharati* "He also inserts in the first stanza the syllables of the word *puruṣa*, one in each quarter-verse at the end, save in the case of the third quarter-verse" (Keith).

The close similarity between the Avestan use of *vī√bar-* and Skt. *vi√har-* "separate, with pauses or with insertions of other verses" clearly shows that the two are etymologically related and that the latter should go back to *vi√bhar-*. For the change of *bh*>*h* in the Vedic period cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, I, § 217–18. The fact that the Brāhmaṇas have *√har-* for earlier *√bhar-* is also shown by the following instances. In the Ait. Br. 1.28.35 we notice the use of *√har-* while explaining a form with *√bhar-* in the Vedic citation: *sahasrambharáḥ śúcijihvo agnír*[7] *ity eṣā ha vā asya sahasrambharatā yad enam ekaṁ santam bahudhā viharanti* "'Bearing a thousand, Agni, of pure tongue'

[6] For details cf. Āś. Śr. Sū. 8.2.19–21, Haug, pp. 283–4, fn. 13 and Keith *H.O.S.*, 25, p. 277, fn. 2. For similar use also cf. Ait. Br., 6.26.10; 28.3; 4.2.4–4.5 and Keith, p. 199, fn.3; also cf. Kau.Br. 30.4; 17.2–4.

[7] Rv. 2.9.1.

(he says); for this is his character of bearing a thousand, that him being but one they carry apart in many directions" (Keith). Similarly in the Śat. Br. 6.7.4.4 we find *vidmá te dhắma víbhṛtā purutrá*[8] *iti yad idam bahudhā vihriyate* "'We know thy manifold scattered cites' – inasmuch as he (Agni) is here distributed many ways" (Eggeling). These instances will further point out that the verb *vi√har-* which is often used with reference to the separation and distribution of the sacrificial fire is etymologically earlier *vi√bhar-*.[9]

II. Yāna-

The word is attested both in the Gāthā and the later Avesta. Bartholomae gives the meaning "Gunst, Gunstgewährung, Gunstbeweis (seitens der Gottheiten gegenüber den Menschen)".[10] He has been followed by most scholars,[11] who render *yāna-* by "favour". Humbach[12] is probably the first scholar to differ from Bartholomae. He renders *yānəm vaēd-* as "einen Weg, ein Mittel finden" (cf. Skt. *yắna-* "vehicle") and *yāna-* in Y. 28.9 as "Opferumzug" (obviously deriving it from √*yā-* "to go"). He translates the latter passage *anāiš vå nōiṭ* ... *yānāiš zaranaēmā* ... "Mögen wir Euch nicht durch diese Opferumzüge erzürnen..." W. Lentz in his edition of Yasna 28 (*Abh. Akad. Wiss. u. Lit. Mainz*, 1954, Nr. 16, pp. 933, 949–50) rejects the view of Humbach especially because he does not understand "...weshalb der Prophet fürchten soll, die Gottheit durch Opfer zu erzürnen". Lentz[13] gives the meaning "Wunsch" but does not discuss the etymology of the word.

Apparently following Hoffmann and Lentz, Humbach has given up his earlier rendering of *yāna-* in his recent translation of the Gāthās.[14]

[8] Vāj.Saṁ. 12.19; RV. 10.45.2; also cf. *agnér dhắmāni víbhṛtā purutrá*/ RV. 10.80.4.

[9] That the use of *vi√bhar-* had become rare in the Brāhmaṇa period can also be seen from the following passage Ait. Br. 1.18.1: *taṁ devā vimethire*/ *sa haibhyo vihṛto na prababhūva*/ *te hocur devā na vai na itthaṁ vihṛto 'laṁ bhaviṣyati*/ *hantemaṁ yajñaṁ sambharāmeti*/ "The gods crushed it; it being taken apart was not sufficient for them. The gods said 'It will not be sufficient for us, being taken apart; come let us gather together the sacrifice" (Keith). The Śat. Br., however, once retains *vibhṛta-* of the Vedic citation (6.4.4.2).

[10] In *BB*, 10.279 fn. 1 he gives the meaning "Gabe".

[11] Also Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, p. 143 (tr. of Yt. 10.137). Lommel, however, at one place (Yt. 17.26) renders it as "Unterstützung".

[12] *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 2 (1952), p. 18, n. 17.

[13] Following K. Hoffmann, cf. *I.F.*, 63, p. 100, fn. 1.

[14] *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, I, p. 78 and II, p. 11 (Heidelberg, 1959). Humbach, however, retains connection with "Gottesdienst" cf. his rendering of *yānya-* Y. 28.0 "zum Gottesdienst gehörig". But *yānya-* probably means "favourable to, i.e. willing to fulfill, request".

He also now rightly derives *yāna-* from √*yā-* "angehen, bitten" which use is well attested in Sanskrit.[15]

This particular meaning of √*yā-* "to request, to implore" is so similar to that of Skt. √*yāc-* that Yāska regards *yāmi* (RV. 1.24.11, 8.3.9) = **yācmi*.[16] That is the reason why in the Nirukta 2.1 he says: *athāpi varṇalopo bhavati tat tvā yāmi iti* "Oder geht überhaupt ein Buchstabe verloren, z.B. in tat tvâ jâmi" (Roth). According to the commentator Durga, the letter that has disappeared is *c* of √*yāc-* (*atra cakāralopaḥ/ yācāmīty*[17] *evam etad draṣṭavyam/*). Thus in the opinion of Yāska *yāmi* in this particular reference is to be derived not from √*yā-*, but from √*yāc-*.

The commentary of Skanda-Maheśvara,[18] however, does not take the above view of *yāmi*. In the view of this commentator the *varṇalopa* intended by Yāska is not to be seen in *yāmi* but in *tatvā*. Since this form is derived from √*tan-* it shows the loss of final *-n*. Then again, according to this author the instance cited by Yāska is not a Vedic quotation but one taken from the daily usage. But this view does not seem to be satisfactory for various reasons. In the first instance if Yāska had intended to give *tatvā* as an illustration of *varṇalopa* he would have used only that word and not *tatvā yāmi* which looks like a Vedic citation. Secondly this type of loss he has already pointed out in the forms like *gatvā* and *gatam* (from √*gam-*). Moreover the new explanation presupposes the reading *tatvā* instead of *tat tvā* for which there does not seem to be any manuscript evidence.

With reference to the remarks of Lentz on *anāiš vå nōiṭ* ... *yānāiš zaranaēmā* Y. 28.9 about vexing the god with repeated requests ("Den Dichter befällt nach den verschiedenen dringenden Bitten und Anrufungen plötzlich die Sorge, die man hat, wenn man einen vertrauten

[15] W. Schmid, however, has shown that this √*yā-* "bitten" is to be separated from √*yā-* "gehen", cf. *IF*, 62 (1956), p. 219 ff. On p. 225 the author suggests to render Skt. *avayāna-* "Abbitte", although on p. 237 he favours not to connect Av. *yāna-* with √*yās-* (<√**yā-sk̂-*). He also mentions (p. 224) the possibility of connecting Sk. *yā́man-* in some cases with this verb √*yā-* "to implore".

[16] W. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ff., also considers √*yāc-* as a *k*-extension of √*yā-*, i.e. etymologically identical with it. On p. 228 he quotes Sāyaṇa who renders *yāmi* as *yācāmi* or *yāce*, thus apparently following the view of Yāska referred to above. Schmid also shows that Av. √*yās-* is a *sk̂-* extension of √*yā-* "to implore". The same explanation, but from √*yā-* "to go" was given by Humbach, *MSS*, 8, p. 83.

[17] What Yāska may have thought of is a form like *yāc-mi* and not *yācāmi*. This will answer the criticism in the commentary of Skanda-Maheśvara that *yācāmi*>*yāmi* shows the loss of two letters *c* and *ā* and not one.

[18] Published by L. Sarup (1931), pp. 10–11.

Freund überfordert", p. 950) Humbach has already compared RV. 2.33.4 *má tvā rudra cukrudhāmā námobhir.* We may also add the following passage from the Śat. Br. 2.3.4.4, which is pertinent in this connection: *ubhaye ha vā idam agre saha āsur devāś ca manuṣyāś ca/ tad yad dha sma manuṣyāṇāṁ na bhavati tad dha sma devān yācanta idaṁ vai no nāstīdaṁ no 'stv iti/ te tasyā eva yācñyāyai dveṣeṇa devās tirobhūtā ned dhinasāni ned dveṣyo 'sānīti/ tasmān nopatiṣṭheta/* "Now in the beginning both the gods and men were together here. And whatever did not belong to the men, for that they importuned the gods, saying, 'This is not ours; let it be ours!' Being indignant at this importunity, the gods then disappeared. Hence (it may be argued) one should not approach (the fires), fearing lest he should offend them, lest he should become hateful to them"[19] (Eggeling).

A discussion of a few passages where *yāna-* occurs may now be added. According to Geldner's edition, which is followed by Bartholomae, we read in Yt. 14.36:

yānå baraiti astavō vā taxma-
he mərəyahe parənavō vā taxmahe
mərəyahe...

Bartholomae suggests to consider *yānå* as acc. pl. mas., which would be an irregular formation,[20] and translates: "Gunstbeweise (der Götter) trägt davon, wer einen Knochen des starken Vogels oder eine Feder (als Amulet) trägt." Lommel, however, translates differently: "Wer einen Knochen dieses kräftereichen Vogels trägt oder wer eine Feder dieses kräftereichen Vogels trägt..."[21] Apparently he reads *yō nā* "the man who..." for *yānå.* He also seems to take *astavō* and *parənavō* as acc. sg.

The irregularity in Bartholomae's interpretation of *yānå* can be removed if we regard it as acc. pl. fem. from a base *yānā-.* With this we may compare Skt. *yāc-ñā-* (or *yāc-ñyā-*), fem. beside *yāc-ña-*[22] (or *yāc-ñya-*) mas. We may then translate the above passage as: "(The amulet) containing the bone of the strong bird or containing the feather of the strong bird brings (him) many requests (i.e. fulfils them)." For a similar use of √*bhar* in the sense of the fulfilment of wishes cf. RV.

[19] The point that is established, however, is that one should approach the fires.
[20] Similarly in Y. 43.14 he takes *mąθrå* as acc. pl. mas. Perhaps there also we have to take it as a fem. form.
[21] Darmesteter (*S.B.E.*, 23, p. 241): "If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird..."
[22] Wackernagel-Debrunner, II, 2, seem to take *yācñyá-* (= *yācñá-*) once as a *-na* derivative (§ 561a and c), and once as a *-ya* derivative (§ 652a).

10.95.10 *vidyún ná yā́ pátantī dávidyod bhárantī me ápyā kā́myāni* "who flashed like a flying lightning and brought to me my (*ápya-?*) desires (i.e. fulfilled them)."[23]

In Yt. 10.137 we read:

rāštəm ahmāi naire mainyāi
miθrō maēθanəm āčaraiti,
yezi.šē yānāδa bavaiti
saŋhəmčiṯ anu sastrāi
saŋhəmčiṯ anu mainyāi.

This is translated by Gershevitch[24] as "Straightway Mithra visits the residence of this authoritative man, if as a result of his (= the man's) favour (shown to the priest), it (= the utterance of Mithra's name) is in accordance with the prescription for recitation, in accordance with the prescription for thinking (= the prescriptions for praying orally and mentally)."

But if we understand *yāna-* = request and do not interpret the two occurrences of *mainyāi* in two different ways, then we may translate the above passage as: "Straightway Mithra comes to the place (of worship) for this authoritative man, if it (= the utterance of Mithra's name) happens following his (= the man's) request (to the priest). (Then) following the recitation (Mithra comes to the place of worship) for the praise, following the recitation (he comes) for the authoritative man."

[23] "Die wie ein fallender Blitz aufblitzte und mir Liebesergüsse brachte..." (Geldner). But Oldenberg renders "die mir die *kā́myāni* ihrer Heimat, des Wasserreichs, brachte". He also suggests the possibility of taking *ápyā* nom. sg.

[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 142–143 and 283–284. One can find here also the earlier interpretations.

TWO NOTES ON YAŠTS

by

M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

(1) On Hōm Yašt, verse 1.

At the very beginning of the Haoma yašt we are informed that Haoma approached Zarathuštra at the time of the pressing when the latter asked him the question about his identity. Zarathuštra asked : kō narə ahī, yim azəm vīspahe aŋhə̄uš astvatō sraēštəm dādarəsa x^vahe gayehe x^vanvatō aməšahe ? (Y. 9.1).

The last part of Zarathuštra's above question—*x^vahe gayehe x^vanvato aməšahe*—presents difficulty and does not seem to have been satisfactorily explained so far. REICHELT in his *Awestisches Elementarbuch* §499[1] takes ***x^vahe*** etc. as genitive of quality and translates the entire clause beginning with ***yim azəm*** as 'den ich als den schönsten von der ganzen Welt eigenen sonnigen unsterblichen Lebens gesehen habe'. It will be observed in the first instance that Reichelt has not translated the word *astvatō* of the text.[2] Next, he seems to take the difficult portion beginning with ***x^vahe gayehe*** as genitive of quality qualifying the word *aŋhu* 'Welt'. Earlier, BARTHOLOMAE apparently had the same construction in view.[3] LOMMEL, on the other hand, takes the clause beginning with *x^vahe gayehe* not as going with *aŋhu*, but with Haoma himself. The 'shining, immortal, life' is thus attributed not to 'the world' but is taken to refer to Haoma's superhuman qualities. LOMMEL's translation runs as—" Wer bist du, o Mann, der schönste,[4] den ich im ganzen körperlichen Dasein gesehen habe, (du) von eigenem leuchtendem unsterblichem Leben (?)."[5]

TARAPOREWALA translates the above passage as follows : " Who, O Hero, art thou, whom I see the noblest of all material creation,

1. Also his *Avesta Reader*, p. 96.
2. Unless he has taken *astvant* and *aŋhu* together to mean 'Welt'.
3. See his *Wörterbuch* s. v. x^vanvant (1865) and WOLFF's translation (p. 30) based on it.
4. He translates *sraēštəm* (acc.) as though it was nom.
5. Die Yäšt's des Awesta, p. 188.

shining with (thine) own eternal life ?"[6] This translation, which essentially follows that of LOMMEL, suffers from certain drawbacks. In the first instance, *x^v^anvatō*, which is gen. sg., is interpreted as acc. sg. (*x^v^anvantəm*). Secondly, TARAPOREWALA observes that *x^v^ahe gayehe*, both gen. sg., should have been in the instrumental case.[7] Thirdly, one has to observe that in spite of all these changes 'shining with eternal life' does not give good meaning. One would have rather said 'shining with eternal lustre'.

It is therefore suggested that we should supply *sraēštəm dādarəsa* at the end of Zarathuštra's question, and divide the passage into two parallel clauses—(1) yim azəm vīspahe aŋheus astvato sraēštəm dādarəsa, and (2) yim azəm x^v^ahe gayehe x^v^anvato aməšahe (sraēštəm dādarəsa). The whole passage may then be translated as follows : "Who art thou, O man, whom I see the best in the whole corporal creation, (whom I see the best) in your own shining and immortal species ?"

The translation given above gives good meaning. It brings out the contrast between *astvant aŋhu* = corporal world and *x^v^anvant gaya* = lustrous world. It assumes that after Zarathuštra started his question to Haoma with the words 'Ko narə ahī' taking him to be a human being, he realized that the lustrous person standing before him may not after all be a human being but a superhuman one belonging to the world of immortals. He therefore proceeds to characterize Haoma also as the best among the immortals.

In the interpretation given above, *gaya* has been taken to mean 'creation, species, world'. This meaning is not given in the dictionary. Corresponding to Sanskrit *jīva*, *gaya* has been taken to mean only 'life'. But if *aŋhu*, corresponding to Sanskrit *asu*, which originally means 'life' has been interpreted to mean 'material, creation, world' (when combined with *astvant*), there does not seem to be any strong reason why the same extension of meaning should be denied to *gaya*, which when combined with *x^v^anvant*, may refer to the lustrous world of superhuman beings.

(2) On Mithra Yašt 5.20

This passage enumerates the discomfitures experienced by those who break the contract, i. e. those who are *miθrō-druj*. The horses of such persons refuse to be mounted by them, and even if mounted they

6. Selections from Avesta and Old Persian, Part I, p. 3.
7. Op. cit. p. 17 under x^v^anvatō.

do not move from their place. Some of their other discomfitures are described in the following words :

apaši vazaite arštiš
yąm aŋhayeiti avi-miθriš
frəna avanąm mąθranąm
yå vərəzyeiti avi.miθriš

GERSHEVITCH, *The Avestan Hymm to Mithra* (p. 83), translates the above passage as follows : 'Back flies the spear which the Antimithra throws, because of the evil spells which the Antimithra performs."

Earlier, BARTHOLOMAE had taken *frəna* (loc. sg. of *frənay* meaning 'Fülle, Menge') to mean 'at the abundance of (the evil spells)'. In essence, GERSHEVITCH agrees with BARTHOLOMAE in looking upon the recitation of the evil spells as the cause of the return of the spear. He only feels that the *number* of spells can have nothing to do with the return of the spear, for that was achieved by the fact that they were cast. This enables GERSHEVITCH to dispense with the meaning 'Fülle, Menge' assigned by BARTHOLOMAE to the word. GERSHEVITCH explains *frəna* as an adverbial instrumental of **frǎna*, a derivative of *frā* that corresponds in form to Latin *prōnus*, and in meaning to Lat. *prō* and Parth. *frh'h* 'because of'.[8]

LOMMEL also has followed BARTHOLOMAE as can be seen from his translation : "Zurück fliegt die Lanze, welche der Mithra-feind schleudert, wegen der Menge böser Sprüche, welche der Mithra-feind ausübt."[9]

The above translations are based on the wrong notion regarding the purpose of the evil spells. These spells are definitely not the cause of the *return* of the spear thrown by the Mithra-enemy. If that were so, he would have certainly stopped reciting them. The spear returns, just as the contract-breaker suffers from other discomfitures. The horse, the spear are of no avail to the Mithra-enemy because of his sin of having broken the contract. The purpose of the spells muttered by him while throwing the spear is to make it more effective. The spells are apparently supposed to reach the body of the enemy together with the weapon. References to the recitetion of the mantras while shooting the weapons to make them more powerful are met with frequently in the literature. cf. *mahābāṇaṁ rākṣasendreṇa maṁtritam*, Rām. 6.70.21

8. The Avestan Hymm to Mithra, pp. 177–78.
9. *Die Yäšt's des Awesta*, p. 69.

etc., *astram...tvadvadhāyābhimantritam*, Rām. 2.96.50 etc. cited by Böhtlingk-Roth.

If the spells are uttered to make the weapon more effective and yet in the present case the weapon turns back without inflicting any injury, then *frāna* in this context can best be rendered by 'in spite of'. The passage then gives good meaning : "Back flies the spear which the Mitra-enemy throws in spite of the evil spells which the Mitra-enemy puts into action."

This suggestion was made by me to GERSHEVITCH when I was reading this yašt with him in the summer of 1958. He accepted the suggestion and recorded it in the Addenda, p. 323. He says there, "Such a meaning can be obtained e.g. by taking *frāna*, as a preposition, to mean 'in spite of', or by replacing Bth.'s 'because of the abundance of evil spells' by 'with the abundance......', in the sense of 'with (= despite) all the evil spells'."

But it is doubtful whether we can imagine for an older Indo-European language such a construction with a preposition governing genitive as is imagined above when one takes *frāna* to mean 'in spite of'. In Sanskrit one may think of the use of *anādṛtya* or the genitive absolute construction to express this meaning. Probably to obviate the difficulty of the use of preposition, GERSHEVITCH thought of the latter explanation mentioned above. But in that case he is required to take 'with' in the meaning 'despite' which is not likely to meet with approval. If, on the other hand, we assume that *aγanąm mąθranąm* is used as genitive absolute, then the idea of disregard having been conveyed by this constuction itself, *frāna* will remain hanging without any known purpose.

I am therefore now inclined to take *frāna* as instr. sg. of a stem in -*a*, the derivation and meaning being the same as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE. The passage will be accordingly translated as : "Back flies the spear which the Mithra-enemy throws together with the series of the evil spells which the Mithra-enemy sets into action". The spells were thus intended to go along with the spear, but both, the spear and the spells, turn back without causing any injury to the person against whom they were hurled. The same passage *frāna aγanąm* etc. occurs twice in section 21. We can interpret it in the same way as in section 20. The good throws of the Mithra-enemy, sent along with the evil spells, even if they reach the bodies of the pious, do not harm them. The wind, when it carries off the spear of the Mithra-enemy, carries off also the evil spells.

AVESTAN *Vąθwā̆* (n., f.)

By

M. A. Mehendale

The word *vąθwa* occurring in the Avesta has been assigned the meaning 'a herd, a flock, a multitude'. The word occurs both as a single expression and in compounds. From the contexts in which it appears, it is clear that the meaning of the word cannot be considered doubtful. E.g. in yašt 10.28 we read : *āaṯ ahmāi nmānāi dadāiti gəušča vąθwa vīranąmča yahva xšnūto bavaiti* "herds of cattle (and multitudes) of heroes he bestows on the house in which he is pleased." In yasna 62.10 we read : *upa θwā haxšōiṯ gəuš vąθwa upa vīranąm pourutās* "Es mögen dir zuteil werden Herden von Vieh, zuteil eine Fülle von Männern" (Wolff). In yašt 8.15, 17 and 19 we get expressions like *vīrayąm vąθwąm*, *gaoyąm vąθwąm*, and *aspayąm vąθwąm* 'a troop consisting of heroes', 'a herd consisting of cattle', and 'a troop consisting of horses'. The word *vąθwa* is thus used with reference to animals and human beings. When it is used with the expression *fšaoni* it can mean 'a group of animals of one kind or of different kinds (horses, cows etc.). In yašt 9.9 we have *yatha azəm fšaoni vąθwa avabarāni avi mazdā̊ dāmabyō* "...dass ich den Geschöpfen des weisen Herrn fette Herden (rather: herds of animals), verschaffe........." (Lommel).

Bartholomae in his Wörterbuch (1435) does not give any etymology of this word. Louis H. Gray[1] accepts Jackson's derivation of the word from **uene* (> Skt. √*van*) 'strive, desire, gain' (Cf. Jackson's Avesta Reader, First Series, which is not accessible to me). Gray cites, for comparison, words from the Germanic group like Goth. *winja* etc. 'meadow'. He adds, "...... the formation of the Avesta word implies that *vąθwa*– was THE desirable possession of a pastoral and agricultural folk.

1. Language, 25.378 (1949).

From 'meadow' to 'herd' is not a difficult transition, nor is the reverse". Taraporewala (Selections from Avesta and Old Persian, p. 20) also suggests the same etymology (√*van* 'to win, to conquer, to protect, to prosper').

The above etymology implies derivation of *vąθwa* from √*van*– with the primary suffix –*tva*. But the words derived with the primary suffix –*tva* in Sanskrit and Avestan are adjectives. "Als Bildungselement für primäre Adjektive ist –*tva*– nur für das Indoiranische sicher nachgewiesen".[1] Such adjectives have the meaning of gerundives; e.g. Sk. *hantva*, Av. *jąθwa* '(deserving) to be killed', Sk. *vaktva*, Av. *vaxəθwa* 'to be spoken'. But since *vąθwa* is a substantive and not a gerundive adjective, the above derivation remains doubtful.

It is therefore proposed to derive *vąθwa* from **tvantva*, a compound formed with Sk. *tva* 'one, some, several' and comparable in formation with Sk. *dvandva* 'pair, couple'. In Sanskrit, when in a sentence, *tva* is repeated, it means, when used in the singular, 'the one ...... the other', and when used in plural it means 'these ...... those, some ...... some'. In such usage there is not always clear opposition implied by the use of *tve* ....*tve*. E.g. in RV 10.71.7 we read *ādaghnā́sa upakakṣāsa u tve hradā́ iva snā́tvā u tve dadṛśre* "Some of them (i.e. the *sákhāyaḥ*) appeared like ponds reaching upto mouth, (some like ponds) reaching upto armpit, and others like those fit to bathe in". Thus what are indicated by *tve*......*tve* are only different kinds of ponds. If an iterative compound like **tvantva* is formed with *tva* 'some', it can easily mean 'a group, a collection, a herd'.

Semantically, the derivation of *vąθwa* from **tvantva* therefore does not seem to encounter any difficulty. The word can refer to a composite herd consisting of 'some' animals of one kind (e.g. cows) and 'some' of the other (e.g. horses); or, it can refer to

1. Alt. Gr. II, 2 § 526, p. 711.

a herd consisting of only one kind of animals, 'some' of which may be of one type and 'some' other (showing the difference in colour etc.).

Phonetically, the derivation of _vąθwa_ from _*tvantva_ faces some difficulty which, however, is not unsurmountable. Avestan _θw_ regularly corresponds to Skt. _tv_ (Jackson, Avesta Grammar § 94). Medial _θw_ of _vąθwa_ is thus well explained. But in the initial position, _tv_ should have shown _θw_ and not _v_, e.g. Skt. _tvām:_ Av. _θwąm_. We, therefore, expect to get _θwąθwa_ and not _vąθwa_ if we wish to derive the word from _*tvantva_. But this difficulty can be explained in the following way. Double treatment of a comparable cluster in the initial position is seen in Avesta in the case of the cluster _dv_. It shows both _dv_ and _b_., e.g. Av. _dvarəm:_ Sk. _dvāram_, Av. _bitim:_ Sk. _dvitiyam_. Similarly, _tv_ can be looked upon as showing two treatments initially, _θw_ and _v_. To explain _vąθwa_ we have only to assume that the simplification of the initial cluster _θw_ to _v_ was due to dissimilation (to avoid repetition of _θw_ in two successive syllables). The initial _v_ may have the phonetic value of Avestan _v_ (corresponding to Skt. _v_). Or it may only be a graphic representation of the voiced spirant _w_. Occurrences of _v_ for _w_ in the internal position have been already noted by Jackson § 87. He also notes one instance of initial _v_ for _w_, cf. _vaēibya_ 'with both' for _waēibya_ = _uwaēibya_ : Sk. _ubhābhyām_. If in _vąθwa_ initial _v_ is only graphic, then _vąθwa_ = _wąθwa_ < _*θwąθwa_ < _*tvantva_.

On the Significance of the Name Zarathustra

—M.A. Mehendale

The significance of the name of the founder of the Zoroastrian religion, which appears as *Zarathustra* in the *Avesta*, has been much discussed. The most recent explanation is that of Prof. H.W. Bailey[1] who observes : "So many attempts have been made to explain this name without a generally accepted solution that it may seem bold to try once more." His explanation will be referred to later in this paper. Bailey feels that his explanation is likely to be more acceptable than the rest. Even so the present writer may be excused for suggesting one more solution to the problem.

A general start to the attempts to explain the prophet's name seems to have been given by such Sanskrit proper names as *Jarat-kāru* and *Jarat-karṇa* which contain the word *jarat* as the first member of the compound, and such Iranian proper names like *Hitāspa* and *Yuxtāspa* which contain the name of an animal (horse) as the second member of the compound. Hence Bartholomae[2], among others, looked upon *zarathustra* as a compound formation consisting of two members, **zarant* (Sk. *járant*) 'old' and *ustra* (Sk. *ustra*) 'camel', the name of the prophet thus meaning 'one whose camels are old (des Kamele alt sind)'.

But scholars felt that a name having this import is not the one which can be looked upon as a suitable name for the prophet. Hence attempts were made to give a different meaning either to the first or the second member of the compound, or to both, but retaining mostly the analysis of the name as a compound form of two members as noted above.

Thus, for example, M. Haug in his *Gāthās* Vol. II, pp. 245-246, f.n. 1 (1858)[3] has suggested to equate *zarad-* with *hṛd* 'heart' and *ustra* with *uttara* 'higher, excellent', the compound then meaning 'one who has an excellent heart (der ein treffliches Herz hat)', or to connect *zarath* with Sk. √*jṛ* 'to sing', the compound then meaning 'the excellent singer of praises, most excellent poet (der treffliche Lobsänger)'. Haug prefers the latter explanation as, in his opinion, the singing of praise songs plays an important role in the *Gāthās* and Zarathushtra himself appears in the *Gāthās* as a poet.

In 1862, in his book Essays etc., pp. 252-253 Haug gave up the above explanation. There he calls attention to the fact that the prophet is also known in the *Avesta* as *Zarathustrthtamō* which, as a superlative form, must mean 'the greatest or highest Zarathustra'. Haug argues that this denomination can have sense only when it is assumed that there were several Zarathustras and that the prophet was the

best among them. "The name 'Zarathuṣtra', therefore, must have conveyed in ancient times about the same sense, as the word Destur now-a-days, meaning the spiritual guide and head of a whole district, or even province. The Zarathustrō-tamō then is to be compared with the Destur-i-Desturān or Chief High priest......"

Writing about the significance of the prophet's name, I.J.S. Taraporewala disapproves of the meanings in which *ushtra* is taken to mean 'camel' and observes: "Far better is the suggestion made by some scholars deriving the name from *zaratha* (golden) and *ushtra* (light), from the root *ush* "to shine". Thus this designation of the Prophet would mean "He of the Golden Light", which is just the appropriate name to be given to one of the Greatest of the Light-Bringers of the world".[4]

Bailey, whose article is mentioned above, proposes to establish a verbal base Av. *zar*, Skt. *jar* 'to move' and on its strength explain the prophet's name as 'one who can manage camels'. He compares with this name other proper names like *yuxtāspa*[5] 'he who has harnessed horses' and *hitāspa* 'he who has put horses into a team'. He believes that understood this way *Zarathustra* can be looked upon as quite a respectable name, for, "This skill among a nomad people deserved the respect its use in a proper name implies." He rejects Bartholomae's explanation, referred to above, in which *zarat* is taken to mean 'old' for he says "...it is hard to conceive why a man (or a boy) should be named from the possession of *zarant*— 'old, decrepit' camels. With *zarat*—'moving, driving, controlling' the name has an important meaning befitting the local life".[6]

Bailey's explanation thus retains the meaning of the word *uṣtra* 'camel', but changes that of the word *zarat*. The meaning obtained by him does give some respectability to the prophet's name. But even with this new meaning the name appears to be somewhat of a general nature and has nothing specific in it to be looked upon as suitable for the prophet. The explanation attempted in this paper, however, has a direct bearing on an important aspect of the prophet's teaching which must have brought about economic, as well as religious revolution in ancient Irān.

It is well known that killing cows and oxen and offering them in sacrifices were practised by Indo-Iranians as acts of religion before the days of Zarathuṣhtra.[7] It is against these practices that Zarathuṣtra speaks very vehemently in the *Gāthās*. He exhorts people to take good care of the cattle and offer them protection.[8] He says that giving fodder to the cow and offering worship to Ahura Mazdah are the best things for any one to do (Yasna 35.7). It is hardly necessary to cite the different passages from the *Gāthās* in support of this contention.

Zarathuṣtra, thus, appears in his new religion in the role of 'the protector of the ox'. If we remember this as one of the striking features of his new religion, it would be easy for us to recognise the verb *trā*—'to protect' in the final syllable of the prophet's name. And since we know that the word '*uxsan*—(Skt. *ukṣán*) 'ox' is well attested in the *Avesta*, it should not be difficult for us now to guess that *uṣtra*, occurring in the prophet's name, has nothing to do with camels, but is to be

derived from **uxstra* meaning 'protector of the ox'. The name *Zarathustra* would, in that case, mean 'the old protector of the ox'.[9]

There is hardly anything to object to this interpretation from the point of view of the meaning arrived at.[10] Of all the interpretations of the name suggested so far this is the one which would suit the prophet extremely well. There is some controversy on the point whether this name was given to the prophet by his parents in his childhood or whether he adopted it for himself later in his life after he started preaching his new religion. Jackson held the former view and said that although the name, as understood in his time, was unromantic and unpoetic, it was retained by the prophet "as his birth-right even after he became famed as a spiritual and religious teacher. The very fact of his retaining this somewhat prosaic appelative testifies to a strong personality ; Zoroaster remains a man and he is not dubbed a new with a poetic title when later sanctification has thrown a halo of glory about his head."[11]

On the other hand, Taraporewala, whose view has been referred to above, believes that *Zarathustra* is the title by which the prophet was known after he had proclaimed his message.[12] The interpretation of *Zarathustra* suggested in the present paper would also lead us to reject the view that this was the prophet's first name. It could come to him only after he had started proclaiming his new message of ox-protection (*uṣṭra*) and while doing so had become somewhat old (*jarat*). It is likely that he did not himself adopt this name but that it was given to him by others—perhaps his revilers as indicated by a reference to his old age. It is, indeed, possible to discover a piece of evidence testifying to the prophet's having become old while carrying on his struggle to save the ox from the tyranny to which it was subjected. This evidence is to be found in the famous Yasna 29, known as the *Gāthā* of the Ox-Soul. The ox complains about the ill-treatment given to him and the cow by the people. He wants to know who created him and for what purpose. If he was endowed with life by the Creator, he had a right to live, and, as an animal helpful to men, a right to seek protection. The wise lord then replied to the ox that the Creator had fashioned him for the milker and the herdsman (and apparently not for the sacrificer). But no one was appointed till then to take care of him. The Good Mind then pointed to Zarathustra and said : "I know but this one : Zarathustra Spitama, the only one who has heard our teachings ; He will make known our purpose———Sweetness of speech shall be given to him."[13] But the ox is not satisfied. He continues to lament that he has been handed over to a powerless man and not to a strong guardian. In Yasna 29.9, the Ox-soul moans : "That I should have to be content with the powerless word of a man without strength for a guardian, I who wish for a strong master :" What comes after this reads as follows in the original :

kadā yavā hvə anhat, yə həi dadat zastavat avə

which has been rendered as : "Will he ever be, he who shall help him with his hands ?"[14]

In the above translation the two opening words *kadā yavā* are taken together to mean 'when, if ever', *yavā* is interpreted as instr. sg. of *yav* 'Dauer', used as an adverb.[15] But this seems to be the only place where *kadā* and *yavā* are used together. Humbach[16] asks us to compare *kadā yavā hvō anhat* with *yadā hvō anhat* occurring in Yasna 31-16. But this will show that in our passage we should construe only *kadā* with *hvō anhat* "when will he be ?" The remaining word *yavā*, then, can be interpreted as nom. sg. of *yavan*, *yvan*, 'young man, young hero' which is attested in the younger *Avesta*. The line cited above will thus mean : 'When will that young man be who will give us help with his hands ?" This meaning will suit the context because the Ox-Soul is asking for a powerful man with physical strength as his guardian. If this interpretation is correct, the word *yavā* 'young man' will indicate that the prophet had become old when the *Gāthā* was composed and that he had till then not succeeded in persuading the people to accept the change in the religion as preached by him.

Now we are ready to face some other questions before we can admit *ustra* 'protector of the ox' as a compound of *uxsan* and a form from the verb *trā*. Such a compound normally should have been *uxsathra*, and the prophet's name, then, would have been *Zarathuxsathra*.[17] First, we will look to the disappearance of *x* before *s* in *usan* for *uxsan* and in this regard note that a few possible examples of the disappearance of *x* before *s* have been recorded. E.g. we get *avasata* 'he spoke' for **avaxsata*<**a-vak-sa-ta*.[18] Bartholomae[19] thinks it possible that *x* before *s* has been lost in the form *visānō* (Acc. pl. of *visan*)<**vixsānō* (*visan*<*vis*+$\sqrt{han}$, Sk. *viś*+$\sqrt{san}$). But it is still more important to note that Gershevitch[20] has cited a Zoroastrian Middle Persian form *zarduxst* which shows the presence of *x* before *s*. Gershevitch tries to explain this away as due to dissimilation, the form *zarduxst* having to be derived from **zardurst*. But the Middle Persian form will rather show that in Old Iranian there existed a form **zarad.uxstra* as the prophet's name, besides *zarathustra* which is attested in the *Avesta*. **uxstra* will then lend support to our explanation of the effected *ustra* from **uxstra*.

The loss of the final vowel with the following nasal of *u*(*x*)*san*, when it occurs as the first member of the compound *us.tra*, is more difficult to explain. Of course, one may point out that Stammverstümlung in *Vorderglied* [21] does in general occur. And in particular, one may note that the final vowel with the following consonant of the first member of a compound is indeed considered to have been lost in a few examples by commentators on Sanskrit grammatical works.[22] These examples are *patañjali*<*patat*+*añjali*, *manīṣā*··*manas*+*īṣā* and *sīmanta*<*sīman*+*anta*.

NOTES

1 *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1953.40.
2 *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1676.
3 One can find there one more explanation by Haug himself and various earlier explanations

of other scholars. One such is that of Burnouf who understood Zarathustra to mean 'having yellow camels'. For other explanations, some of which show "a good deal of fancy", also cf. A.V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (1901), pp. 12-14 and Appendix I, pp. 147-149. Also cf. John W. Waterhouse, *Zoroastrianism* (1934). pp. 2-3.

4 *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, pp.23-24 (1926). Also cf. R.P. Masani, *The Religion of the Good Life, Zoroastrianism*, London, 1954 (2nd Edn.), p. 36.

5 Bailey cites the form as *yuxta.aspa*. As a proper name, Bartholomae gives it as *yuxtāspa* which is adopted in the text above.

6 *Tr. Phil. Soc*, 1953, p. 41 and f.n. 3.

7 B. Schlerath, Opfergaben, Festgabe Für Herman Lommel, pp. 129 ff.

8 "Die Pflege und Schonung des Rinds.........steht im Mittelpunkt der *zarathustrischen* Lehre". Bartholome, Worterbuch, 509.

9 or, 'the protector of old ox', but this is clearly not likely.

10 It seems pertinent here to cite the following passage from J. Duchesne—Guillemin's *The Hymns of Zarathustra* (Eng. Tr. by Mrs. M. Henning), pp. 5-6 : "The society in which Zoroaster lives and preaches is a pastoral society, not yet settled on the land. He teaches—as Nyberg has well pointed out—the fertilization of the meadows which makes permanent settlements possible. But these must be defended against the raids of the nomads by force of arms. The nomad is a thief of cattle, which he sacrifices and eats. The good deed is to be summarized shortly as the care and the defence of the cattle, to which is added the duty of extending the area of fertilized meadows at the expense of the nomad.

"This eminently practical and earthbound aspect of Zoroaster's programme is not always recognized. Thus the latest Parsee interpreter of the *Gāthās* refuses, for reasons of piety, to admit that such a trivial thing as cattle-raising could be mentioned in sacred hymns. Therefore, he concludes, it can only be by allegory. In this way some vivid texts are emptied of their sap, and we are supposed to accept Zoroaster as a dreamer or a pure mystic". Thus, for example, Taraporewala in his book, *The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra*, p. xiii, urges us to interpret the words for 'cattle', 'fodder' and 'pastures' in the *Gāthās* 'in a higher sense'. He takes the word *gāu* to stand for Creation and more especially Humanity, sometimes also Mother Earth", (p. 36).

11 Jackson, op. cit., p. 14.

12 *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, p. 23.

13 This and the following are translations by Duchesne—Guillemin, op. cit., p. 61.

14 H. Humbach, *Die Gāthās des Zarathushtra*, I. 82 puts it as 'wann jemals wird der zur Stelle sein, der ihm Hand und Hilfe geben wird ?'.

15 Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, 1264-65.

16 Op. cit., II. 17.

17 I am not referring here to the difficulty regarding the occurrence of θ in *zaraθ* for this has been already noticed earlier. Scholars are agreed that *zaraθustra* is a secondary development out of **zarat.ustra*. Haug in his *Gāthās* II. 246, end of the footnote 1, explained the development of *t* to θ due to the following vowel *u*. Bartholomae, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, I. 1.182 notes also other examples of θ replacing *t*. Bailey thinks it possible that this is a case of θ replacing δ, *TPS* 1953, 41.

18 Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, § 187 (5), p. 58. He also notes the loss of *x* before *t* in *tūirya* for **xtūirya*.

19 *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, I. 1.149, § 264, note 2, and *Wörterbuch*, 1472-73

20 *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, xxiii (1964), p. 38. According to Hübschmann, [*Zeitschrift für vergl.* Sprachf. xxvi (1883); p. 604], the Old Persian form of the prophet's name was **zarathustra*. According to Gersheivitch, the Median form was **zarat.ustra*

21 Wackernagel, *Alt. Gr.* II. 1 § 26, pp. 64-66

22 Given in the *Śakandhvādi gaṇa* on the *Vārttika* on p. 6.1.94

ON YASNA IX.26*

The text of Yasna IX.26 runs as follows:

frā tē mazdå barat̰ paourvanīm aiwyåŋhanəm stəhrpaēsaŋhəm mainyutāštəm, vaŋuhīm daēnąm māzdayasnīm. āat̰ aiŋhe ahi aiwyāstō barəsnuš paiti gairinąm drājaŋhe aiwiδāitīšča gravasča mąθrahe.

The first half of the verse presents no difficulty. It informs us that Ahura Mazdāh gave Haoma a girdle which was decorated with stars and was fashioned by the spirits (*mainyu*); he also gave him the good religion of the Mazdāh worship. The latter half of the verse contains the words *aiwiδāiti* and *grab* or *grava*, which require some comment.

Bartholomae (*Wörterbuch*, col. 91) took *aiwiδātay* to mean 'word', comparing the Avestan form with Sanskrit *abhidhāna* 'name, title; word'. But later, following Geldner, he gave up this meaning and preferred 'shelter' (Schirm); see *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 176. Geldner himself, in a paper not accessible to me, rendered (with a question mark) the word as 'covering' (Hülle). Lommel (*ZII*. 3, p. 170) believed that *aiwiδāiti* referred to some article of human dress, possibly (allenfalls) of leather, and he imagined it in the present case to be 'jerkin, doublet' (Koller). K. Hoffmann (*W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, p. 199), on the other hand, thinks that *aiwiδāiti* means 'halter and rein' (*aiβiδāiti-* dürfte das sein, was man einem Pferd 'anlegt', also Halfter und Zügel).

The word *aiwiδāiti*, as has been long recognised, is to be derived from *aiwi* + *dā-*, Sanskrit *abhi* + *dhā-* 'to join, to bind; to yoke'. Sanskrit *abhihita* means 'joined, combined; yoked'. If the same meaning be assumed for the Avestan *aiwi* + *dā-*, the derivative *aiwiδāiti* could mean 'joining together, closely combining together' and, as related to *mąθra* it could mean 'the recitation of the *mantra* in which the successive words are joined together, are closely combined together without allowing a pause between them'. This kind of recitation will resemble the *saṁhitā* recitation of the Veda in which the words of the *mantra* are pronounced in close proximity. The word *saṁhitā* is derived from the same root *dhā-* which appears in the form *dā-* in *aiwiδāiti*. The difference between the two words lies in the use of the prefix. But we may compare with Av. *aiwiδāiti* also Sanskrit *abhinihita* which is used for a kind of vowel sandhi in which the initial vowel *a* of the following word is joined so closely with the final vowel *e* or *o* of the preceding word that it gets merged into it. The word *abhinihita* contains the same prefix *abhi* which is found in *aiwiδāiti*. On

Indo-Iranian Journal **22** (1980) 137–142. 0019–7246/80/0222–0137 $00.60.

account of the additional prefix *ni* in it, the word *abhinihita* expresses the idea of 'merging', which is stronger than 'close combination' expressed by the terms *saṁhitā* or *aiwiδāiti*.

The Avestan word *gravas* was understood by Bartholomae (*Wörterbuch*, col. 529) as acc.pl. of *grab* 'sentence' (Satz). But, again, following Geldner, he chose to take it as nom.sg. of *grava* 'stick'. He, however, preferred to translate *gravas* in our passage as 'support' (Stütze) instead of adopting Geldner's rendering 'Stab' (*Z. altir. Wb.* p. 176). Lommel (*ZII* 3. p. 170) accepted the interpretation of Geldner but preferred to look upon *gravas* as acc.sg. of an *-s* stem. K. Hoffmann (*Henning Volume* pp. 197–198) argues for the 'original' reading **gravūsca* < **gravə̄sca* in place of *gravasca*. He looks upon the form **gravə̄* as acc.pl. of the *-a* stem. As to the meaning he is prepared to accept Geldner's suggestion 'Stab' but thinks that the original meaning of the word was 'handle' (Griff).

But, as shown above, if *aiwiδāiti* could mean 'close recitation (of the words of the *mantra*)', the possibility of *gravas* referring to something similar in nature, i.e. to some kind of recitation of the *mantra*, has to be considered. It is well known that the Vedic text is recited in the *saṁhitāpāṭha*, as mentioned above, and also in the *padapāṭha*, i.e. by separating the *padas* 'the words' from one another. This separation of the words in the *padapāṭha* was apparently known as *vigraha*. Further, within a *pada*, analysis of complex forms into its constituents was shown by observing a pause between the constituents. This separation is known as *avagraha*. Whitney on the Atharva-Prātiśākhya 4.78 observes:

> *Vigṛhya* denotes a word which is altogether independent, and therefore disjoined from others in the *pada*-text, a *nānāpada*, in distinction from *avagṛhya*, which means 'divisible into its constituents (*pūrvapada* and *uttarapada*), as a compound'.

According to the Taittirīya-prātiśākhya 22.13, which calls these pauses by a common name *virāma*, the pause between the two *padas*, viz. the *vigraha*, is of the duration of two morae (*dvimātraḥ*), while the one between the two constituents of a *pada*, viz. the *avagraha*, is of the duration of one mora (*ekamātraḥ*). It may further be noted that in Sanskrit we have the words *pragraha* and *pragṛhya* which are used with reference to the vowels pronounced separately i.e. which are not subject to the rules of euphonic combination.

Avestan *gravas* can be taken as an acc.plur. of a root noun *grab* (Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*) or of an *a*-derivative *grava* (Hoffmann, *Henning Memorial Volume*). In both cases it belongs to the root *grab-*, corresponding to Skt *grah-/grabh-*. Just as the Sanskrit derivatives *vigraha, avagraha* and *pragraha* indicate different kinds of 'separation', the Avestan noun can mean 'holding apart, separation (of words and their constituents in recitation), observing pauses (between words and their constituents in recitation)'.

The word *drājaŋhe* in this passage has variously been interpreted. Bartholomae (*Wörterbuch*, col. 774) first interpreted it as an infinitive of *drag-* 'to hold' which meant 'to hold fast, to preserve' (fest zu halten, zu bewahren). Later, following Geldner, he took it to be the dat. sing. of *drājah* 'stretch or length of time' with the meaning 'for all time, for ever' (für alle Zeit). Lommel (*ZII*. 3, p. 170) took it as 2nd pers. sing. middle of *drag-* 'to hold'. I would agree with Hoffman in interpreting as Bartholomae originally did, i.e. as infinitive of *drag*. The various translations proposed are:

'Und mit diesem umgürtet bist du auf den Höhen der Berge für alle Zeit Schirm und Stütze des heiligen Worts' (Wolff).

'mit diesem bist du umgürtet auf den Höhen der Berge; du ergreifst (rüstest dich mit) Koller(?) und Stab des Worts' (Lommel).

'um zu halten die Zäumungen und Griffe des heiligen Spruches' with the explanation 'Damit würde dieser Aussage das Bild von Wagenlenker und Pferd zugrunde liegen: Haoma, dem Ahura Mazdā einen Sternengürtel verliehen hat, lenkt den heiligen Spruch wie ein Pferd. 'Griff' dürfte dann gegenständlich etwa 'Griff der Zügel', d.h. der Teil der Zügel, den man ergreift, bedeuten' (Hoffmann).

It is, however, to be doubted whether one has to look for a metaphor of a charioteer and a horse in the above expression, to which Hoffmann has been led by *abhi dhā-* 'to yoke'. It has already been shown above to what meaning we are led by *abhi dhā-* 'to join, to bring in close connection'. It is not probable either, that *aiwiδāiti* and *grava* both refer to 'Zügel', once in general and a second time to a particular part of it. The latter would have been enough.

I would translate the passage as follows:

Since then girdled by it you are (seated) on the high summits of the mountains to preserve the close combinations (i.e. recitations without pauses between the words) and the separations (i.e. recitations with pauses between the words and their constituents) of the *mantra*.

Deccan College, Poona M. A. MEHENDALE

* Paper read in the Iranian section of the 28th session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Dharwar, Karnatak, in November 1976.

SOME REMARKS ON MIHIR YAŠT (YAŠT X)

By

M. A. MEHENDALE.

(1) *raθwya čiθra hačimnō*

In Yašt X. 67 we are told that Miθra comes, driving in a chariot, from the eastern continent Arəzahī to the splendid continent X̌ aniraθa. At the end of the verse occur the following lines :

raθwya čiθra hačimnō
x̌ arənaŋhača mazdaδāta
vərəθraγnača ahuraδāta

These lines are rendered by Gershevitch[1] as follows : " (Miθra comes) equipped with prompt energy, Mazdāh-created fortune, and Ahura-created victoriousness. "

This would mean that Miθra, when he comes to the people of the splendid continent X̌ aniraθa, brings with him three things, (i) energy, (ii) fortune, and (iii) victoriousness. But the use of *ča* only twice, with *x̌ arənah* and *vərəθraγna*, and the close parallelism in the last two lines, where we find the use of very similar attributes *mazdaδāta* and *ahuraδāta*, will indicate that Miθra comes equipped with only two things, fortune and victoriousness, and not three.

As regards the reading *čiθra*, Gershevitch notes that it was Geldner's emendation which he himself abandoned in the Addenda to his edition in favour of *čaxra* (Commentary, p. 217). The manuscripts give *čixra*, rendered by Bartholomae as ' Tatkraft, Energie ', or *čaxra* ' wheel '.[2] Gershevitch accepts the reading *čixra*, only because it is a ' lectio difficilior ', and the meaning assigned to it by Bartholomae and translates the above lines accordingly. He is, however, required to give somewhat unusual meaning ' prompt ' to *raθwya* in order to make it agree with ' energy '.

It seems preferable to accept Geldner's reading *čaxra* and interpret it as standing for a time-cycle. The line *raθwya čaxra hačimnō* may be translated as " (Miθra comes) associating himself, i.e. according to, the circle of fixed time. " The idea conveyed is that Miθra visits the continent X̌ aniraθa at appointed times which are looked upon as moving in a circle.

(2) *aipi vīθiši jata*

1. I. Gershevitch : The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, Cambridge, 1959.
2. One ms. has also *čaθrahe*.

In Yašt X, 80 we read—

θwā paiti zī haxəδrəm daiδe vahištəm
vərəθraɣnəmča ahuraδātəm
yahmi sōire miθrō-drujō
aipi vīθiši jata
paurva mašyākåŋhō

" With you as master it (= the community) obtains the most excellent succession and Ahura-created victoriousness, (because) in it (*lit.* in which [community]) the many men false to the contract are floored (lit. lie), struck at the divinatory trial. " (Gershevitch).

Construing *yahmi* with *haxəδra* and *vərəθraγna* is natural enough and that is what most of the translators quoted by Gershevitch in his Commentary (p.230) have done. But Gershevitch does not follow them because, according to him, in that case "one has to put up with the strange idea that the 'divinatory trial', is apparently organized by 'victoriousness :' " (p. 229). Gershevitch, as well as the earlier translators, do not bring out the significance of *aipi* in their renderings as they seem to look upon it as a preposition meaning 'at, in'.

Now there seems to be nothing 'strange' in saying that the contract-deceivers are floored when they are opposed by the community which, by its policy of non-deceipt, has secured the best companionship of Miθra and, consequently, the Ahura-created victoriousness. Next, it is possible to render *aipi* as 'also' and translate the above passage as "with you as master (the community of non-deceivers) obtains the best companionship and the Ahura-created victoriousness in which many men who are contract-breakers lie (on the ground), (as) also in the divinatory trial (those) struck down (lie on the ground). "

This means that the contract-breakers are floored on both the occasions, many on the battle-field where victory is won by the non-deceivers of the contract, and (the individuals) in the divinatory trial where they lose due to their falsehood.

(3) *dvāčina piθe hačimna*

In Yašt X.84 we read—

yim dvāčina piθe hačimna
bāδa ustānazastō
zbayeiti avainŋhe,
yim driɣuščiṯ ašōṯkaršō
apayatō havāiš dātāiš

bāδa ustānazastō
zbayeiti avāiŋhe

"[Whom] sometimes she (*viz.* the cow) who longs to be milked as she feels (*lit.* is with) the pain of swelling, [invokes for assistance, with outstretched hands], sometimes also the pauper who follows the doctrine of Truth but is deprived of his rights ; " (Gershevitch).

As regads the earlier translations of the difficult line Gershevitch pronounces the judgement : " None of the translations suggested for *dvačina piθe hačimna* inspires confidence. " (Commentary p. 230). As regards his own rendering Gershevitch is aware that it is based on " guess-work. " In spite of G.'s comments it still seems preferable to follow Bartholomae and translate *yim dvāčina piθe hačimna......zbayeiti avaiŋhe* as 'whom any two coming together for protection call (s) for help.' 'Any two' may refer to an association like that of a warrior and his charioteer, or that of a warrior and his priest. But the actual call for help may go out from only one of them and hence the use of the singular forms *ustānazastō* and *zbayeiti*. The author of the stanza first refers to large associations in which influential persons like *vīspaiti* give the call for help for themselves and for many others of whom they are the head ; next, he passes on to smaller associations of any two persons of whom one may be superior and the other not quite so ; in the end he comes to a pauper, who is nobody's head (and nobody's superior), a lone person, who, all the same, feels entitled for help as he is the follower of the doctrine of Truth.

TWO NOTES ON YASNA 10

M. A. Mehendale

(1)

Yasna 10.17 reads :

vīspe haoma upastaomi
× × ×
yaēcit̰ azahu dərətaŋhō
jaininąm upadarəzāhu

"Alle Haoma's preise ich,... ; auch die, welche, in Gefangenschaft gehalten, sich in der Fesseln der Weiber befinden". Wolff[1].

What is meant by 'the Haomas held in captivity (or narrowness) with the chains (or in the bundles) by women is not clear. It is generally believed that the *jani* of *Y.*10.17 is the same as the *mairyā jani* of *Y.*10.15. She is a roguish woman who makes use of Haoma for illegitimate purposes. But this can hardly be the correct interpretation since Zarathushtra is not likely to think of praising (*upastaomi*) such Haomas.

Two suggestions are offered here to explain the above passage.

(1) It is possible that the word *janayō* refers to the 'fingers' which hold the Haoma stalks. In the *Ṛgveda*, the fingers, in relation to Soma, are often spoken of as the (ten) 'sisters'. In many passages, however, the verbs used with them are expressive of some kind of forward movement, e.g. *hinvanti*[2]; *hinvánti*[3]; *aheṣata*[4]; *ájanti*[5]. But in two passages, the "holding" or the "restraining" of Soma by the 'sisters' is, indeed, referred to, e.g. *ā gṛbhṇánti*[6]

1. "die in der Enge gehalten sind in den Bündeln der Frauen". Lommel.
2. 9.26.5.
3. 9.65.1.
4. 9.71.5.
5. 9.91.1.
6. 9.1.7.

and *yatáḥ*[1]. Hence it is possible to suggest that the word *janayō* in the *Yasna*[2] does not refer to real women but refer, figuratively, to fingers. The Haoma stalks held tightly by fingers are apparently spoken of as the ones held in captivity by women.

(2) Alternatively, it is possible that the tight holding of the Haomas has a reference to the practice of the tight binding of the Soma stalks. This is referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3]. After the description of the purchase of the Soma stalks for a Soma sacrifice, we read :

> *átha somopanáhanasya samutpāryā̀ntān uṣṇī̀ṣeṇa vigrathnāti* ... (18). *átha mádhye 'ṅgúlyākāśáṁ karoti ... tám áyatīva vā́ enam etát samāyácchann aprāṇám iva karoti/tásyaitad áta evá madhyatáḥ prāṇám útsṛjati* (19).

"Having gathered up the ends of the Soma-cloth, he (the *Adhvaryu*) ties them together by means of the head-band...(18).

"He then makes a finger-hole in the middle (of the knot), ... for, in compressing (the cloth), he, as it were, strangles him (Soma and the sacrificer) and renders him breathless; hereby now he emits his breath from inside, ..." Eggeling.

In the light of this description it is likely that the word *janayō* of the *Yasna*[4] refer to the ends of the cloth. We have to presume that the Avestan word for the 'end' of the cloth was in the feminine gender, like Sanskrit *daśā*[5]. If this assumption is correct, the Haomas held tightly by 'women' would be those which were tied up with the ends of the cloth.

It is conceivable that Zarathushtra praises such Haomas.

(2)

Yasna 10.14 reads :

> *mā mē yathá gāuš drafšō*
> *āsito vārəm acaire*
> *fraša frayantu te madō*
> *vərəzyaŋuhāŋhō jasantu*

1. 9.28.4.
2. 10.17.
3. 3.3.2.18-19.
4. 10.17
5. In the *Śat. Br.* passage above, however, the word for the 'end' of the cloth is *ánta* (m).

"Nicht sollen sie mir beliebig wie das Stierbanner sich einherbewegen, (wenn) sie (dich) geniessen; stracks vorwärts sollen sie gehen, (die) sich an dir begeistern; mit energischem Schaffensdrang sollen sie sich einstellen". Wolff[1].

The above rendering does not seem satisfactory. The one who is drunk is himself likely to falter and not make some one else falter. The word *drafšō* is in the nominative and not accusative. And the connection between the two sentences also is not clear in the above rendering.

Prof. H. P. Schmidt has kindly supplied me with a completely different interpretation of the above passage offered by J. Kellens in his book *Les noms-racines de l' Avesta*, (Wiesbaden, 1974)[2]. This interpretation runs as follows : "when you are lying[3] in the strainer[4], do not stagnet[5] for me like the drop of milk (which, when coagulating does not pass through the strainer); let your intoxicating (jets) advance straight, let them come with a vital energy force".

This is, no doubt, a better interpretation of the passage. But it seems possible to modify a little Kellen's interpretation. It is difficult to imagine that the poet here thinks of a drop of coagulating milk passing through a strainer as the object of comparison. That would be a very special case. It is more likely that the poet thinks of the drop of milk which does not easily pass through the cow's teat when she, for some reason[6], holds back the flow of milk. The Haoma juice that does not pass easily through a strainer can be compared with a drop of milk that does not come through the teat.

---

1. "Nicht soll mir wer davon getrunken hat, wie das Stierbanner nach Belieben (?= schwankend ?) sich einherbewegen. Wunderbar mögen herbeikommen deine Räusche, wirksam mögen sie kommen". Lommel.
2. The book is not accessible to me.
3. *āsito* understood as in *āsito-gātu*.
4. Cf. Skt. *vā́ra* 'strainer, hair-sieve'.
5. *acaire* loc. sg. of *acara* 'non-movement', *mā . . . acaire* lit. 'may you not be in immobility'.
6. One reason could be that she want to feed the calf first.

Some Remarks on Yasna 34

M. A. Mehendale (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune)

1. Yasna 34.2c: It has the expression *pairigaēθē xšmāvatō vahmē* which has been rendered by Humbach (1959) as 'bei der die Herden übermittelnden Verherrlichung von euresgleichen'. On the strength of certain parallel passages Humbach believes that *pairigaēθa-* stands for something like **pairī.dā.gaēθa-* or **pairī.dāta.gaēθa-* meaning 'den lebenden Besitz übermittelnd'. Insler (1975), on the other hand, feels that *pairigaēθa-* means 'universal'. He compares with this word the Vedic expression *párijman-* which, according to him, means 'around the earth, universal'. He therefore concludes that *pairigaēθa-*, which literally means 'around the creatures', also means 'universal'. He translates the above expression as 'in universal glory (p. 55) or praise (p. 221) of your kind'.

The context in which the above expression occurs is of a glorification (*vahma-*), accompanied by praise-songs, performed by an individual, and yet, apparently, many persons are concerned in this act of glorification as is shown by the plural form *əhmā* 'by us' in the preceding stanza.[1] Hence it seems better to interpret *pairigaēθa-* as 'surrounding the living persons in the household', i.e. (a glorification) in which all the members of the household participate.

2. Yasna 34.5ab: *kat̰ və̄ xšaθrəm kā īštiš šyaoθanāi mazdā yaθā vā ahmī*[2], *ašā vohū manaŋhā θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākəm.* Insler's rendering runs as: "Have ye the mastery, have ye the power, Wise One, for the act to protect your needy dependent – as I indeed am – with truth and with good thinking? " He thus takes the parenthetic phrase *yaθā vā ahmī* with reference to *drigūm yūšmākəm.* He connects *ašā vohū manaŋhā* with *θrāyōidyāi*, for he does not approve of treating it as commitative instrumental with vocative *mazdā.*

It seems, however, preferable to relate the parenthetic phrase with those words between which the phrase stands, viz. *šyaoθanāi* and *ašā vohū manaŋhā*, and not with those which stand away from it. This also means that one connects *ašā vohū manaŋhā* with *šyaoθanāi.* What is meant is that Zarathustra wants to know what kind of might, what kind of power Ahura Mazdā has for (1) the performer who acts (lit. an act performed) in accordance with truth, and with good mind, as indeed, Zarathushtra himself is (*yaθā vā ahmī*), i.e. a performer of a truthful act done with good mind, and (2) for protecting those who are dependent on Ahura Mazdā.

3. Yasna 34.9ab: *yōi spəntąm ārmaitīm . . . duš.šyaoθanā avazazat̰.* Humbach and Insler, following Bartholomae, treat *duš.šyaoθanā* as an adjective and render it, respectively, as 'die Übeltäter' and 'those of evil actions' (nominative plural masculine). But it is better to

treat it as a noun 'evil action' and render the line as 'those who have abandoned virtuous piety by evil action'. This interpretation is recommended, on the one hand, by the close proximity of *duš.šyaoθanā* and *avazazat̰*, and, on the other, by the fact that *duš.šyaoθanā* is thus contrasted with *vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō šyaoθanā* 'with (good) act stemming from good thinking' of stanza 10.

Since stanzas 9 and 10 are related in that the activities of the bad and the good are contrasted, it is possible to imagine *duš.xratu-*, as opposed to *huxratu-* (st. 10), as the subject of 9 ab: *yōi* (= *duš.xratavō*) *spəntąm ārmaitīm . . . duš.šyaoθanā avazazat̰*.

4. Y. 34.9c: *aēibyō maš ašā syazdat̰*. Humbach treats *ašā* as nominative plural and translates, 'von denen sollen sich schnell die Wahrhaftigkeiten entfernen'. Insler, however, treats *ašā* as instrumental singular and, accordingly, translates the passage as 'from them one has certainly retreated in accordance with truth'. It is, however, worthwhile to consider if *ārmaiti* can be the subject: '(those of evil intentions who have abandoned piety), from them (piety) shall quickly retreat along with truth'. In stanza 10 piety is said to be *hiθąm ašahyā* 'Genossin der Wahrhaftigkeit'[3], and hence it is reasonable to suppose that when she recedes from the perpetrators of evil actions, she does so along with truth. When evil-thinkers abandon piety, piety too, along with truth, leaves them.

5. Yasna 34.13ab: *təm advānəm ahurā yə̄m mōi mraoš vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō, daēnå saošyantąm yā hū.kərətā ašācit̰ urvāxšat̰* "die Bahn, o Lebensherr, die du mir als die des Guten Gedankens genannt hast, die gutgebahnte auf der die Sinne der Kraftspender mit Wahrhaftigkeit wandeln" (Humbach). Humbach thus treats *daenå* as the subject and *hū.kərətā* as referring to *advan*.

Insler, however, reads *yāhū karətā* and treats *karətā* as nominative singular masculine of *karətar-* 'extoller, commemorator' and *daēnå* as accusative plural feminine to which the relative *yāhū* refers. He translates: "To that, Lord, which Thou hast told me to be the road of good thinking, to the conceptions of those who shall save, along which Thy extroller shall proceed in alliance with truth indeed. . ."

With *karətar* 'extoller' Insler compares *carəkərəθra-* 'hymn of praise' (Y. 29.8c). It seems possible to connect these two words etymologically with Vedic *kiri-* (*kirin-* ?)[4].

Notes

1 Also cf. *dąmā* (plural) in stanza 3, and *gaēθå vispå* in the same stanza which is nominative plural according to Insler.
2 Humbach prefers to read *hahmī* 'wie wenn ich schlafe'.
3 Insler, however, interprets this as referring to Ahura Madzā.
4 On the doubtful nature of the stem *kirin-*, cf. M.A. Mehendale, BSOAS 37.1974:670–671.

References

Humbach, Helmut, 1959. Die Gāthās des Zarathustra, Band I, II, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter).
Insler, S., 1975. The Gāthās of Zarathustra. (Leiden: E.J. Brill).

Avestan *garəd-* and *gərəzdi-*

M. A. MEHENDALE

In the Gāthās we find *gərəzdi-* attested only twice. BARTHOLOMAE (524) assigns to it the meaning 'taking possession; getting, obtaining (Inbesitznehmen; Bekommen).' He derives *gərəzdi-* from *garəd-* (514) to which he assigns the meaning 'to take a step (gradi)'. BARTHOLOMAE does not give any Sanskrit cognate.

In Y.50.9 we read: *at hudānaoš išayąs gərəzdā hyəm.* HUMBACH assigns the meaning 'favour, grace (Huld)' to *gərəzdi-* and translates the passage as "furnished with refreshment may I therefore be in the favour of a blessed one". (Mit Labung versehen möge ich mich daher in der Huld eines segensreichen befinden). HUMBACH, however, states in his Kommentar on 50.9 that 'Unklar is gərəzdi'.

INSLER follows BARTHOLOMAE in deriving *gərəzdi-* from *garəd-* but assigns to it the meaning 'stride'. He translates: 'then I would, excercising such power, be in the stride[1] of the blessed one'. He feels that the sense 'step, stride', like Latin 'gradus' is better than BARTHOLOMAE's 'Inbesitznehmen'.

In Y.51.17 we read: *ašahyā āždyāi gərəzdīm* which is rendered by HUMBACH as "so that he may obtain the favour of truth" ("damit er die Huld der Wahrheit erreiche), and by INSLER as "in order for him to obtain the stride of truth."

The root *garəd-* from which the noun *gərəzdi-* is supposed to be derived occurs in three later Avestan passages with the prefix *aiwi* or *avi*. To this BARTHOLOMAE assigns the meaning 'to enter upon, to engage oneself in, to begin'.

In Vr.17.1 we read: *aiwi.gərəδmahi*[2] *yasnahe haptaŋhātōiš humataca hūxtaca hvarštaca; aiwi.gərəδmahi ašəm vohū,* translated by WOLFF as "We begin the good thoughts and the good words and the good deeds of Yasna Haptaŋhāiti. We begin the 'Asa is the best possession'" ("Wir heben an die guten

[1] In his Commentary on Y.50.9 Insler uses the word 'footing' in place of 'stride'. What INSLER means by his translation is not clear.

[2] J. KELLENS, Le Verbe Avestique (1984), p. 202 (1.4.1) derives *gərəδmahi* from a stem *gərən-* of ?*gar-* (B. 512) 'to praise'. For *gərəδmahi* instead of the expected *gərənmahi* see KELLENS p. 178, b. n. 2.

Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik (StII) 16 (1992) pp. 147-148.

Gedanken und die guten Worte und die guten Tates des *Yasna Haptaŋhātaγ*. Wir heben an das 'Aša ist das beste Gut'").

In Vr.21.1-2 *garəd-* occurs in such contexts as: *avi ... ašaonąmca fravašinąm yasnəm gərəδmahi vahməmca / ... avi aməšanąm spəntanąm yasnəm gərəδmahi vahməm ca* rendered by WOLFF as "For the Fravašis of the thruthful ones we begin prayer and praise ... For the Aməša Spəntas we begin prayer and praise" ("Für ... die *Fravašay's* der Ašagläubigen heben wir Gebet und Preis an ...").

The third occurrence of *aiwi.garəd-* is in Y.62.11: *aiwi.gərəδmahi apąm vaŋuhīnąm frāitīmca paitītīmca aibi-jarətīmca ayese yešti,* rendered by WOLFF as "We begin the forwardgoing and backwardgoing of good waters and (their) praise; I fetch them here for worship" (Wir heben an das Vorwärtsgehen und das Zurückgehen der guten Wasser und (ihre) Preisung: zu verehren hole ich (sie her)).

It it suggested here to connect Av. *garəd-* with Sk. *gṛdh-*[3] (*gṛdhyati*) attested since the ṚV. It means 'to long for, to desire for, to strive after'. If we use this meaning it is possible to obtain such translations of the above later Avestan passages as: "We long for the good thoughts and the good words and the good deeds of Yasna Haptaŋhāiti" (Vr.17.1); "We long for the worship of the Fravašis of the truthful ones and for their praise" (Vr.21.1-2); "We long for the forward-flowing and the backward-flowing and the greeting of the good waters" (Y.62.11).

Av. *gərəzdi-* (Sk.*gṛddhi-) would mean 'longing, wish'. Accordingly Y.50.9 can be translated as 'May I be in the longing of the blessed one' (i.e. May the blessed one choose me as his priest). Similarly Y.51.17 can be translated as 'in order to obtain the longing of truth' (i.e. longing for truth, or 'what *aša* longs for viz. complete compliance with the requirements of truth').

[3] It may be pointed out that there are no known Indo-Iranian cognates of Latin *gradi*. But derivatives of *garəd- : gṛdh-* are available in Av. *gərəδa-, gərəδi-*(? only at the beginning of a compound), as well as in Sk. *gṛdhra-, gṛdhnú-gṛtsa-* (?).

ON YASNA 41.2

M. A. Mehendale

Yasna 41.2 reads : *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apąēmā vīspāi yavē / huxšaθrastū nə̄ nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōyō aŋhvō hātąm hudāstəmā*. J. Narten renders the passage as:

"May we, oh wise Lord, reach your good rule for all time. May a good ruler, whether man or woman, rule over us in both the existences, oh Best Worker among those that exist."[1]

Narten treats *tū* as an expletive particle and construes *hyxšaθras* with *nā vā nāirī vā* meaning any good ruler, whether man or woman. This interpretation is not likely for the following reasons :

1. In the opening sentence of the above passage the assembled devotees express their wish to obtain the good rule (*vohū xšaθrəm*) of Ahura Mazdā. It is therefore almost cetain that the word *huxšaθras*, which immediately follows, refers to Ahura Mazdā himself as one of good rule, and not to any human ruler.

2. In the Avesta *huxšaθra* is used specially with reference to Ahura Mazdā and the Aməša Spentas.

3. The words *nā vā nāirī vā* are meant, as in Y.35.6 (*yaθā āṯ* utā *nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiθīm*), to cover collectively all men and women, and not refer to a single individual, whether man or woman.

4. Hence it follows that the expression *nā vā nāirī vā* is intended to convey collectivity and not indifference regarding gender distinction, i.e. - whether male or female.' In that case probably we expect the use of words *nairya* and *strī* (Skt. *nar* or *puṁs* and *strī*).

5. If the author had intended *nā vā nāirī vā* to be construed with *huxšaθras* he would have said *huxšaθrastū nā vā nāirī vā* and would not have used the word *nə̄* in between them. As the text stands, *nā vā nāirī vā* has to be construed with *nə̄*.

6. A human ruler, though good, cannot excercise rule in both the kinds of existence of his dependents viz. the one in this world and the other which extends beyond death. Narten is conscious of this difficulty and hence she pleads that a good ruler helps his subjects to lead a righteous life and thereby cross the Cinvant bridge safely after death.[2] This could be a way out, if there was no other.

7. It is hard to imagine that there was a woman ruler governing the country in ancient Iran.

These difficulties are easily set aside if we take *hyxšaθra* to refer to Ahura Mazdā and interpret *nā vā nāirī vā* as a parenthetical explantion of the immediately preceding word *nə̄*. Also *tū* as in Y. 41.3 and 4 may be interpreted as 'thou'. The translation would then run as follows : "May you, whose rule is good, rule over us (all) -- whether (he be) man or woman -- in both the existences."

The only difficulty in this interpretation is that the verbal form in the sentence is not, as expected, *xšaēšā* (2nd per. sg. agreeing with *tū* 'thou'), but *xšaētā* (3 rd per. sg.). This is in all probability so because of attraction of the immediately preceding *nā vā nāirī vā* or due to the extended force of *huxšaθras*.[3]

Two more translations of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti are now available. Humbach's English translation[4] of our passage substantially agrees with that of Narten. The only difference is that he translates *hudāstəmā* as 'the most munificent one' and not as 'the best worker'.

The French translation of Kellens-Pirart[5] is very different. They treat *vohū·xšaθra* as a Bahuvrīhi compound qualifying *paq* 'path' supplied. Their translation runs as: "May we attain the (path) which ensures divine control over you, O Lord Mazdā, for ever! May a man or a woman having good (ritual) control rule over us in both the existences, O the most generous among those who exist"[6].

This translation completely changes the tenor of the passage. Instead of the worshippers attaining the good rule of Ahura Mazdā, this translation enables the worshippers to get control of him. The translation depends on the supply of the word for 'path' which is not easily available from the context, and it introduces the notion of 'ritual' control in the interpretation of *xšaθra*[7]. They take recourse to Y. 33.5 for the word for 'path'. In that case why do they neglect the very word *xšaθra* occurring there as object of *apānō* in the expression *apānō.... xšaθrəm vaŋhəuš manaŋhō* which comes very close to our passage *vohū xšaθrəm ..... apaemā*, and choose *paθō* ? Kellens-Pirart interpret *tū* of *huxšaθrastū* as a particle and not as a form of the 2nd personal pronoun because they say that, as pointed out by Renou (ÈGS P. 68 § 13), the Vedic idiom does not permit the occurrence of two enclitic pronouns (in our case *tū* and *nə̄*) following each other. What Renou, however, in fact says is that such a case is not frequent (Le cas de deux pronoms personnels atones n'est pas fréquent). There is therefore nothing wrong in interpreting *tū* occasionally as a personal pronoun when the context requires it.

FOOT NOTES :

1. Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, Wiesbaden, 1986 p. 47 (Möchten wir deine gute Herrschaft, o Weiser Herr, erlangen für alle Zeit, Möchte ein Gutherrschender, sei as Mann oder Frau, über uns herrschen in beiderlei Dasein, o Bestwirkender von denen, die es gibt).
2. Op. cit., p. 293 (Die Auswirkung der guten Herrschaft eines Menschen auf das 'geistige Dasein' der von ihm abhängigen besteht wohl darin dass sie es letzteren ermöglicht, ihr Leben als Ašahafte zu führen und so die Hoffnung haben zu Können, nach dem Tod sicher über die Brücke des Büssers 'zu gelangen).
3. *huxšaθras tū nə... xšaētā* of Y 41.2 and *aθā tū nə* .... x́yå of 41.3 are so alike that there is no reason to interpret *tū* differently in these two passage, i.e. as expletive particle in the former and as 'thou' in the latter. It is more economical to seek the explanation of the third personal form of *xšaetā* somewhere else, as done above in the text.
4. The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the other old Avestan texts, Parts I & II, Heidelberg, 1991.
5. Les Textes Vieil-Avestique, I, II, III, Wiesbaden 1988, 1990, 1991.
6. "Puissons-nous atteindre le (chemin) qui assure le divine emprise sur toi, Maitre Mazdā, pour l'éternité! Qu' un homme ou une femme à la bonne emprise (rituelle) dispose de nous dans les deux existences, ôlé plus généreux des Existants".
7. For this they refer (Vol. II. 232) to Humbach's view on the point : "It is the magical potency by which the priest makes the god favourable to him" (Die Gāthās des Zarathushtra II. 86).

(III) Pali and Prakrit

ṬĀKKĪ OR ḌHAKKĪ

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Pṛthvīdhara in the introduction to his commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* classifies the Prakrit dialects used in the play. He has referred to therein to a dialect *Ḍhakkabhāṣā* or *Ḍhakkavibhāṣā.* This is the Ṭākkī of Puruṣottama[1] and other Prakrit grammarians.[2] According to Pṛthvīdhara this dialect is spoken by Māthura and Dyūtakara in the second act of *Mṛcchakaṭika.* He also mentions some phonetic characteristics of this dialect. The semi-vowel *v* is found, according to him, many a time in this dialect, and on account of the presence of Sanskrit words it has both the dental and palatal sibilants, *s* and *ś.*[3] But Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* and Puruṣottama in his *Prākṛtānuśāsana* treat this dialect at some length. A summary of what they have to say about this dialect may be given as follows. They consider the genesis of this dialect to be in the mixture of Sanskrit and Śaurasenī.

Morphology :—The termination *-u* appears very often ; the termination of the instrumental singular is also *-eṁ.* Mārkaṇḍeya gives it without anusvāra i.e. *-e* ; the terminations for the dative and ablative plurals are *-haṁ* and *-huṁ* also ; the same terminations can be optionally used for genitive plurals ; Mārkaṇḍeya suggests that the same terminations can be used for pronouns and then the penultimate vowel is lengthened. Thus *kāhaṁ,* of whom ? *tāhaṁ,* of them, etc. ; then, *tuṅga* may be employed for *tvaṁ.* Puruṣottama alone says that *hamaṁ* may be used for *ahaṁ.* Mārkaṇḍeya on the contrary gives three forms of the first personal pronoun *ammi, huṁ, mama.* The genitive of this pronoun is given by the same author as *mahuṁ* or *mama.*

Phonology :—Sanskrit *yathā* and *tathā* become *jidha* and *tidhā*[4] in Ṭākkī according to Puruṣottama. Mārkaṇḍeya admits of these two forms and in addition gives the two regular ones *jahā* and *tahā.*

This is only to indicate the general character of the dialect. The authors clearly say that the rest is to be learnt from the usage in the writings of *śiṣṭas.*

---

1 NITTI-DOLCI, *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama,* p. 22.

2 For the acceptance of the reading Ṭākkī in favour of Ḍhakkī, cf. *JRAS,* 1913, pp. 882-3. Cf. also PISCHEL, *Gram. d. Pk-Sprachen.*

3 *Vakāraprāyā Ḍhakkavibhāṣā. Saṁskṛtaprāyatve dantyatālavyasaśakāradvaya yuktā ca.*

4 Cf. Pā. *idha* for Sk. *iha.* The Pk. forms quoted above bear the same relation to the pronominal bases *ya-, ta-* as *idha* bears to *i-.* On these forms see PISCHEL, §§ 103, 266.

The name of the dialect :—PISCHEL calls it Ḍhakkī and considers that it was spoken in Ḍhakka country in Eastern Bengal.[5] This view of PISCHEL is criticised and controverted by GRIERSON in *JRAS*. 1913, p. 882.[6] GRIERSON thinks that the dialect was spoken in the Ṭakka country of the Northern Punjab. But even this is difficult to accept at present in view of the fact that the languages spoken there now share none of its special characteristics. It is indeed very difficult to identify all the different varieties of Prakrit dialects mentioned by the grammarians inasmuch as sufficient literature representing them is not found. Only the three main Prakrit dialects, viz. Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī can be easily distinguished from one another. The sub-varieties of these share some of their characteristics and thus lie in the peripheri of these main dialects. The most important characteristic of Ṭākkī is the preservation of the distinction of two sibilants out of the original three, Sk. *ś* > *ś* and Sk. *ṣ*, *s* > *s*. This feature may be compared with European Romani *s*<*s*, *s*<*ś* and *ṣ*, and Syrian Romani *s*<*s* and

5 PISCHEL, § 25.

6 "Ṭakka or Ṭākkī is the Prakrit dialect which PISCHEL (*Pr. Gr.* § 25) calls Ḍhakkī, and which he accordingly erroneously states to be the dialect of Ḍhakka (Dacca) in Eastern Bengal. His sources of information were RT. quoted above, the India Office MS. of Mārkaṇḍeya, and Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcchakaṭika (STENZLER, p. v, and GODABOLE, p. 493). RT. names the dialect "Ṭākkī." The I. O. MS., which is very corrupt, has "śakka" (i, 4), "śakkī" (xvi, 1), and "Pāka," "Ṭṭaka" and "Ṭakka" in xviii, 12. Pṛtvīdhara, as read by STENZLER and GODABOLE, has "Ḍhakka," but GODABOLE gives "Ṭakka" as a variant reading. The printed edition of MK. gives "Ṭākkī Vibhāṣā" or "Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa." The confusion with Ḍhākkī and Śakkī is easily explained by the form which the letters take in Nāgarī ढक्की, शक्की and टक्की. The correctness of the form Ṭākkī is vouched for by Mk.'s description of it as a mixture of the speech of the Ṭakka country with the three varieties of Apabhraṁśa, all of which belong to the North-West and West, while Ḍhakka is far away in Eastern India. The name is given, not only by the printed edition of Mk., but also by RT., and by the v. l. of Pṛthvīdhara quoted by GODABOLE. Pṛthvīdhara's account of it is *la-* (or *va-*) *kāraprāyā Ṭakkavibhāṣā saṁskṛtaprāyatvē dantyatālavyasaśkāradvaya-yuktā ca*. PISCHEL, under the impression that it was an Eastern language, explained this as meaning that, as in Māgadhī Prakrit, *ra* becames *la*, and that *sa* and *śa* remain as in Sanskrit. He adds that *ṣa* becomes *sa*, but, though the statement is probably correct, the fact is not mentioned by Pṛthvīdhara. That Mk.'s Ṭākkī is the same as Pṛthvīdhara's Ḍhakka or Ṭakka is shown by the fact that both authors state that it is the language of gamblers (and, adds Mk. xvi, 1, of merchants, etc.). Mk. considers it to be a vibhāṣā, and therefore describes it at some length in his 16th *pāda*; but (xvi, 2) he states that another authority, named Hariścandra, classes it as an Apabhraṁśa, and he accordingly again refers to it under that head (xviii, 12, comm.), as quoted above. Mk. nowhere describes its phonetic peculiarities, but his examples contain both *sa* and *śa*, thus agreeing with Pṛthvīdhara. On the other hand he retains *r* and does not change it to *l*. Finally, as we have seen above, the Ṭākka and Gaurjara Aphabhraṁśas were closely connected. Gaurjara was the language of Gurjaras, who were a Western, not an Eastern people. Taking the evidence as a whole, I think that it is safe to assume that PISCHEL's Ḍhakkī should be "Ṭākkī," and that it was spoken, not in the Ḍhakka country, but in the Ṭakka country of the Northern Punjab."

ś, *s* < *ṣ*.[7] Considering the parallelism existing between these we may presume that Ṭākkī is a Romani or Gypsy dialect spoken somewhere in India, either in North-West Punjab or in Orissa.[8]

As admitted by the two Prakrit grammarians the reading of their texts cannot give us a complete idea about the nature of Ṭākkī. To gain that end one must look up to the texts making use of this dialect. Hence here is an attempt to study the dialect as it is spoken by the two characters Māthura and Dyūtakara in the second act of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

A.—PHONOLOGY.

(*a*) Vowels : The simple vowels to be met with are *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ū*. The dipthongs are *e* and *o*.

The vowel *a* comes from Sk. *a*, cf. *aha* < *atha* ; *jasaṁ* < *yaśas*. The vowel *a* comes from Sk. *ṛ*, cf. *aikasaṇaṁ* < *atikṛṣṇaṁ* ; *gahīdosi* < *gṛhīto'si*. Sk. *ā* is shortened to *a* in Ṭākkī, as in other Prākrit dialects, when it precedes a conjunct consonant. This conjunct consonant in Sk. is either simplified or assimilated in Ṭākkī, cf. *sampadaṁ* < *sāmpratam* ; *kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa*.

The vowel *ā* comes from Sk. *ā*, cf. *micchā* < *mithyā* ; *pāālaṁ* < *pātālam*. The vowel *ā* also appears when a consonant or visarga following *a* in Sk. disappears in Ṭākkī, cf. *tā* < *tat*.

The vowel *i* comes from Sk. *i*, cf. *Indaṁ* < *Indraṁ* ; *ṇāsikā* < *nāsikyā*. The vowel *i* comes from Sk. *u*, cf. *puliso* < *puruṣaḥ*. This is rather to be explained in a different fashion. It comes from the OIA form * *pūrṣa-* (< Sk. *pūruṣa-* or *purūṣa-* or *puruṣa-* and Pāli *posa*) with the insertion of the vowel *i* according to the process of epenthesis, svarabhakti). The vowel *i* also comes from Sk. *ṛ*. cf. *padiṭṭhosi* < *pradṛṣṭo'si*.

The vowel *u* comes from Sk. *u*, cf. *juttaṁ* < *yuktaṁ*. The vowel *u* comes from Sk. *ṛ*, cf. *-ppāvudo* <*-prāvṛtaḥ* ; *-vutta* < *-vṛttaḥ*. As noted in the case of the vowel *a*, Sk. *ū* is also shortened to *u* in similar circumstances, cf. *dhuttu* < *dhūrtaḥ* ; *-suṇṇu* < *śūnyaḥ*.

The vowel *ū* comes from Sk. *ū*, cf. *jūdaṁ* < *dyūtaṁ*.

The vowel *ĕ* comes from Sk. *e*, cf.[9] *ĕvvaṁ* < *evaṁ* ; *dĕulaṁ* < *devakulaṁ*. The vowel *ĕ* comes from Sk. *ṛ*, cf. *geṇha* < *gṛh-ṇā-*. The vowel *e* comes from Sk. *ay*, cf. *dhāledi* ≤ *dhārayati*. The vowel *e* comes from Sk. *ai*, cf. *śela-* < *śaila-*.

The vowel *o* comes from Sk. *o*, cf. *dosu* < *doṣaḥ*. The vowel *o* comes from Sk. *av*, cf. *bhodu* < *bhavatu*. The preceding *a* becomes *o* when the following visarga in Sk. is dropped. cf. *puṇo* < *punaḥ*.

(*b*) Consonants : The consonants, initially, are generally preserved. A complete list of all the consonants to be found initially in Ṭākkī is given below.

---

[7] R. L. TURNER, *The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, § 34, (p. 19).

[8] S. M. KATRE, Prakrit Goha, *Sardesai Comm. Vol.*, p. 174.

[9] Doubling of the following consonant *v* shows that the preceding *e* must have been pronounced as a short vowel.

k- cf. *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī.*

kh- cf. *khaṇḍiavutto* < *khaṇḍitavṛttaḥ.*

g- cf. *ganthu* < *granthaḥ.*

c- cf. *ca* < *ca.*

c- < Sk. *t-* cf. *ciṭṭha*[10] < *tiṣṭha.*

ch- cf. *chiṇṇāliāputta* < **chinnālikā-putra.*[11]

j- cf. *jajjara-* < *jarjara-.*

j- < Sk. *y-* cf. *jasaṁ* < *yaśas*; *juttam* < *yuktaṁ.*

t- cf. *taṇumajjhe* < *tanumadhye.*

d- cf. *deulu* < *devakulaṁ.*

dh- cf. *dhuttā* < *dhūrta.*

p- cf. *pāda* < *pāda.*

ph- cf. *phalaṁpi* < *phalamapi.*

bh- cf. *bhaṭṭā* < *bhartṛ-.*

m- cf. *mādaraṁ* < *mātaraṁ.*

r- cf. *ruhirapahaṁ* < *rudhirapathaṁ.*

l- < Sk. *r-* cf. *lāulaṁ* < *rājakulaṁ.*

v- cf. *vihavu* < *vibhavaḥ.*

s- cf. *suhaṁ* < *sukhaṁ.*

s- < Sk. *ś-* cf. *salaṇaṁ* < *śaraṇaṁ.*

ś- cf. *śelappaḍimā* < *śailapratimā.*

Medially the consonants are more often preserved and at times lost. They are preserved in the following examples.

-k- cf. *ṇāsikā* < **ṇāsikkā* < *nāsikyā.*

-j- cf. *vaja* < *vraja.*

-th- cf. *Māthura.*

-d- cf. *padavī* < *padavī.*

Intervocatic *-t-* is at times sonantised and changed to *-d-* cf. *mādaraṁ* < *mātaraṁ*; *vippadīva* < *vipratīpa.*

-dh- cf. *uarodho* < *uparodhaḥ.*

As noted above intervocatic *-th-* is changed to *-dh-* cf. *kadhaṁ* < *kathaṁ.*

-n- cf. *Vasantasenāgehaṁ.*

-p- cf. *ruhirapahaṁ* < *rudhirapathaṁ.*

-bh- cf. *pratyabhivādaye.*

-m- cf. *paḍimā* < *pratimā.*

-y- cf. *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī.*

-v- cf. *suvaṇṇāiṁ* < *suvarṇāni.*

Very often intervocatic *-p-* is changed to *-v-* cf. *vippadīva* < *vipratīpa*; *kulavutta*[12] < *kulaputra.*

-r- cf. *mādaraṁ* < *mātaraṁ*; *ruhira-* < *rudhira-.*

-l- < Sk. *-r-* cf. *salaṇaṁ* < *śaraṇaṁ*; *puliso* < *puruṣaḥ.*

---

10 This is according to GODABOLE's edn. STENZLER has *tiṭṭha.*

11 Cf. Paul THIEME, Über einige persische Wörter in Sanskrit, *ZDMG* 91, 121.

12 STENZLER gives *kulaputtaa* instead.

In the following examples we get *-l-* in GODABOLE's edition, whereas STENZLER gives *-r-*. The reading as found in the latter edition is given in the brackets.

jūdiala (*jūdiara*) < *dyūtakara* ; *dūlāt* (*dūrāt*) < *dūrāt* ; *ale* (*are*) < *are*. But at many other places even STENZLER gives *ale*, cf. as corresponding to GODABOLE's edition 87.1 ; 88.5 ; 89.4 ; 90.3 ; 106.1 ; 102.6 ; 103.1 ; 116.1.

-l- cf. *maṇḍalīe* < *maṇḍlyā* ; *śela* < *śaila-* etc.

-s- cf. *ṇāsikā* < *nāsikyā*.

The other two sibilants *-ś-* and *-ṣ-* are reduced to the dental one, cf. *jasaṁ* < *yaśas* ; *dosu* < *doṣaḥ* ; *samavisamaṁ* < *samaviṣamaṁ*.[13]

-ś- cf. paḍimāśunṇu < *pratimāśūnyaṁ* ; *daśa-* < *daśa-*.

It is only at one place that the dental sibilant *-s-* is changed to the palatal one, cf. *paśaru* < *prasara*. STENZLER, however, gives the reading with dental sibilant, cf. *pasaru*.

-h- cf. *maṇahara* < *manohara-*.

In the following examples the consonants are lost intervocally.

-k- cf. *jūdiara* < *dyūtakara* ; *sahiaṁ* < *sabhikaṁ*.

-g- cf. *āaccha* < *āgaccha*.

-c- cf. *maṇaharavaaṇaṁ* < *manoharavacanaṁ*.

-t- cf. *aikasaṇaṁ* < *atikṛṣṇaṁ* ; *pāālaṁ* < *pātālaṁ* ; *khaṇḍia-* < *khaṇḍita-*. This seems to be universal. There is no example where *-t-* is preserved.

-d- cf. *jai* < *yadi*.

-n- cf. *bhūdāiṁ* < *bhūtāni*.

-p- cf. *uarodha* < *uparodha* ; *niuṇu* < *nipuṇaḥ*.

-y- cf. *bhaa-* < *bhaya-* ; *iaṁ* < *iyaṁ*. This, too, seems to be followed everywhere.

In the case of intervocal aspirates, with the characteristic loss of occlusion, only the aspiration remains.

-kh- > *-h-* cf. *sukhaṁ* > *suhaṁ*.

-th- > *-h-* cf. *-pathaṁ* > *-pahaṁ* ; *atha* > *aha*.

-dh- > *-h-* cf. *rudhira* > *ruhira-* ; *adhareṇa* > *adhareṇa*.

In one case even initially *bh-* is changed to *h-* cf. *bhavatu* < *hodu*. But the importance of this singular example is marred by the numerous places where *bhodu* occurs.

Cerebrals : There are indeed few examples where a Ṭākkī cerebral corresponds to a Sanskrit cerebral ; otherwise it corresponds to a Sanskrit dental.

-ḍ- < *Sk. -ṭ- kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa* ; *-paḍa-* < *paṭa-*.

-n- salaṇaṁ < *śaraṇaṁ*.

-ṇ- < *-n-* cf. *ṇāma* < *nāma* ; *ṇiuṇu* < *nipuṇaḥ*, etc. *taṇumajjhe* < *tanumadhye* ; *ahuṇā* < *adhunā*.

The process of assimilation found in the pre-Prākrit period is carried further in all the Prākrits including Ṭākkī. A dental is palatalised or cerebra-

---

[13] STENZLER gives *śamaviśamaṁ*.

lised when it comes into contact with a palatal semi-vowel or a cerebral one respectively.

Palatalization :

dyūta > *jūda* (through **jyūta*).

mithyā > *micchā* (through **michyā*).

-madhye > *-majjhe* (through **majhye*).

Cerebralisation :

pratimā > *paḍimā*.

This tendency to cerebralise a dental after *r* is not widely noticed in *Ṭākkī*. There are many examples where the dental following *r* is kept in tact. Cf. *-ppāvudo* < *-prāvṛtaḥ* ; *-vutto* < *-vṛttaḥ* ; *vippadīva* < *vipratīpa*.

Conjunct consonants : like the single consonants, these also can be treated in two ways, initially and medially. These two again divide themselves in homorganic and heterorganic groups. According to the general principle of MIA assimilation, in homorganic groups the second prevails and in heterorganic groups the stronger of the two prevails. There are no examples where homorganic conjuncts come initially. The examples for heterorganic are :

Sk. *skhalan* > *khalantaā*.

Sk. *pratimā* > *paḍimā* ; *prasara* > *paśaru*, etc.

MEDIAL CONJUNCTS : (*a*) HOMORGANIC GROUPS :

Sk. *-cch-* > *-chh-* cf. *gacchasi*.

Sk. *-tt-* > *-tt-* cf. *-vuttosi* < *vṛttośi*.

Sk. *-kt-* > *-tt-* cf. *juttaṁ* < *yuktaṁ*.

Sk. *-bdh-* > *-ddh-* cf. *laddhu* < *labdhaḥ*.

(*b*) HETERORGANIC GROUPS :

1. Consonant groups with a semi-vowel.

   Sk. *-thy-* > *-cch-* cf. *micchā* < *mithyā*.

   Sk. *-dhy-* > *-jjh-* cf. *taṇumajjhe* < *tanumadhye*.

   Sk. *-kr-* >*-kk-* cf. *vikkiṇia* < *vi* + *krī-*.

   Sk. *-rj-* > *-jj-* cf. *jajjara-* < *jarjara-*.

   Sk. *-tr-* > *-tt-* cf. *-putta* < *-putra* ; *aṇṇatta* < *anytra*.

   Sk. *-rt-* > *-tt-* cf. *dhutta* < *dhūrta*.

   Sk. *-dr-* > *-dd-* cf. *ruddo* < *rudraḥ*.

   Sk. *-rd-* > *-dd-* *Daddura* < *Dardura*.

   Sk. *-pr-* > *-pp-* *vippadīva* < *vipratīpa* ; *ppaḍimā* < *-pratimā*.

In all these examples one fact clearly stands out, that the semivowel is dropped. In the first two examples the dentals *th* and *dh* have changed to corresponding palatals *ch* and *jh* (cf. the assimilation of dentals to palatals and cerebrals above).

2. Consonant groups with a sibilant.

   Sk. *-kṣ-* > *-kkh-* *kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa*.

   Sk. *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭṭh-* *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī*.

   Sk. *-ṣṭ-* > *-ṭṭh-* *duṭṭha* < *duṣṭa* ; *muṭṭhi* < *muṣṭi*.

   Sk. *-st-* > *-tth-* *ṇatthi* < *nāsti*.

As in the case of semi-vowels, the sibilants too are dropped in such conjuncts. But here the outgoing sibilant leaves its trace by aspirating the simple consonant in the cluster.

3. Consonant groups with a nasal.

Sk. *-ṇḍ-* > *-ṇḍ- maṇḍalie* < *maṇḍalyā.*

Sk. *-ṁv-* < *ṁv- saṁvāhaā* < *saṁvāhaka.*

Sk. *-ṅg-* > *-ṅg- -aṅgaā* < *aṅgaka.*

Sk. *-mbh-* > *-mbh- -vippalambhaā* < *-vipralambhaka.*

Sk. *-nt-* > *-nt- Vasantasenā-* < *Vasantasenā-.*

In all these cases the conjunct is kept in tact. But in a case where, unlike the examples cited above, a consonant precedes and a nasal follows the latter is assimilattd to the former. Cf. Sk. *-gn-* > *-gg- bhaggā* < *bhagnā.* Sk. *-kn-* > *-kk- mukke* < **muk-na.*[14]

4. Groups of nasals and semi-vowels.

Sk. *-ny-* > *-ṇṇ-* cf. *-śuṇṇu* < *-śūnya ;anysya* > *aṇṇassa.*

Sk. *-rṇ-* > *-ṇṇ-* cf. *suvaṇṇa* < *suvarṇa.*

In both[15] the cases the semi-vowel is dropped, the remaining nasal is uttered with force, and as noted above the dental *n* is changed to cerebral *ṇ*.

5. Groups of two semi-vowels.

Sk. *-ly-* > *-ll- kallavattaṁ* < *kalyavartaṁ.*

Sk. *-rv-* > *-vv- savvaṁ* < *sarvaṁ.*

6. Groups of sibilant and semi-vowel.

Sk. *-ṣy-* > *-ss- gamissadi* < *gamiṣyati.*

Sk. *-sy-* > *-ss- aṇṇassa* < *anyasya.*

The semi-vowel being weaker of the two is lost.

7. Groups of more than two elements.

Sk. *-ṣkr-* > *-kk- ṇikkamia* < *nis* + √*kram-.*

Sk. *-ndr-* > *-nd- Indaṁ* < *Indraṁ.*

Sk. *-mpr-* > *-mp- sampadaṁ* < *sāmprataṁ.*

8. There is a single example where the conjunct is retained initially and medially. The word is bodily incorporated from Sanskrit. Cf. *pratyabhivādaye.*

9. Nasalisation. There are two examples where the conjunct is first simplified and then a nasal is added to it. Cf. *jampasi* < Sk. *jalpasi* ; *ādaṁsāmi* < *ā-darśayāmi.*

B.—Morphology.

(*a*) Nouns :

1. Masculine nouns ending in *-a.*

Terminations.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *-u* ; *-o* ; *-e.*	*-ā.*
acc. *-aṁ.*	
inst. *-eṇa.*	*-ehiṁ.*

[14] See Pischel, § 566.

[15] For *maṇahara* in Godabole, Stenzler gives *mammaṇa* < *marmaṇa.*

Sing.	Plu.
gen. *-assa.*	
loc. *- e.*	
voc. *-ā ; -a.*	

Examples.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *dhuttu, niuṇu, dosu ; goho, dhutto, ruddo ; gohe, laddhe.*	*kalahāvidā.*
acc. *kulavuttaṁ, sahiaṁ.*	
inst. *kaḍakkheṇa, ahareṇa.*	*pādehiṁ, vippadīvehiṁ.*
gen. *jūdiarassa.*	
loc. *pade.*	
voc. *dhuttā* or *dhuttaā, duṭṭha.*	

2. Neuter nouns ending in-*a.*

Terminations.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *-aṁ ; -u ; -e.*	*-im.*
acc. *-aṁ.*	
gen. *-āha.*	

Examples.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *sukhaṁ, jūdaṁ ; deulu ; suvaṇṇu ; mukke (addhaṁ).*	*bhūdāiṁ, suvaṇṇāiṁ.*
acc. *deulaṁ, -vaaṇam, pāālaṁ.*	
gen. *daśasuvaṇṇāha.*	

3. Feminine nouns ending in *-ā.*

Terminations.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *-ā.*	
voc. *-e.*	

Examples.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *paḍimā, ṇāsikā.*	
voc. *taṇumajjhe.*	

4. Feminine nouns ending in *-ī.*

Terminations.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *-ī.*	
inst. *-īe.*	

Examples.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *padavī, kaṭṭhamayī.*	
inst. *-maṇḍalīe.*	

5. Nouns ending in *ṛ.*

All such nouns are modified to *-a* base and are then declined like those ending in *-a*. Cf. acc. sing. *mādaraṁ*, *pidaraṁ*. voc. sing. *bhaṭṭā*.

6. Present participles.

The present participle in *-a* has the endings of a noun in *-a*, cf. nom. sing. *akkhanto* ; voc. sing. *kalantaā*.

The present participle in *-ī* is declined like the corresponding noun. Cf. *āloantī*.

(*b*) The Pronouns :

(1) The first personal pronoun has the following forms :—

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *ahaṁ*.	*amhe*.
inst. *mae* (found in STENZLER's edn. only).	
gen. *mama*, *mae*, *me*.	

(2) The second personal pronoun has the following forms :—

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *tumaṁ*, *tuhaṁ*.	
inst. *tue*.	
gen. *tuha*, *tue*.	

(3) The third personal pron. has the following forms.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. *so*.	
acc. *taṁ*.	
gen. *tassa*.	

(4) The demonstrative pronouns : *etad*, *idam*.

i. *etad*—nom. sing. masc. *esu*, *esa*, *eso*.

ii. *idaṁ*—nom. sing. mac. *aaṁ*. nom. sing. fem. *iaṁ*.

(5) The interrogative pronoun : *kiṁ*.

nom. sing. masc. *ko*.

gen. sing. masc. *kaśśa*, *kassa*.

nom. sing. neut. *kiṁ*.

(6) Numerals : *eka*.

acc. sing. mas. *ekkaṁ*.

(7) Ordinary pronouns.

acc. sing. *savvaṁ*.

(*c*) The Verb :

(1) *Present tense*.

Terminations.

Sing.	Plu.
1 per. *-mi* (parasmaipada).	*-mha*.
-e (atmanepada).	
2 per. *-si*.	
3 per. *-di*, *-i*.	

Examples.

Sing. Plu.

1 per *bibhēmi, ādaṁsāmi* (par.)
pratyabhivādayē (atm.) *aṇusare-mha, kile-mha.*

2 per. gacchāsi, jampa-si,
vajja-si.

3 per. *vajja-di, jiṇā-di, dhāle-di* ;
tara-i.

The third person singular of the root √ *as* is derived directly from the Sk. Thus *asti* > *atthi.*

(2) *Imperfect.*

There is only one example *āsi* (< *āsīt*) third sing.

(3) *Future.*

First per. sing. atm. *-ssaṁ*, cf. *pekkhi-ssaṁ.*
Sec. per. sing. par. *-hasi*, cf. *pāvi-hasi.*
Third per. sing. par. *-ssadi*, cf. *gami-ssadi.*

(4) *Imperative mood.*

The terminations for the sec. per. sing.—i. nil, cf. *paaccha, āaccha, geṇha.* ii. *-hi*, cf. *de-hi, e-hi.*

The termination for the sec. per. plu. *-ta* (par.), cf. *paśśata.*

The termination for the sec. per. plu. *-ha* (atm.), cf. *ramaha.*

The termination for the third per. sing. *-du*, cf. *bhodu.*

(5) *Present participle.*

The distinction between Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada is lost in the formation of Present Participles. The termination for their formation is *-nta*, cf. *khalantaā, kalantaā, akkhanto.*

The feminine form is made by the addition of the vowel *-ī* in the end. Cf. *āloantī.*

(6) *Past Passive Participle.*

These are the assimilated forms of Sanskrit Past Passive Participles. Cf. *padiṭṭha* < *pradṛṣṭa* ; *paṇaṭṭā* ;< *pranaṣṭā* ; *avakkanta* < *apakrānta* ; *ghīda* < *gṛhīta* ; *laddha* < *labdha.*

There are two forms *mukke*[16] and *papalīṇu*[17] which do not come directly from their Sanskrit corresponding forms *mukta* and *prapalāyita.* The *Ṭākkī* forms are made by the addition of the termination *-na* and not *-ta.*

(7) *Infinitives.*

The termination for their formation is *-duṁ*, cf. *rakkhi-duṁ, pampi-duṁ. jampi-duṁ.*

(8) *Absolutives.*

There are two terminations for the formation of Absolutives. These are *-ua* < Sk. *-tvā* and *-ia* < Sk. *-ya* or *-tya.* Cf. *gadua* ; *ṇikkamia, vikkiṇia, vajjia*

---

16 PISCHEL § 566.
17 PISCHEL § 567.

(d) Indeclinables.

i. Conjunction : *ca.*
ii. Interrogation : *kahiṁ, tatkiṁ.*
iii. Interjection : *are, ale.*
iv. Negation : *ṇa.*
v. Emphasis : *ṇaṁ, ṇāma, hu, jjeva.*
vi. Manner : *evvaṁ.*
vii. Time : *sampadaṁ, tā, ahuṇā, jāvaccia, tāvaccia.*
viii. Place : *ehiṁ, aṇṇatta.*
ix. Conditional : *jai, aha.*

INDEX OF ṬĀKKĪ WORDS FOUND IN *Mṛcchakaṭika.**

aaṁ (mas.) 99.6.9, Sk. Pā. *ayaṁ.*

iaṁ (fem.) 85.8, Sk. Pā. *iyaṁ.*

aṇṇatta 107.1 ; 115.2, Sk. *anyatra,* Pā. *aññattha.*

aṇṇa- gen. sg. *-ssa* 101.6, Sk. *anya-,* Pā. *añña-.*

aha 101.4, Sk. Pā. *atha,* Ś. Pk. *adha.*

ahaṁ. nom. sg. first per. pron. 92.5, 6 ; 101.5, 6, Sk. Pā. *ahaṁ.*

Amhe nom. pl. 106.2, Ved. Sk. *asme,* Cl. Sk. *vayaṁ,* Pā. *mayaṁ,* Pk. *amha-.*
mae 100.6 (S. *mama*), or *mama* 88.1,2 ; 115.2 (Ṡ. *me*) gen. sg. first per. pron. Sk. Pā. *mama.*

ahara- inst. sg. *-eṇa* 114.9, Sk. Pā. *adhara-.*

avakkanta nom. sg. *-o* 106.3, Sk. *apakrānta-,* Pā. *apakkanta-.*

appāṇa- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 93.6, Sk. *ātman-,* Pā. *attā-* Pk. *appa-, appāṇa-.*

aikasaṇa- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 85.7, Sk. *atikṛṣṇa-,* Pā. *atikaṇha-,* Pk. *ai-kasaṇa-, ai-kaṇha-.*

√*as-* third sg. pre. indic. *atthi* 115.5, Sk. *asti,* Pā. Pk. *atthi.* Cf. *ṇatthi* 115.2, Sk. *nāsti,* Pā. *natthi.* Third sg. imperfect *āsi* 106.5, Sk. *āsīt,* Pā. *āsi,* Pk. *āsi, āsī.*

√*aṇusara-* first pl. pre-indi. *-emha* 86.4; 106.5, Sk. √*anu-sṛ-,* Pā. √*anusara-.*

ahuṇā 89.2, Sk. Pā. *adhunā.*

ale 84.4 ; 86.1 ; 87.1 ; 88.5 ; 89.4 ; 93.3 ; 102.6 ; 103.1 ; 106.1; 116.1, Sk. Pā. *are,* Mg. *ale.* Also cf. *le* 85.5 (S. *re*) Sk. Pā. *re.*

amhe see under *ahaṁ.*

√*gaccha-* sec. sg. pre. indi *-si* 92.1, Sk. Pā. √*gacch-;* sec. sg. imperative *āaccha* 116.2, Sk. Pā. *ā*√*gacch-* ; thir. sg. future *gamissadi* 107.1, Sk. *gamiṣyati,* Pā. *gamissati,* Pk. *gañchai* Absolutive *gadua* 106.8, Sk. *gatvā,* Pā. *gantvā,* Mg. *gaḍua, gadua.*

akkhanta- nom. sg. *-o,* 101.4. False reading for *ācakkhanto* Pischell § 88 (p. 76) Sk. *ā*-√*cakṣ-,* Pā. *ā*√*cikkha-.*

ādaṁsa- first sing. pre. indi. *-ā-mi* 101.6, Sk. *ā*√*dṛś-,* Pā. *ā*-√*dassa-.*

āloanta- nom. sg. pre. part. fem. *-ī* 115.1, Sk. *ā-lokayanta-,* Pā. *ā-lokenta-.*

---

* The references are to GODABOLE's edition. The variant readings from STENZLER's edition are given in brackets with S.

āsi see under √*as*-.
iaṁ see under *aaṁ*.
Inda- acc. sing. -*aṁ* 85.2, Sk. *Indra*-, Pā. *Inda*-.
ido 107.1, Sk. *itaḥ*, Pā. *ito*, Pk. *io*.
uarodha- inst. sing. -*eṇa* + *eva* 107.2, Sk. Pā. *uparodha*-, Pk. *uparoha*-, *uaroha*-.
ucchādida- nom. sing. -*o* 113.1, 114.1, Sk. *utsādita*-.
ekka- acc. sing. -*aṁ* 85.3, Sk. Pā. *eka*-, Pk. *eka*-, *ekka*-, *ega*-.
evvaṁ 86.5, 87.2, 90.6, 91.3, 101.4, 102.3, 103.7, Sk. Pā. *evaṁ*, Pk. *evaṁ*,*evvaṁ*.
etad- nom. sing. masc. *esa* 107.1, *esu* 89.7, 100.6, 103.5, *eso* 85.9 Sk. *eṣaḥ*, Pā. *eso*, Amg. *ese*, *eso*, Mg. *eśe*, Ap. *ehŏ*, *ehu*. Cf. PISCHEL § 426 (p. 301). *tad*- nom. sing. mas. *so* 106.3, 6. Sk. *saḥ*, Pā. *so*. gen. sing. mas. *tassa* 106.4, 115.5. Sk. *tasya*, Pā. tassa. acc. sing. neut. *taṁ* 88.6, 92.1, 6, 102.6, 116.1. Sk. *tat*, Pā. *taṁ*. Also cf. *tatkiṁ* 100.10. Sk. *tat-kiṁ*.
e-hi 87.2, 106.5, Sk. *e-hi*, Pā. *e-hi*.
Ehiṁ 92.5, Sk. *asmin*, 61.4 OI-A **esmin*.
kaṭṭhamayī 86.7, Sk. *kāṣṭhamayī*, Pā. *kaṭṭhamayī*.
kaḍakkha- inst. sing. -*eṇa* 115.1, Sk. *kaṭākṣa*-.
kadhaṁ 86.7, Sk. Pā. *kathaṁ*, Pk. *kahaṁ*, Ś. Mg. *kadhaṁ*.
kalanta- voc. sing. -*ā* 85.7, Sk. *kurvat*-, Pā. *karonta*-, Pk. *karanta*-, *karinta*-, *karenta*-.
kalahāvida- nom. pl. masc. -*ā* 106.2 < Sk. **kalahāpayita*-, Pk. *kalahāia*- < Sk. *kalahāyita*.
kallavatta- nom. sing. -*u* 100.6, Sk. *kalyavarta*-, acc. sing. -*aṁ* 99.10.
kiṁ- nom. sing. masc. *ko* 91.3, Sk. *kaṃ*, Pā. *ko*, Amg. Mg. *ke*, gen. sing. masc. *kaśśa* (S. *kassa*) 114.9, Sk. *kasya*, Pā. Pk. *kassa*, nom. (acc.) sing. neut. *kiṁ* 115.5, Sk. Pā. *kiṁ*.
kahiṁ 85.4 ; 92.1, < Sk. *kasmin*, Pk. *kahi-ṁ*.
√*kīla*- first plu. pres. indi. -*emha* 87.2 (S. *kīlemha*), Sk. √*krīḍ*- Pā. √*kīḷa*-, Pk. √*kiḍḍa*-, √*kīla*-.
kula- acc. sing. -*aṁ* 85.7, Sk. Pā. *kula*-. Cf. *kula-vutta*- acc. sing. -*aṁ*. 116.1 (S. *kula-puttaaṁ*) Sk. *kula-putra*-, Pā. Pk. *kula-putta*-.
√*kala*- sec. sing. imperative. *kulu* 93.3, Sk. *kuru*, Pā. *karohi*, Pk. *karehi*.
ko see under *kiṁ*.
khaṇḍia-vutta- nom. sing. -*o* 101.6-7, 101.9, Sk. *khaṇḍita-vṛtta*-.
√*khal*- voc. sing. pre. part. *khalantaā* 85.6, Sk. √*skhal*-, Pā. √*khal*-.
gacchasi see under √*gacch*- above.
ganthu 93.3, Sk. *grantha*-, something to cover, to bind.
gadua see under √*gacch*- above.
gamissadi see under √*gacch*- above.
√*geṇha*- first plu. pres. indi. -*emha* 107.2, Sk. √*gṛhṇā*, Pā. √*gaṇhā*-, sec. sing. imperative *geṇha* 84.5, third sing. ppp. *gahīda*- 88.5 (S. *gṛhīda*-), Sk. *gṛhīta*-, Pā. *gahīta*-.
gosāviāputta 102.3, < Sk. *gosvāmikā-putra*.

goha- nom. sing. *-e*, 88.4, or *-o*, 106.3, Pk. *goha*. On this word see WÜST, *BSOS* 8, 856, THIEME *ZDMG* 91, 115 ff., KATRE Prakrit *goha*, *Saradesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 173-176.

ca 85.2, Sk. Pā. Pk. *ca*.

ciṭṭha 84.5 (S. *tiṣṭha*), Sk. *tiṣṭha*, Pā. *tiṭṭha*.

chiṇāliā-puttaa 103.1 (S. *chiṇṇāliā-putta*), Pk. *chiṇṇālia-* or *chiṇṇālī-*. See THIEME Über einige Persische Wörter im Sanskrit, *ZDMG* 91, 121.

jai 85.2, Sk. Pā. *yadi*.

jajjarapaḍa-ppāvuḍa- nom. sing. *-o* 99.9, Sk. *jarjarapaṭaprāvṛta-*.

√*jampa*, sec. sg. pre. indi. *-si* 115.1, Sk. √*jalp-*, Pā. √*jappa-*, √*jampa-*. infinitive *-duṁ* 101.4.

jasa- acc. sing. *-ṁ* 85.7, Sk. *yaśas-*, Pā. *yasa-*.

jāvaccia 106.2, Sk. *yāvat-* + * *cida*. On this last see B. SCHWARTZ, Prakrit *cia*, *NIA* 2, Sept. 1939, p. 420.

jā- sec. sg. pre. indi. *-si* 85.2, Sk. Pā. *yā-*.

√*jiṇa-* third sg. pre. indi. *-di* 101.2, Sk. √*ji-*, Pā. √*jaya-*.

juttaṁ 101.4, Sk. *yuktaṁ*, Pā. *yuttaṁ*.

jūa- or *jūda-* acc. sing. *-aṁ* 101.5 and 87.2 ; 102.3 ; 116.2, Sk. *dyūta-*, Pā. *jūta-*.

jūdiara- nom. sg. *-u* 86.2 (S. *jūdiaru*), Sk. *dyūtakara-*, Pā. *jūtakara-*, also cf. *jūdikaru* 84.4 (S. *jūdiaru*). gen. sg. *-ssa* 106.4. Also cf. *-mandalie* 89.7 (S. *jūdialamaṇḍalie*).

jjēva 102.3, Sk. *eva-*

ṇa 85.3 ; 87.1 ; 88.2 ; 92.5 ; 101.2, 4, 6. Sk. Pā. *na*.

ṇaṁ 89.4, 95.3 ; 102.3. Sk. Pā. *nanu*.

ṇatthi see under *atthi* above.

ṇāma 101.6, Sk. *nāma*, Pā. *ṇāma*.

ṇāsikā 106.4, Sk. *nāsikyā*, Pā. *nāsikā*.

ṇiuṇa- nom. sg. *-u* 92.5, Sk. Pā. *nipuṇa*.

ṇi√*kkama-* absolutive *-ia* 107.1 Sk. *nis-*√*kram-*, Pā. *ni-*√*kkama-*.

ṇi√*veda-* first pl. pres. indi. *-(e)mha* 106.8, Sk. *ni-*√*vid-*, Pā. *ni-*√*veda*.

taṁ see above under *tad-*.

tatkiṁ see above under *tad-*.

taṇumajjhā- voc. sing. *-e* 114.9 Sk. *tanumadhyā-*.

√*tara-* third sg. pre. ind. *-i* 85.3, Sk. √*tṛ-*, Pā. √*tara-*.

tassa see above under *tad* .

tā 86.4 ; 92.6 ; 106.5 ; 107.2. Sk. *tataḥ*, Pā. *tato*. More probably Sk. *tadā* > **taā* > *tā* meaning "then, afterwards, at that time or moment."

tāvaccia 106.3. Sk. *tāvat* + **cida*. See *jāvaccia*.

tumaṁ 89.7 (S. *tuhaṁ*) nom. sing. 2nd per. pron. Sk. *tvaṁ*, Pā. *tvaṁ*, *tuvaṁ*. gen. sing. *tue* 100.6 ; 116.2 (S. *tuha*); 102.3 (S. *mae*), *tuha* 114.6 ; *tuhaṁ* 100.4 ; 101.7, 9 ; 114.9. Sk. Pā. *tava*.

Daddura- inst. sing. *-eṇa* 106.2, Sk. *Dardura-*.

daśa 99.6 (S. *daśa-*) Sk. *daśa*, Pā. *dasa*. *-suvaṇṇa-* acc. sing. *-aṁ* 88.6 ; 92.1 ; 99.9 ; 102.6 ; 115.5. nom. sing. *-u* 100.6 gen. sing. *-āha* 84.4 (S.

daśasuvaṇāha). Sk. *daśa-suvarṇa-*, Pā. *dasa-suvaṇṇa-*.

√*dā-* 2nd sing. imperative *dāpaya* 97.10 (S. *dāpaa*), Sk. *dāpaya*.

√*de-* 2nd sing. imperative *-hi* 95.2 ; 106.1. Sk. √*dad-*.

√*paaccha-* 2nd sing. imperative *paaccha* 88.5 ; 89.4, 2 ; 92.6, 1 ; 93.2, 4, 6 ; 101.5 ; 102.6 < Sk. *prayaccha*.

duṭṭha 103.1. Sk. *duṣṭa*, Pā. *duṭṭha*.

dūlāt 84.5 (S. *dūrāt*) Sk. *dūrāt*, Pā. *dūrā*.

deula- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 86.3, nom. sg. *-u* 86.2, Sk. *deva-kula-*.

dosa- nom. sg. *-u* 91.3. Sk. *doṣa-*, Pa. *dosa-*.

√*dhāla-* 3rd sg. pre. indi. *-di* 99.6 ; 111.5 ; Sk. √*dhṛ-*, Pā. √*dhāra-*.

dhutta- nom. sig. *-u* 86.2 ; 92.5 ; 101.5 ; or *-o* 107.1. Sk. *dhūrta*, Pā. *dhutta-*, voc. sg. *-ā* 101.5, 6 ; *dhuttijjāmi* 92.6, denom. of Sk. *dhūrta*, **dhūrtīyā-mi*.

paḍimā 86.7. Sk. *pratimā*, Pā. *paṭimā*, *-śuṇṇa-* nom. sg. *-u* 86.2 (S. *śuṇu*), Sk. *-śūnya-*, Pā. *-suñña-*.

paḍissudia (only STENZLER p. 35. 6), Sk. *prati-*śrutya*.

paṇaṭṭā 85.8, Sk. *pranaṣṭā*, Pā. *panaṭṭhā*.

padavī 85.9. Sk. Pā. *padavī*.

padiṭṭha- nom. sg. *-o* 84.5 (S. *pradṛṣṭosi*), Sk. *pradṛṣṭa-*, Pā. *padiṭṭha-*.

pada- loc. sg. *-e* 85.6. Sk. Pā. *pada-*.

√*pala-* 2nd sg. pre. indi. *-si* 85.5, Sk. Pā. √*pal-*, nom. sg. ppp. *papalīṇu* 84.4, 5 [= Sk. *prapalāyitaḥ*]. Cf. Mar. *paḷ-ṇē* ; Pk. *palaï* < **palei* whence ppp. **pa-līṇa-*.

paviṭṭa- nom. sg. *-o* 106.6 Sk. *praviṣṭa-*, Pā. *paviṭṭha-*.

paviṭṭha- nom. sg. *-u* 86.3. See above for Sk. and Pā. forms.

paśaru 93.8 (S. *paśaru*) Sk. *prasara*, Pā. *pasara* ; the *-u* seems to be due to contamination with nom. sg. forms, cf. Sk. *prasṛtaḥ* > **pa-saru* or **pasaḍu*, **pasau*.

pāāla- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 85.2, Sk. Pā. *pātāla-*.

pāṭha- nom. sg. *-e* 88.1, 2.

pāda- nom. sg. *-u* 86.1, Sk. Pā. *pāda*. The actual reading in GODABOLE's edn. is *pādū* ; but that seems to be wrong. inst. plu. *-ehiṁ* 86.3.

√*pāva-* fut. sec. sg. *-hasi* 103.2 (S. *pābihasi*), Sk. *pra-*√*āp-*, Pā. √*pāpuṇa*.

pidara- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 93.2. Sk. *pitṛ-*, Pā. *pitara-*.

pi 101.5. Sk. Pā. *api*, Pk. *vi*, *avi*. Cf. *vi* 85.3 ; 101.6 (S. *bi*).

puṇo 116.2, Sk. *punaḥ*, Pā. *puna* (*r* before a vowel), *puno*.

pulisa nom. sg. *-o* 99.9 Sk. *puruṣa-*, Pā. *purisa*, *posa-* <OIA**pūrṣa*.

√*pekkha-* 1st sg. fut. *-ssaṁ* 103.5, 7. Sk. *pra-* √*īkṣ-*, Pā. √*pekkha-*.

pedaṇḍa- voc. sg. *-ā* 88.5, 92.6. Sk. *pretāṇḍa-* according to THIEME, *ZDMG* 91, 120 footnote, and = *lupta-daṇḍa-* of the comm. and *chāyā*. May not the first element *pe* be due to Persian influence, cf. Pers. *be-* ?

pratyabhivādaye 99.4. This is a direct borrowing from Sanskrit.

phala- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 103.1. Sk. Pā. *phala-*.

baddha- nom. sg. *-o* 89.7. Sk. Pā. *baddha-*.

bibhemi 101.6. Sk. *bibhemi*.

bhaa-pali-vevidaṅga- voc. sg. *-ā* 85.5 (S. *bhaapalivebi-*), Sk. *bhaya-parivepitāṅgaka-*.

bhaṭṭa- voc. sg. *-ā* 84.4 ; 99.8 ; 100.6 ; 106.2, 6 (S. *bhaddā*), Sk. *bhartṛ*.

bhaggā 106.5, Sk. *bhagnā*, Pā. *bhaggā*.

√*bhaṇa-* 3rd sg. pre. indi. *-di* 99.10, Sk. √*bhaṇ-*, Pā. √*bhaṇa-*, 2nd sg. pre-indi. *-si* (*-śi*) 116.1 (S. *bhaṇesi*).

bhūda- nom. sg. neu. *-aṁ* 116.1. Sk. Pā. *bhūta-*, nom. pl. neu. *-iṁ*.

√*bho-* 3rd sg. imperative *-du* 86.5 ; 87.2 ; 90.6 ; 91.3 ; 100.10. Sk. √*bhū-*, Pā. Pk. √*ho-*, also cf. *ho-du* 114.6 < Sk. *bhava-tu*.

mae. See under *ahaṁ*.

maṇahara-vaaṇa- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 115.1 (S. *mammaṇa-*). Sk. *manohara-vacana-*.

Māthura- nom. sg. *-u* 92.5 ; 101.5. Sk. *Māthura-*.

mādara- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 93.4, Sk. *mātṛ-*, Pā. *mātara-*.

micchā- 101.5, Sk. *mithyā*, Pā. *micchā*.

mukka- nom. sig. neu. *-e* 91.5, 7. Sk. *mukta-*, Pā. *mutta-*. The double *-kk-* shows the OI-A form to be **muk-na*.

muṭṭhippahāra- inst. sg. *-eṇa* 106.4, Sk. *muṣṭiprahāra-*, Pā. *muṭṭhippahāra-*.

mūsida- nom. sig. ppp. *-o* 113.1, 114.1. Sk. *mūṣita-*, Pā. *mūsita-*.

√*rakkha-* infinitive *-tuṁ* 85.3. Sk. √*rakṣ-*, Pā. √*rakkha-*.

radadaṭṭaduvviṇīda- inst. sing. *eṇa* 114.9 (S. *raidaṭṭha-*) Sk. *rata-daṣṭa-durvinīta-*.

√*rama-* sec. pr. imperative *-ha* 116.2. Sk. √*ram-*

Rudda- nom. sg. *-o* 85.3. Sk. *Rudra-*, Pā. *Rudda-*.

ruhirapaha- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 106.5, Sk. *rudhirapatha-*.

laddha- nom. sg. masc. *-u* 84.4 (S. *luddhu*), *-e* 88.4. Sk. *labdha-*, Pā. *laddha-*.

lāula- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 106.8, Sk. Pā. *rājakula-*.

le see under *ale* above.

√*vaja-* 2nd sg. pre. indi. *-si* 85.2. Sk. √*vraj-*. 3rd sg. pre. indi. *-di* 85.8. 2nd sg. imperative no termination.

√*vajja-* absolutive *-ia* 85.3. Sk. √*varj-*.

Vasantasenāgehaṁ 106.6.

vi see under *pi* above.

√*vikkiṇa-* absolutive *-ia* 93.2, 2, 4, 6. Sk. *vi-*√*krī-*.

vippadīva- nom. sg. *-u* 86.1, *vipratīpa-*. Pā. *vippaṭīpa-*. inst. pl. *-ehiṁ* 86.2 (S. *vippadībehiṁ*)

vihava- nom. sg. *-u* 100.7, *-o* 115.2. Sk. Pā. *vibhava-*.

śelappaḍimā 87.1. Sk. *śaila-pratimā*, Pā. *selappaṭimā*.

sampadaṁ 85.2 ; 89.4 ; 92.7, Sk. *sāmprataṁ*.

samavisamaṁ 85.6 (S. *śamaviśamaṁ*), Sk. *samaviśamaṁ*, Pā. *samavismaṁ*.

salaṇaṁ 85.2, Sk. *śaraṇaṁ*, Pā. *saraṇaṁ*.

Saṁvāhaā 102.6, Sk. *Saṁvāhaka*.

sahia- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 85.3, *Sk. sabhika-*, Pā. *sahia-*.

suvaṇṇa- acc. sg. *-aṁ* 91.6 ; 92.6, Sk. *suvarṇa-*. Pā. *suvaṇṇa-*, acc. pl. *-im* 106-7.

susahiavippalambha- voc. sg. *-ā* 84.5. Sk. *susabhikavipralambhaka-*.
suhaṁ 114.6, Sk. Pā. *sukhaṁ*.
sevida- nom. sg. neu. *-aṁ* 102.4. Sk. Pā. *sevita-*.
so see under *tad-* above.
hu 87.1 ; 88.2 ; 89.7. Sk. *khalu*, Pā. *kho*.
hodu see under *bho-* above.

[I am indebted to Professor S. M. KATRE for giving me this interesting topic for investigation and for substantially helping me throughout with books, papers and suggestions.]

A FURTHER NOTE ON ṬĀKKĪ

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Dr. S. M. KATRE was kind enough to point out to me a very small Kaḍavaka from *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* which, according to its author, is written in Ḍhakka-bhāṣā. The Kaḍavaka occurs in the 103rd Saṁdhi of the *Purāṇa*. The passage is a very small one consisting of barely nine lines and is full of proper names of Yādavas. Hence the passage does not afford to us any great opportunity to study the dialect in which it is written.

We find the following vowels in this dialect : *a, ā, i, ī, u, e* and *o*. The consonants in their initial position are generally preserved. In the medial position they are either preserved or lost. There are some cases in which the loss of occlusion in medial aspirates is found. At times the medial surds are sonantised. The laws of palatalisation and cerebralisation are also at work. There is not a single dental *n* in the whole Kaḍavaka ; everywhere it is cerebralised into *ṇ*. The liquid *r* is never changed to *l*. In this respect the present dialect at once differs from the Ṭākkī found in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. There is also one more salient aspect in which the present dialect is at variance with the one in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In the dialect of this Kaḍavaka all the three sibilants *s, ś, ṣ*, are reduced to the single dental sibilant *s*. In this respect this dialect is not in conformity with the European and Syrian Romani where we find two sibilants *s* and *ś* as in the Ṭākkī of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

There is nothing very particular to be noted in Morphology. The nom. sg. of mas. nouns in *-a* ends in *-u*. The masculine nouns in *-i* and *-u* are brought over to the *-a* type so that in the gen. sg. of all these nouns we get the termination *-ssa*. In a solitary case we find the termination *-hiṁ* for the gen. sg. instead of *-ssa*, e.g. *Subhāṇu-hiṁ*. Mārkaṇḍeya while describing the characteristics of Ṭākkī gives *-haṁ* and *-huṁ* as the optional terminations for the gen. plu. He is silent as regards the terminations for gen. sg. We do not find this termination *-hiṁ* in Ṭākkī of *Mṛcchakaṭika* either.

As regards conjugation we get only a few forms of the present indicative, e.g. *bhavadi, sāhai* etc.

Below is given a complete index of all the words occurring in the Kaḍavaka. The references are given to the page number and the line number in the *Apabhraṁśapāṭhāvalī*, edited by M. C. MODI.

Āṇaṁdaṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Ānandana-*.

Kisamajjhuddesaṁteura-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.142, Sk. *Kṛśamadhyoddeśāntaḥpura-*.

Kusumasara-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Kusumaśara-*.

Kesava-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.136, Sk. *Keśava-*.

Jauṇasida-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Yamunāśrita-*.

jaga-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *jagat-*.
Jara-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Jara-*. Mr. Modi thinks that this is equivalent to Sk. *jarataḥ*. I think it is only a proper name.
jēma jēma, 65.135, Sk. *yathā yathā*.
ṇa, occurs very often, Sk. *na*.
Ṇanda-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Nanda-*.
Ṇandaṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Nandana-*.
ta-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *tad-*.
titti, nom. sg. 65.136, Sk. *tṛptiḥ*.
tēma tēma, 65.135, Sk. *tathā tathā*.
Dīvāyaṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.137, Sk. *Dvīpāyana-* or *Dvaipāyana-*.
Duṇḍuhi-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Dundubhi-*.
Devaseṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *Devasena-*.
Paüra-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 66.143, Sk. *Paura-*.
Paramesara-, nom. sg. *-u*, 65.135, Sk. *Parameśvara-*.
Bhagada-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *Bhagada-*.
√bhava-, pres. third sg. *-di*, 65.142, Sk. *√bhū-*.
Bhāṇu-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *Bhānu-*.
Bhoya-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.141, Sk. *Bhoja-*.
mahāyaṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.143, Sk. *mahājana-*.
risigaṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 66.143, Sk. *ṛṣigaṇa-*.
Samba-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 66.138, Sk. *Sāmba-*.
sam√bhava-, pres. third, sg. *-di*, 65.136, Sk. *sam√bhū-*.
Saccaï-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Sātyaki-*.
saḍhāviya-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *śraddhāpita-*.
sasimuddasaṇeura-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.142, Sk. *śaśimudrānūpura-*.
sassuḍḍhasira-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.143, Sk. *śvāsordhvaśiras-*. I follow Mr. Modi in the Sanskrit rendering. Chāyā gives *śaśvat-* in place of *śvāsa-*.
sahayaṇa-, nom. sg. *-u*, 65.135, Sk. *sabhājana-*.
Sāraṇa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Sāraṇa-*.
Sāra-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.140, Sk. *Sāra-*.
√sāha-, pres. third sg. -i, 65.135, for Sk. *√kath-*.
Siṇi-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.138, Sk. *Śini-*.
Subhāṇu-, gen. sg. *-hiṁ*, 65.139, Sk. *Subhānu-*.
suṭṭhuva-, gen sg. *-ssa*, 65.139, Sk. *suṣṭhuka-*.
se, gen. sg. third pers. pron., 65.137, Sk. *tasya*.
sesiyasuyavayaṇāmiyarasa-, gen. sg. *-ssa*, 65.136, Sk. *śeṣitaśrutavacanāmṛtarasa-*.
√harisijja-, present third sg. *-i*, 65.135, Sk. *√hṛṣ-*.
hu, 65.136, Sk. *khalu*, Pā. *khu*.

SOME PHONETIC PECULIARITIES OF EARLY CEYLONESE LENA INSCRIPTIONS

BY DR. M. A. MEHENDALE

A detailed study of the Phonology of the Simhalese inscriptions upto the end of the tenth century has been undertaken by P. B. F. *Wijeratne*, the first part of which has already appeared in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XI, part 4, pp. 823-836 (1946). Below is made only an attempt to point out some of the striking phonetic peculiarities of early Ceylonese inscriptions from the second century B. C. to the second century A. D. It is also attempted there to show some parallelisms between the treatments observed in these inscriptions and those found in the Prakrits of the early Brāhmī (and Kharoṣṭhī) inscriptions of India, especially from the South India. The following short forms are used in the ensuing discussion.

EI — Epigraphia Indica.
EZ — Epigraphia Zeilenica.
L — Lüders' list of Brāhmī inscriptions, appended to EI. 10.1–226.

I *Vowels*

§1. Treatment of the vowel *ṛ*: the treatment *ṛ* > *a* is the predominant treatment in these inscriptions, though the change *ṛ* > *u* is noticed in a noun expressive of human relationship (cf. sk. *bhrātṛ* - > *bhatu* - *EZ* 1.145.10a). Thus we find that *ṛ* > *a* not only in Sk. *kṛtvā* > *kaṭu EZ* 1.62, but also in Sk. *pitṛ* - > *pita* - *EZ* 1.18.1[3]. This change of *ṛ* > *a* in a noun expressive of human relationship is very peculiar, for it is nowhere to be found in the Prakrits of the Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. There in all such cases the treatment is *ṛ* > *a* or *i*.

It should, however, be noted that the change *ṛ* > *a* even when accompanied by a labial in certain instances and in the

word *vasabha*[1] < Sk. *vṛṣabha* – (in Amarāvati L 1239 etc., Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *EI*. 20.18. $B4^2$, $16.C3^2$ etc.) is a peculiarity of South Indian inscriptions e. g.

Sk. *mṛga* – > *maka* – Amarāvati (L 1254).
Sk. *vyāpṛta* – > *vāpata* – Mayidavolu (L 1205) and Koṇḍamudi (L 1328).

II *Consonants*

§2. The guttural *g* : This stop, in certain instances, is changed to the corresponding surd. e. g.

Sk. *yavāgu* – > *yāku* – *EZ* 1.62.3
Sk. *nagara* – > *nakara* – EZ 3.116^6.

It is, however, preserved in such instances as *ganaka* – *EZ* 3.116^6, and *ṇagara* – *EZ* 3.122^2.

Similar instances of the change – *g* – > – *k*[2] – are found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Western and Southern India. e. g.

Sk. *nagara* – > *nakara* – Junnar (L 1152).
Sk. *Sagara* – > *Sakara* – Nāsik (L 1123).
Sk. *bhāga* – > *bhāka* – Kaṇheri (L 998).
Sk. *Mṛgabuddhi* – > *Makabudhi* – Amrāvati (L 1254).
Sh. *Nāgacandra* – > *Nākacaṁda* – Jagayyapeta (L 1202).
Sk. *koṣṭhāgāra* – > *koṭhākāra* – Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *EI* ($20.22.F^2$).
etc. etc.

§3. The guttural aspirate *kh*. : Deaspiration of Sanskrit aspirates is one of the chief peculiarities of the Ceylonese inscriptions. It is practically observed in all aspirates.

---

1. In all other inscriptions of Western and Central India we get *usabha*—cf. *Usabhadāta*-in Kārle (L 1097, 1099), Śailārawāḍi-(L 1121), and Mathurā (L 117).

2. It is further changed to a fricative *k* (*r*) in some Kharoṣṭhi inscrip. cf. Sk. *nāgaraka*- > *nak*(*r*)*araa* and Sk. *bhagavat*- > *bhak*(*r*)*a vat*(*r*)*a* in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription.

Sk. *bhikṣu* – > **bhikkhu* – > *bhiku* – *EZ* 1.6.2,3 and *EZ* 3. 162[2].

Sk. *Dharmarakṣita* – > *Damarakita* – *EZ* 1.18.1.

Sk. √ *khan* – > √ *kaṇa* – *EZ* 1.211.

As against this general tendency in Ceylonese inscriptions, we have only one instance of similar change from South India.

Sk. *pakṣa* – > **pakkha* – > *pakka* – Maḷavaḷḷi (L 1195).

§4. The guttural aspirate *gh* : This aspirate is also changed to *g*. e. g.

Sk. *saṅgha* – > [*sa*] *ga* – *EZ* 1.18.1[2] and 62.3.

But it is preserved in *śagha* – *EZ* 1.147. *IIIa.*

This change is also found in an instance from a Kharoṣṭhī inscription cf. Sk. *ghaṭika* > *gaḍ(r)ig(r)a* — Wardak vase.

§5. The palatal *c* : It is changed to *j* in,

Sk. *prācīna* — > *pajina* — *EZ* 3, 250[1].

This change is also found in the Brāhmī inscriptions from early times but the later tendency there is to change it to *y*. It may be added that this latter is the only treatment obtained in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

§6. The palatal *j* : The change of *j* > *jh* in a solitary instance is very peculiar. cf.

Sk. *jāyā* — > *jhaya* — *EZ* 1. 19. 6.

§7. The cerebral *ṭh* : Due to the tendency towards deaspiration it becomes *ṭ*.

Sk. *jyeṣṭha* — > * *jeṭha* — > *jeṭa* — *EZ* 3. 154[2].
Sk. *artha* — > * *aṭha* — > *aṭa* — *EZ* 3. 116[3].

It is interesting to note a similar change, though in a solitary instance, in as early as the Aśokan inscriptions.

Sk. *Kamaṭha* — > *kaphaṭa* — Pillar edicts. (The aspiration is not lost here but transferred to the neighbouring syllable).

A similar change is perhaps instanced in,

Sk. *śreṣṭha* > *seṭa*[3] — Bhaṭṭiprolu (L 1337[1]) and Bharaut (cf. *Seṭaka* — L 838).

§8. The dental *th* : It is deaspirated to *t* :

Sk. *sthavira* — > * *thera* — > *tera* — *EZ* 1. 18. 1[1] and 144. 4a. This treatment is perhaps instanced in a place-name occurring in a South Indian inscription.

Sk. *Pātha* — > *Aṁdhā - patīya - gāma* - Mayidavolu (*L* 1205[4]).

§9. The dental *dh* is also deaspirated.

Sk. *Dharmarakṣita* — > *Damarakita* — *EZ* 1. 18. 1[1].

Sk. √ *dhṛ* — > √*dara* — *EZ* 1. 211[5].

The treatment is only exceptionally noticed in a South Indian inscription.

Sk. *deyadharma* — > *deyadama* — Amarāvati (*EI* 15, 273. 53)

§10. The labial *p* > *v* in such instances as,

Sk. *kārṣāpaṇa* — > *kahāvaṇa* — *EZ* 3. 211[4].

Sk. *upanikṣepa* — > *uvanikeva* — *EZ* 3. 251[3].

This change is often noticed in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

§11. The labial *bh*, like other aspirates, is deaspirated[4].

Sk. *bhāryā* — > *bariya* — *EZ* 1. 18. 1[3].

Sk. *bhakta* — > *bata* — *EZ* 1. 62. 3

Sk. *vibhājaka* — > *vibajaka* — *EZ* 1. 211.[3-4].

Among Brāhmī inscriptions, the following ones from Western, Central, and Southern India give similar instances.

Sk. *stambha* — > *ṭhaba* — Pittalkhora (L 1188), and *thaba* — Kārle (L 1095).

---

3. *Bühler*, however, proposes to derive it from Sk. *Śvaitra* —cf. *EI* 2. 328f. No. 8.

4. It is, however, preserved in Sk. *bhrātṛ*- > *bhateu* *EZ* 1. 145 . 10a.

Sk. *Rebhila* — > *Rebila* — Sāñci (L 502),
Sk. *Subhāṣita* (?) — > *Subāhita* — Sāñci (L 270).
Sk. *bhaginī* — > *bak* [*i*] *n* [*i*] — Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *EI*. 20. 37 Sculpture inscription.

§12. The change *m* > *b* is noteworthy.

Sk. *ārāma* — > *araba* — *EZ* 3. 116[4].

We may compare with this the change *mr* > *b* or *ṁb* met with in the following set instances.

Sk. *Tāmraparṇī* — > *Taṁbapaṁni* Rock edicts of Aśoka.
Sk. *āmra* — > *aṁbā* — Pillar edicts of Aśoka.
Sk. *āmrakā-bhṛti* — > *ābikā-bhati* — Junnar (L 1164).
Also cf. *Āba*-at Bhaṭṭiprolu (∠ 1332[14]), and *Taṁbapamni* at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*EI* 20. 22. F[1]) or *Tabapana* Bodhagayā (L 946).

§13. Sibilants: The sibilant *ś* is sometimes preserved. cf. *catudiśa* - *EZ* 1.18.1[2], *Śivaguta* - *EZ* 1.145.6-7 etc. It is, however, changed to *s* in *catudisa* - *EZ* 1.19.4, *visiti EZ* 1.62.3. As against this, the dental *s*, though sometimes preserved, is very often changed to *ś*. cf. [*u*] *paśika* - *EZ* 1.18.1[3], *śaga* - (< *saṅgha* -) *EZ* 1.19.2F[2], and also the gen. sg. term - *śa* (∠ - *sa*). This confusion between *ś* and *s* has its parallel in similar confusion between the three sibilants in the Kālsi edicts of Aśoka and the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions.

The sibilant *ś* > *h* (perhaps through *s*) in Sk. *śātikā* - > *haṭika* - *EZ* 1. 62.4. This change is frequently noticed in the case of *s* in the gen. sg. term. (- *sa* > - *ha*), cf. *Devaha EZ* 1.19.3, *kulaha EZ* 1.20.7, *sagaha EZ* 1.62.3, *maharajaha EZ* 1. 61.1 etc.

It is interesting to note that a similar tendency is found in some of the Southern Brāhmī inscriptions.

Sk. *Saṅghā* - > *Haṁghā* - Amarāvati (L 1201[1], L 1271:etc.)
Sk. *Sukha* - > *Hugha* - (?) Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *EI* 20.25 *k*[1].

Sk. *saṅgha* – > *hagha* – Nāgārjunikoṇḍa
EI 20.20.C_2[10] and *EI* 20.17. CI[11].

§14. Palatalisation : The dentals are usually not palatalised in these inscriptions. Thus whereas Sk. *amātya* — > *amaca* — in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, here it becomes *ameti* instead, cf. *EZ* 3. 250[2]. The cluster *kṣ* also becomes *k* (< *kh*) but never *ch*. cf. *bhiku* — EZ 3. 162[2].

It may, however, be noted that for the usual Prakrit word *dhitā* meaning 'daughter' we get *jhitā* in *EZ* 1. 19. 2b[2].

§15. Cerebralisation : As in other inscriptions, cerebralisation of dentals, usually under the influence of *ṛ* or *r* occurs in these inscriptions in the following instances.

Sk. *kṛtvā* > *kaṭu* *EZ* 1. 62. 4.
Sk. *artha* — > * *aṭha* — > *aṭa* — *EZ* 3. 116[5].
Sk. √ *pat* — > √ *paḍa* — *EZ* 3. 116[5].
All these examples belong to the 2nd century A. D.

The cerebral *ṇ* is rigorously preserved in these inscriptions. The dental *n* is cerebralised both initially and medially. cf.

Sk. *nagara* — > *ṇagara*—*EZ* 3. 122[2]
(4th cent. A. D.).
Sk. √ *khan* — > √ *khaṇà* — *EZ* 1. 211[5]
(2nd cent. A. D.).

Also cf. *diṇi* (for *dinnā*) *EZ* 1. 21. Ṛock B No. 1 (2nd cent. A. D.).

So far as the Brāhmī inscriptions are concerned the earliest instance of initial cerebralisation of *n* is found only in the Kopbāḷ version (cf. Sk. *no* > *ṇo*) of Aśoka's minor Rock edict (and also perhaps once in the Jaugaḍa separate edict cf. Sk. *ni* — √ *dhyā* — > *ṇi* - √ *jhapà* —). Among later inscriptions, we find initial cerebralisation in a few instances from the 1st cent. B. C. to the 2nd cent. A. D. inscriptions from Western India. cf. Sk. *Nandā* — > *Ṇaṁdā* — at Kuḍā (L 1037) and Śailārwāḍi (L 1121), Sk. *niyukta* — > *ṇiyuta* — and Sk. *nir-yātita* — > *ṇi-yācita* — at Nāsik (L 1127), and

Sk. *nartaka* — > *ṇaṭaka* — at Banavāsī (L 1186[3]). The sweeping change of *n* > *ṇ* in all positions is obtained in the 4th cent. A. D. copper plates of Bāsim in Central India (cf. *EI* 26. 137 ff).

In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions *n*- is initially cerebralised from the 1st cent. A. D. (cf. *ṇagara* — Taxila silver scroll inscription, *ṇaṇa* (< *nānā*) Māṇikiāla inscription etc..), and in medial position from the 1st cent. B. C. (cf. *bahujaṇa* —, *Śakamuṇi* —Swāt relic vase inscription, etc. *daṇamukha*-Bīmarān vase inscription, *pujaṇa* — Zeda inscription, *taṇaya* — Skārah Dherī image inscription, etc. etc.

Reprinted from JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *March 1952.*

WHAT WAS THE PLACE OF ISSUE OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGAḌA SEPARATE EDICTS ?

By

DR. M. A. MEHENDALE M A., PH.D.
Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

The general belief regarding the issue and the transcription of the edicts of Aśoka is that they were all first written in the eastern or the Māgadhan language, as they were issued from the Emperor's capital in the Magadha, and then were translated in the local languages of the different places where they were inscribed. While the veracity of such a general statement may reasonably be doubted, the fact remains that the inscriptions of Aśoka show in bold relief three (or two) varieties of the Prakrit dialects—the Western represented by the Girnar version, the north western represented by the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version, (though both these labour under strong eastern influence) and the eastern represented by the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions. Hence the theory that the original drafts of Aśoka written in the eastern dialect were altered at Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṛhī to suit the requirements of the local dialects seems to be legitimate. Hultzsch observes, while commenting on the word *Turamāyo* which occurs in the Girnār version, "This word proves that the Girnār and the Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ (*l*) of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye*) at Kālsī." But some of the instances in these western and north-western areas show exceptions to the general set up of the linguistic unity shown by the versions in these regions, and some of them have been explained as due to the eastern influence. Thus, for instance, the presence of a few forms with *l* instead of *r*, and of nom. sg. mas. ending in-*e* instead of the regular-*o* have been explained as due to the influence of the Māgadhan language of the original draft. It has, however, not been attempted to see if the exceptions occurring in the eastern versions can be similarly explained as due to outside influence.

On a close reading of all the edicts found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa it will be observed that some of the exceptions which do not conform with the linguistic picture seen in the edicts at these two places occur only in the two separate edicts. The unique feature of these two edicts is that they are found only at these two places and not along with other major edicts at other places. It would, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that the exceptions which occur in the separate edicts do not represent the local forms, but may be due to the influence of a language foreign to the east. It may have been that these two

edicts were not issued from the capital in the east and hence were not originally drafted in the dialect which for instance, was used in the drafting of the other major edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa; they were perhaps issued from a different place and in a different dialect and were translated into the eastern dialect at the time of their recording on the rocks at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Though these translations were more or less accurate, there remained certain forms which appeared in the original draft, but should not have figured in the translations. The following analysis will further show that these exceptional forms show affinity with the north-western language of the Aśokan inscriptions, thus pointing towards that area as the most probable source of the issue of these two separate edicts.

1. Softening of *-k-* and *-c-*:—The D and J (in the following analysis D and J stand for the other major edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, while d and j stand for the separate edicts at these two places) versions preserve *-k-* and *-c-*. The separate edicts no doubt preserve these surds, but in stray cases they even soften them to *-g-* and *-j-*. Sk. *loka-* > *loga-* j (*logika-* cf. MS. I 5), Sk. *acala-* > *ajala-* d. All other versions show *loka-*. Now it is true that *-k-* and *-c-* are not softened in the north-western versions of Aśoka's edicts; but that seems to be due to the strict following of the eastern dialect. What is interesting to observe, however, is that a tendency towards softening can be discerned in other instances in the north-western and the northern regions in the days of Aśoka. Thus Sk. *vāṭikā-* > *-vaḍikā-* Kauśāmbī Queen's edict, *-vaḍikyā-* Toprā; Sk. *hita-* > *hida-* Shāhbāz, Mānsehrā, Kālsī; Sk. *yātrā-* > *-yadra-*Mānsehrā; Sk. *lipi-* > *libi-* Toprā.

The forms *loga-* and *ajala-* in j and d, therefore, seem to be due to the borrowings from the north-western dialect and do not reflect the local tendency in the east in the days of Aśoka.

2. The next point that deserves our attention is the treatment of cerebral *ṇ* in the Major Aśokan edicts. As is well-known, the D and J versions substitute *ṇ* by *n* throughout, and there is no exception to this substitution in the versions of the major edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The separate edicts alone, however, though they generally make this substitution as in the eastern dialect, give us four instances where *ṇ* (obviously as a loan from the original draft) appears. The instances are *khaṇa-*, *ṇijhapetaviye*, *pālaloki* [*keṇa*], and *saveṇā*.

Now as against the *ṇ* > *n* treatment noted in the east, the western and north-western versions of Aśokan inscriptions preserve *ṇ*.

3. Equally interesting to note is the treatment of the cluster *jñ*. This cluster is represented by palatal *ñ* in the west and north-west, but by dental *n* in the east. Now, of the versions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, whereas the major

edicts strictly conform to this treatment, an exception showing the north-western treatment is found only in the separate edict at Dhauli. Sk. *pratijñā-* > *paṭimñā-* d. Here even j gives the eastern form *paṭimnā*.

4. All the versions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa generally simplify consonant clusters by assimilation. But clusters with *y* are sporadically preserved only in d and j and not in D and J. Following are the instances:—

khy : *mokhya-* d, but *mokhiya-* j.
ny : ? [*anya*]- j; *vy* : *saṁcalitavye* j;
sy : *ālasya-* j, but *ālasiya-* d.

Preservation of clusters is eminently a north-western characteristic, as is shown by the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version. Yet none of the versions at either Shāh. or Mānsehrā (with one exception) show any instance of the cluster with *y*. As in the case of the softening of intervocal surds, this too may have been due to the eastern influence. However, stray instances of preservation of clusters with *y* are found in the northern and the western versions of Aśoka's edicts.

khy : *mokhya-* in the Toprā and Miraṭh versions in the north.
bhy : *ibhya-* occurs even in the Mānsehrā version where Shāh. gives *ibha-*.
vy : *vyaṁjana-* and *katavya-* occur in the Girnār version in the west.
sy : *isyā-* occurs in the Toprā, Miraṭh and other versions of Pillar edicts.

It may be observed in passing that the clusters with *ry* and *ly* are met with quite often in the Niya Prakrit (cf. Burrow, § 42).

5. In this connection it is very important to look to the four instances of the preservation of clusters with *r* in the Jaugaḍa version as read by Hultzsch. As we might expect, these instances, do not occur in the separate edicts, but in the versions of the major edicts. Preservation of such clusters is a characteristic of the north-western (and to a certain extent western) inscriptions of Aśoka. In the east such clusters, as a rule, are assimilated. The four instances, however, appear only in the readings of Hultzsch. They are *-savatra* J II 4, *prativedayaṁtu* J VI 2, *drasayitu* J IV 3, *Piyadrasine* J I 3. It is difficult to explain the presence of these four forms in J as the major edicts are believed to have been drafted first in the eastern dialect. However, Bühler, Senart, and Woolner read all these four instances without the cluster, and the estampages given by Hultzsch in CII Vol. I (new edition) show that all the four forms noted above are probably to be read *without a cluster*. Hultzsch reads here clusters with *r* not because *t*, *p*, or *d* show the usual curves at the top, but simply because these letters show slight scratches at the top or bottom.

6. The final *-ā* of the various declined forms is regularly shown in the D and J versions. But it is only in the separate edicts that sometimes this final *-ā* is shown as *-a*. Though this irregularity in showing the length of the vowel

can be ascribed to the negligence of the scribe, the point cannot be overlooked, as the instances are quite varied. It is quite known that the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the north-west do not show the length of the vowels. If the inscribers of the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada received their copies from the north-west the length of the vowels in the original draft was naturally not marked. Though in the Brāhmī versions of these edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa this length, wherever necessary, has been shown in a majority of cases, it escaped the notice of the inscribers in the following instances:

(a) Nom. pl. mas. :—*anuvigina* d, j; *āyata* d, j; *nagalaka* j; *mahāmāta* d; *vataviya* d; *viyohālaka* j; *lāja-vacanika* j.

(b) Nom. sg. fem. :—*acala* j; *icha* d, j; *likhita* d; *sotaviya* d.

(c) Inst. sg. fem. :—*anāvūtiya* d j.

(d) Nom. sg. mas. :— *-r* base :—*pita* j.

(e) Nom. sg. mas. :— *-an* base :—*lāja* d.

(f) Inst. sg. neut. :— *-an* base :—*kaṁmana* d; *kamana* j.

7 In the end we may look to some of the pronominal forms met with in the separate edicts. Though these peculiar forms are not to be found in the north-western dialect, they are noteworthy as almost an unique feature of the separate edicts. The forms in question are :—

(a) 1st pers. pron. acc. pl. *aphe* d, *apheni* j.
gen. dat. pl. *aphāka, aphākaṁ* d.
loc. pl. *aphesū* d, j.

(The nom. pl. form *maye* is also peculiar to d and j versions).

(b) 2nd pers. pron. Nom. pl. *tuphe, phe* d, j.
acc. pl. *tuphe, tupheni* j.
inst. pl. *tuphehi* d, j.
gen. pl. *tuphāka* d, j.
loc. pl. *tuphesu* d, j.

(Of these *tuphe* occurs also in the Sāranātha and Yerrāguḍi versions, *tuphākaṁ* in the Sāranātha version, and *tupaka* in the Rūpanātha version—all being minor rock and pillar edicts).

These forms have the base *apha-* (< * *asma-*) and *tupha-* (< * *tuṣma*). We may compare with this the Pāli, the Prakrit, and the later Prakrit inscriptional bases *amha-* and *tumha-*. What interests us for our present discussion is the fact that these forms do not appear in any one of the versions of the major rock edicts including those at Shāh. and Mānsehrā. On the other hand, as against their appearance in the separate edicts may be pointed out that the

cluster *sm* is preserved in the north-western dialect of Aśoka as *sp* from which an assimilated form *ph* is an easy step. Thus we can trace the appearance of these forms to the north-western influence (**asma- > aspa- > apha-*).

It is in respect of all the forms detailed in the foregoing discussion that the d and j versions differ from D and J. As all these features are restricted to d and j and not even once appear in D and J, it would be difficult for us to assume that they represent the sporadic or exceptional tendencies of the eastern dialect. In that case they would have appeared even in a stray instance in D and J. On the contrary the affinity of these features with the north-western dialect suggests that these two edicts were issued by Aśoka probably when he was on tour in the north-west in the local language and that they were later translated into the eastern dialect. This would satisfactorily explain the presence of just a few peculiar forms in d and j.

'Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College', Vol. XIV, No. 3, Dec. 1952

ON THE PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT NAMES OF THE NASIK CAVE-HILL

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The name of the hill in which the Buddhist caves at Nasik are excavated appears in some of the Prakrit inscriptions in these caves as *tiraṇhu* (5 times)[1] or *tiraṁṇhu* (once).[2] The same hill is styled as *triraśmi* in two of the inscriptions[3] written in mixed dialect in some of these caves. The names occur either singly as *tiraṇhu* and *triraśmi*, or in composition as *tiraṇhu-pa(v)vata* and *triraśmi-parvata*. That both *tiraṇhu* and *triraśmi* refer to the Nasik cave-hill is made clear by such references as follows: (this) cave caused to be made on the summit of the mountain Tiraṇhu and given as a gift to the community of monks[4]; this cave, with a caitya building and cisterns inside it, caused to be made on the mountain Tiraṁṇhu and given to the community of monks in the four quarters[5]; the building of (this) caitya caused to be completed on the mountain Tiraṇhu[6]; this cave and these cisterns caused to be made on the Triraśmi hills.[7]

The above references further suggest that the two names refer to the identical hill, and in this respect all scholars are agreed. The difficulty only arises in linguistically equating these two names, as the Pkt. *tiraṇhu* cannot be regularly derived from Skt. *triraśmi*. The difficulty of deriving *ṇh* < *śm* has been already pointed out by Dr. KATRE,[8] to which may further be added the difficulty in deriving the end vowel *u* < *i* (*raṇhu* < *raśmi*).

Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, one of the early scholars dealing with the Nasik inscriptions, makes no attempt to solve these difficulties. His only observations are—"The name Trirasmi or Triple Beam of Light is difficult to explain. It may refer to the three solitary hills of which the cave hill is the most easternly, or it may have been given to the cave hill because of its perfectly pyramidal or fire-tongued shape."[9]

1. For the various editions of the inscriptions where this word occurs, see LÜDERS, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *EI* 10. Appendix, Nos. 1123 (twice), 1124, 1126, and 1141.
2. See LÜDERS, List No. 1140.
3. See LÜDERS, List Nos. 1131, 1137.
4. *EI* 8. 60f.
5. *EI* 8. 90f.
6. *EI* 8. 91f.
7. *EI* 8. 78f.
8. Tiranhu, Teranhu(ka) And Trirasmi, *Indian Linguistics*, 14. 143-145. 1954.
9. *The Bombay Gaz.* 16. 633. Earlier on p. 541, he observes, "About five miles to the south of Násik the Trimbak-Anjaneri range ends in three isolated hills six to eleven hundred feet above the plain...... The three hills are bare steep and pointed. The cave hill, besides being the highest, has the most sharply cut and shapely outlines. From Násik or from Govardhan six miles up the Godávari, its form is so perfect a pyramid as to suggest that its pyramid or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of the name Trirasmi (Pk. Tiraṇhu) or Triple Sunbeam, by which it is known in seven of the cave inscriptions."

The first suggestion for the solution of the problem was made by SENART. He is of the opinion that since the meaning of *raśanā* is partially identical with *raśmi*, there arose, out of the contamination of these two, a form like **raśni*. Hence, according to SENART, *tiraṇhu* owes its origin to **triraśni*. By way of caution, however, he goes on to add, "...local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure."[10]

Though one may in general agree with SENART as regards the words of caution expressed by him, it is difficult to accepet his suggestion in respect of the derivation of *tiraṇhu*. For, apart from the considerations like those of contamination involved in it, the hypothetical form thus arrived at does not enable us to get over the second difficulty referred to above. The form **triraśni* may help us to obtain *tiraṇhi* (*śn* > *ṇh*) ; but this form does not satisfactorily explain the change of the final vowel *i* > *u* (**triraśni* > *tiraṇhu*). On the semantic side, the word *raśanā* ' girdle, etc.', has very little propriety in the name of a hill.

In a recent article on the subject already referred to above, Dr. KATRE has shown that SENART's suggestion could be bettered by taking the Sanskrit prototype of Prakrit *tiraṇhu* as **trirāsna* from *rāsnā* ' a girdle '.[11] This is no doubt an advance over the suggestion of SENART, for it saves us from the labour of the supposed contamination ; but with this explanation also the second difficulty regarding the change in the end vowel remains.

The difficulties in offering a satisfactory explanation of *tiraṇhu* have remained unsolved because the Sanskrit name of the hill is misleading. Leaving it therefore aside for a while, and keeping our attention on the last syllable of the Prakrit name, remembering at the same time that here we are dealing with the name of a hill, it will be seen that *-ṇhu* in the given context can come only from Sk. *snú*. Now *snú* in the sense of ' the summit or edge of a mountain ' occurs since the earliest times, and has been accepted as the collateral form of the more familiar *sā̃nu* ' summit of a mountain '. *snú* has also been given by the Sanskrit lexicons as an equivalent of *sā̃nu*.[12] Coming to *tira*, the fact that " the caves are situated in one of the *three* hills in which the mountain range (at Nasik) ends," or that the cave hill has a *pyramidal* form,[13] suggests that the beginning of the hill-name *tira* may stand for a word meaning ' three '. Taken together, we arrive at the conclusion that the original Sanskrit counterpart of the Prakrit *tiraṇhu* must have been *trisnu* : *trisānu*, and that the Prakrit name actually owes its origin to a semi-tatsama from *trisnu* viz. **tirasnu*. Both *sā̃nu* and *snú* are surely appropriate as occurring in the name of a hill.

10. *EI* 8. 64.
11. *Indian Linguistics*, 14. 145. 1954.
12. Cf. *snuḥ prasthaḥ sānur astriyām* / Amarakośa 2.3.4 ; also cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 1035 ; Vaijayantī 41.14.
13. Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, *op. cit.* p. 541.

It is hardly necessary to add anything here to explain the derivation of Pkt. *tiraṇhu* from the semi-tatsama *tirasnu*. About the semi-tatsama itself in its relation to Skt. *trisnu* it may be observed that as the difficulty was felt in the pronunciation of the cluster *tr* at the beginning of the word, *tri* > *tir(a)*, thus giving rise to *tirasnu*, which became quite a parallel to *trisānu*, both from the point of view of the number of the syllables and their metrical value (⏑ — ⏑).

Normally Skt. *tri-* is represented as *ti-* in the MIA languages. But it apepers as *tira* in the present case as it happens to be a part of the semi-tatsama. Such dissolution of a consonant cluster with *r* in the first syllable is seen already in such instances of the MIA stage as *kriyā* > *kiriyā* or *kiriā* (PISCHEL § 131, § 135); *śrī* > *sirĭ*, *hrī* > *hirĭ* (PISCHEL § 135, GEIGER § 8).[14]

Moreover *tri* itself appears as *tir(a)* in some of the numerals of the Modern Indian Languages.[15] Thus for instance, for 53 we have *tirpan* (Hindī, Nepālī), *tirpanna* (Marāṭhī), *tirwañja* (Lahndā); for 63 we have *tirsaṭh* (Hindī, Nepālī); for 73, *tirahattar* (Hindī); for 83, *tirāsĭ* (Hindī, Nepālī, Bangālī, Panjābī, Lahndā), *tiryāśī* (Marāṭhī); for 93, *tirānave* (Hindī, Lahndā), *tirānabe* (Nepālī), *tirānabbai* (Bangālī), *tiryāṇṇav* (Marāṭhī); for 43, *tirtālī* (Lahndā), *tartālī* (Panjābī). In addition we may note the use of *tirī* (Marāṭhī), *tīrī* (Gujarātī) in the game of cards.[16] Also *tir* appears as the word for 3 in the Dardic languages.

In this connection it may also be observed that *tir* occurs for *tri* in the popular pronunciation of many words beginning with *tri*. The following examples[17] cited from TURNER's *Nepali Dictionary* have correspondences in many of the modern languages of north India : *tirphalā* (*triphalā*), *tirbeni* (*tribeni*), *tirbhuvan* (*tribhuvan*), *tirsul* (*triśūl*). Another similar instance, but not connected with the numeral *tri*, is Nepālī *tirsanā* < *trisnā* < *tṛṣṇā*.

With regard to the treatment of this initial cluster we may also observe the following correspondences for Skt. *strī* : *tiriyā* Nepāli, *tiri* Assamese, and *tiryā* Panjābī.

Now both *snú* and *sā́nu* 'summit, peak' occur in relationship with the words for mountain like *giri*, *ádri*, and *párvata* since the earliest times.[18] We even get *tri* and *sā́nu* together in the expression *sā́nuṣu triṣú* in Ṛv. II.3.7, where, however,

14. We may further compare *grāsa* > *garāsa*, *trasyati* > *tarāsai*, *pramāṇa* > *paramāṇa*, *prasanna* > *parasaṇṇa* (PISCHEL § 132).

15. For illustrations, I am indebted to TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, (London, 1931).

16. Hindī *tīyā*, Nepālī *tiyā* or *tiyo*, Panjābī *tīā*.

17. It is possible to multiply these instances by citing pronunciations like *tirkāl* (*trikāl*), *tirkoṇ* (*trikoṇ*) etc.; the tendency is witnessed also in other instances like *tarāṇ* (*trāṇ*), *tarās* (*trās*), etc.

18. cf. Ṛv. 8.46.18; 1.117.16, 155.1; 6.61.2; 8.96.2.

it occurs in the sense of 'three raised places above the earth' referring to the three fire altars. The verse runs—

daívyā hótārā prathamā̃ vidúṣṭara ṛjú yakṣataḥ sám ṛcā̃ vapúṣṭarā /
devā̃n yájantāv ṛtuthā̃ sám añjato nā̃bhā pṛthivyā̃ ádhi sā̃nuṣu triṣú / /

"May both the first heavenly Hotṛs, the better knowers and those having better forms, offer the sacrifice correctly with the *ṛk*; while offering sacrifices to gods at the right time, may they bring them (i.e. the gods) toegther at the navel of the earth, on the three raised summits."

Though we do not come across in early literature *trisnu* or *trisānu*[19] as a compound formation and as a name of a mountain, other similar names of mountains are of frequent occurrence since early times. Thus *trikakud* or *trikakubh* 'having three summits' occurs as the name of a mountain in old literature.[20]

várṣiṣṭhaḥ párvatānāṁ trikakún nā̃ma te pitā̃ / Av. 4.9.8.

"The highest among the mountains, Trikakud by name, is your father, (Oh Ointment)."

yatra vā Indro Vṛtram ahaṁs tasya yad akṣy āsīt taṁ giriṁ Trikakudam akarot / Śat. Br. 3·1·3·12.

"When Indra killed Vṛtra, that what was his eye, that he turned into mountain Trikakud." (This is observed while discussing the propriety of using the Traikakuda ointment for the eye of the sacrificer). The same name appears as Trikakubh[21] in the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā XXIII.1 cf. *Índro vaí Vṛtrám ahaṁs tásya cákṣuḥ párāpatat tát Trikakúbhaṁ prā̃ viśat /*

With this Trikakud, we may also compare such later names of the mountains as Trikūṭa,[22] Triśikhara, and Triśṛṅga occurring in the Epics and the Purāṇas.[23]

Next to the Sanskrit name of the hill, *triraśmi*. As seen from the Pkt. form, the original name of the hill was *trisnu* : *trisānu*. Now it seems fairly certain

19. Its equivalent *tripṛṣthá*, though not connected with a mountain, occurs already in the Ṛgveda, cf. 7.37.1 ; 9.62.17, 71.7, 75.3, 90.2, 106.11.

20. Trikakuda, as the name of a mountain, occurs in the various Purāṇas, cf. V.R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *The Purāṇa Index*, Madras, 1952.

21. *trikakúbh* 'having three points' occurs also in the Ṛv. 1.121.4, but as an adj. of Indra's vajra (?) ; however, *kakúbh* occurs even in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'the tops of the mountain" cf. *ávābhinat kakúbhaḥ párvatānām* (4.19.4). "(Indra), struck down the tops of the mountains.'. For this meaning of *kakúbh* here, see LÜDERS, *Varuṇa*, p. 90 ; for references to *trikakúd*, I am indebted to his note on kakúbh, kakúd, trikakúd, kakuhá, pp. 83-92. For Trikakud as the name of a mountain also cf. Pāṇini 5.4.147 '*trikakut parvate* / on which Kāśikā observes '*na ca sarvas triśikharaḥ parvatas trikakut / kiṁ tarhi saṁjñaiṣā parvataviśeṣasya /*

22. According to Amarakośa, Trikūṭa and Trikakud are synonyms. cf. *trikūṭas trikakut samau* / 2.3.1.

23. For references see DIKSHITAR, *op. cit.*, SORENSEN, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, and D. R. PATIL, *Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa*, Appendix.

that *triraśmi* is just the translation of *trisnu*: *trisānu* effected on the following lines. The Sanskrit lexicographers give '*arka*' as one of the meanings of *sānu*.[24] The word *arka* itself has various meanings, one of which is 'the ray' which is attested since early times. The Sanskrit name of the hill *triraśmi* 'having three rays' is therefore not the original name of the hill, but a secondary one obtained by translating *sānu* with *raśmi* (on the basis that both have the common meaning '*arka*').

Such translations of proper names with the help of synonyms are not uncommon in ancient literature. In fact a similar translation of *trisānu* itself, but with the use of another word for 'ray' viz. *bhānu* (instead of *raśmi*), has been recorded in the case of the name of a king, a descendant of Turvasu. The name of this king appears as Trisānu in the Vāyupurāṇa 99·1–2,[25] and in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 3·74·1–2. But the name of the same person appears as Tribhānu in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9·23·16–17,[26] which is evidently a variant of Trisānu due to the translation of *sānu* by *bhānu* (in the sense of *arka* 'ray').

It will thus be seen that *tiraṇhu* does not come from *triraśmi*. As shown above, both originate from *trisnu*: *trisānu*, the one through the semi-tatsama *tirasnu*, the other through the translation of *sānu* by *raśmi*.

24. cf. Śabdakalpadruma under *sānu*: *arkaḥ/pallavaḥ/iti Jaṭādharaḥ/* Also cf. Śabdārtha cintāmaṇi s.v.

25. *turvasos tu suto vahnir vahner gobhānur ātmajaḥ / gobhānos tu suto viras trisānu aparājitaḥ // karandhamas trisānos tu.........*

26. *turvasoś ca suto vahnir vahner bhargo 'tha bhānumān / tribhānus tatsuto 'syāpi karandhama udāradhīḥ //* The other variants recorded for this name are *Traisānu* (Harivaṁśa 1.32.117-118, and also one ms. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2), *Trayīsānu* (Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2, Gita Press, Gorakhpur), *Traiśāni* (Agnipurāṇa 276.1, *Traiśāli* as noted by WILSON in his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV.116), *Trisāri* (Matsyapurāṇa 48.1-2, *Triśāri* as noted by WILSON *op. cit.*), *Aiśānu* (Brahmapurāṇa 18.142-143), and *Traiśāmba* (Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2, Calcutta edn.). It is clear that Trayīsānu, Traisānu, Aiśānu, Traiśāni, Traiśāli, Triśāri, and Trisāri are all corruptions of Trisānu. Traiśāmba for Triśāmba seems to be a translation of Tribhānu as Sāmba (for Śāmba) is noted as a particular form of the sun. (See MONIER-WILLIAMS *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v.). For the references to the Purāṇa literature, with regard to these variants, I am intebted to M. M. CHITRĀV ŚĀSTRĪ, *Prācina Caritra-Kośa*, Poona, 1932.

SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ORIGINAL BUDDHIST CANON*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

At the very outset let me express my gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental conference for having elected me to preside over the Indian Linguistics Section of this year. It is a great honour no doubt, but I do feel that it would have been better if my election had waited for some more years. With my limited knowledge and experience I feel some embarrassment in executing the duties of this office which was in previous years held by great digniataries whose names are too well-known to Indologists. Perhaps in electing me as sectional President, the Executive Committee has sought to honour my Pūrvācāryas through me. Any way it is with this feeling that I shall proceed with the work and discharge my duties as best as I can.

But before I proceed I have a sad thing to do. It is with a heavy heart that I refer to the sad demise of Prof. Jules BLOCH who passed away soon after the previous session of the Conference held at Ahmedabad. In his death India has lost a good friend and a great scholar. He not only himself contributed a number of valuable articles and volumes on Indo-Aryan and Dravidian Linguistics, but also trained many a young scholar from this country to do important research in this field.

I

In such Presidential Addresses it is customary to take a review of the work done in the field during the last two years. As this was not done at the previous session I am extending the period of review roughly to four years. With the limitations on time I cannot do any more than just refer to some of the important publications, linking these up wherever necessary, with the previous work done in those particular branches. I earnestly beg to be excused for any omission and request the scholars to bring up these to my notice. (I have to point out that while preparing the review I had to omit references to articles published in

* Sectional President's Address delivered at the Indian Linguistics Section of the 18th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held on 26th-28th December, 1955, at Annamalainagar.

Research Journals and Commemoration Volumes as that would have taken me too far).

Let me start with OIA. With regard to the works of the grammatical nature mention must be made of the second part of the second Volume of DEBRUNNER-WACKERNAGEL'S *Altindische Grammatik* (1954) dealing with the nominal suffixes. The fact that the volume covers about a thousand pages in the treatment of a subject to which about sixty pages are devoted in WHITNEY'S Grammar will suffice to show the comprehensive nature of this book. Another work is L. RENOU'S *Grammaire de la Langue Védique* (1952) describing the stage of Sanskrit as represented in the Saṁhitās. One would realise the importance of this work when one remembers RENOU'S noted contributions in the Vedic and the grammatical fields. Mention may also be made of the fact that RENOU has now completed his translation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in three volumes, the last of which appeared in 1954. T. BURROW's *Sanskrit Language* (1955) deals with the subject matter from the historical point of view and takes into account also the evidence of Hittite. J. GONDA has published certain important monographs like *Remarques sur la Place du Verbe dans la Phrase Active et Moyenne en Langue Sanscrite* (1952), *Ancient Sanskrit ojas, Latin *augos, and the Indo-European Nouns in -es/-os* (1952), and *Reflections on the Numerals "one" and "two" in Ancient Indo-European Languages* (1953).

In the wake of Siddheshwar VARMA'S work on *Phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians* we have now a very good appreciation of ancient Prātiśākhya and Śikṣā texts in W. S. ALLEN'S *Phonetics in Ancient India* (1953). M. B. EMENEAU's *Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises* (1952) in a good book for the use of descriptive linguists. Siddheshwar VARMA's book on the *Etymologies of Yāska* (1953) is a refreshing study discussing which of the etymologies of Yāska may be considered acceptable and which not. Among the works of the type of Dictionaries, reference may be made to SURYA KANTA'S *A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic)* (1953) with an Index to WACKERNAGEL'S first volume of *Altindische Grammatik* and first 82 pages of MACDONELL'S *Vedic Grammar*. The fifth part of the *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (1955, started in 1953) by M. MAYRHOFER, and 9th part of *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1955, started in 1948) by J. POKORNY have recently arrived. J. GONDA in his *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1952) ably discusses the history of Sanskrit vocables in the Indonesian languages.

Equally important works have appeared in the field of MIA. H. LUEDERS' *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*

(1954) has been edited from the Nachlass by E. WALDSCHMIDT. LUEDERS had already given expression to his view that he believed in an original canon composed in an eastern dialect from which the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions were translated. This book gives the evidence which led LUEDERS to this belief and his observations on the nature of the eastern language. In this respect F. EDGERTON holds the opposite view—that we cannot speak of an original canon—which he has expressed in the Introduction to his excellent account of the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary* (1953). A summary of the Grammar and an account of the BHS literature can also be found in EDGERTON'S Lectures on *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* published by the Banaras Hindu University (1954). J. BLOCH's book *Les Inscriptions D'Asoka* (1950) is a very valuable publication since E. HULTZSCH published his work in 1925 and it testifies to the author's grasp on the Indo-Aryan field. The new book includes all the finds except the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Rajula-Nandagiri in the Andhra and at Gujarra in the Vindhya Pradesh.*

The very extensive field of MIA has been ably covered by S. K. CHATTERJI in his Wilson Philological Lectures delivered at the Bombay University (1954), the publication of which will be eagerly awaited. M. MAYRHOFER'S *Handbuch des Pāli* (1951) is primarily intended for the Indogermanist who wishes to know the nature of a MIA language. Sukumar SEN'S *Comparative Grammar of MIA* (1951) is now followed up by his *Historical Syntax of MIA* (1953). No other book on MIA syntax has been written since José CANEDO wrote *Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der alt- und mittleindischen Prosa* (1937). G. DAVANE'S Ph.D., dissertation, completed under the guidance of S. M. KATRE, on *Nominal Composition in MIA* has now been published by the Deccan College Research Institute (February 1956). In this field also no work appeared since W. GBABOWSKA wrote on the nominal composition in the Aśokan inscriptions (*Ro* 1927). Very interesting are also a couple of articles by De VREESE on Apabhraṁśa studies in *JAOS* 74.1-5; 142-146. Fresh material for the study of Apabhraṁśa is made available by the edition of Paumacariu of Svayambhū by H. C. BHAYANI (1953). P. B. PANDIT'S three lectures in Hindi on *Prākṛta Bhāṣā* delivered at Banaras Hindu University were published last year (1954).

Scholars are not lagging behind in the NIA field. A book on general Phonetics written with special application to Marāṭhī is *Dhvani-*

* Since the Address was read out, the discovery of a version of the ninth rock-edict of Aśoka, near Bombay, has been announced by N. A. GORE in "Times of India" dated 4th January, 1956.

vicāra (1955) by N. G. KALELKAR. It is a good example showing how a subject can be made easy when suitable examples are drawn from the language of those for whom the book is intended. *Phonetic and Phonological Study of the Word in Urdu* by Masud HUSAIN appeared this year (1955). Similar work on Bhojapuri by B. N. PRASAD and on Aspiration in Oriya by G. B. DHALL are awaiting publication. Though not in a book form I may mention here articles in Hindi on general phonetics like 'Varṇa-mīmāṁsā' and 'Varṇa-uccāraṇa' by Siddheshwar VARMA published in the *Kalpanā* of Hyderabad.

On Hindī and its varieties some important books have appeared. I may mention here Dhirendra VARMA's work on *Vraja-bhāṣā* (1954), Baburam SAKSENA'S lectures on *Dakkhinī Hindī* (1952), and U. N. TIWARI'S work on *Bhojapurī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (1954), and *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgama aur Vikāsa* (1955).

A. K. PRIYOLKAR may be congratulated for having brought to light (1954) the hitherto unknown first Marāṭhī Grammar written in Marāṭhī by Marāṭhī scholars. It was composed in about 1824 by KRAMAVANT, PHADAKE and GHAGAWE Shastris. An account of the Gujarātī translation of this work by the same Shastris serving as the first Gujarātī Grammar is given by K. B. VYAS in the *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, 17.287-299, 1955. PRIYOLKAR has also given us last year an English rendering of the Portuguese *Grammatica Marasta*, a book written by a missionary and first published in Rome in 1778 describing the dialect spoken round about Bombay. *Linguistic Peculiarities of Jñāneśvarī* was published by M. G. PANSE (1953) on the basis of a manuscript which in the opinion of the author is the oldest so far traced (A.D. 1350). A work written in old Gujarātī or old western Rājasthānī viz. Kānhaḍade Prabandha has been critically edited by K. B. VYAS (1955).

As regards books written in Indian languages on certain aspects of linguistics, I may mention *Arthavijñāna* (1951) in Hindī by Baburam SAKSENA, *Śabda-ane Artha* (1955) in Gujarātī by Bhogilal SANDESARA, *Śabda-Udgama va Vikāsa* (1953) in Marāṭhī by K. P. KULKARNI, *Arthavijñāna āṇī Marāṭhī Bhāṣā* in Marāṭhī by S. G. TULPULE and Usha POTDAR (GHATE) (in the Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā, 1953), *Gujarātī par Arabī Phārasīṇī Asar* (1954) in Gujarāti by C. R. NAIK, and *Vāgvyāpāra* (1955) in Gujarātī by H. C. BHAYANI. Though not in an Indian language I may mention here also *Lectures in Linguistics* by O. L. C. AGUILAR (1954).

In the field of Dravidian Linguistics I may refer to R. G. HARSHE'S authorised English translation (1954) of *The Grammatical Structure of*

Dravidian Languages by J. BLOCH which very clearly brings out the chief characteristics of this group of languages. N. LAHOVARY'S *Substrat Linguistique Méditerranéen, Basque et Dravidien* brings out the affinities between these two families of languages and seeks to establish that Dravidian was originally a speech of the big mediterranean family of languages. With regard to the studies of the individual languages I may mention R. P. Sethu PILLAI'S *Words and their Significance: A Study in Tamil Linguistics* (1952), C. R. SANKARAN'S *Some Problems in Kannaḍa Linguistics* (1954), and A. C. SEKHAR'S *Evolution of Malayalam* (1953). Murray FOWLER'S phonemic analysis of the Sanskritized literary Tamil spoken in Madras is presented in the article 'The Segmental Phonemes of Sanskritized Tamil, *Language*, 30.360-367 (1954). T. BURROW and S. BHATTACHARYA in their book on *Parji Language* (1953) establish that it is an independent language and not a dialect of Gondi. Of great interest is the English version of 17th century Dutch Grammar of Tamil by J. A. B. van BUITENEN and P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM in the *Bull. DCRI*, Vol. 14. 168-182 (1952). The Jules Bloch Memorial Volume as well as the Chatterji Jubilee Volume of *Indian Linguistics* (Vol. 14, 1954 and Vol. 16, 1955) contain many important articles on Dravidian linguistics. I may also mention here the article on Dravidian kinship terms by M. B. EMENEAU in *Language* 29. 339-353 (1953). A. D. TASKAR was recently awarded Ph.D. by the Poona University for his work on 'Intonational Patterns in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian' which he completed under the guidance of C. R. SANKARAN. A new approach to the typology of phoneme and morpheme distributions as well as a semanto-phonetic study of Dravidian morphemes is being carried on by P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM under the guidance of C. R. SANKARAN. Chaitanya Deva's work on *The Tonal Structure of Tambura*, which he completed under the guidance of C. R. SANKARAN, awaits publication.

C. R. SANKARAN takes his departure from the usual and time-honoured approaches towards the problem of speech-structure by considering the 'between' (which 'non-temporal-wedge' he calls alpha-phoneme) in any consonant vowel configuration as the starting point of his investigations. This departure from the conventional outlook in Phonetics at all levels has led him to a unification of different levels of experience like the articulatory (or auditory—i.e. neuro-physiological) and the physical (the acoustical). Such a study of the 'inter-phenomenon' (or 'the between') to which he was led by consideration of such phenomena as marginal speech-sounds, glides, or more particularly the so-called *āytam* in old Tamil which has served as a pointer in all his investigations, has taken C. R. SANKARAN far beyond to abstract and symbolic levels of thinking as reflected in many of his latest writings

published in the Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute which includes his Presidential Address at the last session. I may add that a paper of C. R. SANKARAN and his collaborators on 'Structure in Speech—The Physical Reality of the Phoneme' is awaiting publication in the Sonderheft of the *Fernmelde-technische Zeitschrift* of Bonn.

II

I shall now turn to say some words on a problem which I think is of some importance to the study of MIA languages. I had originally planned to give a critical review together of LUEDERS' *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* and EDGERTON'S *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, to both of which I have already referred. This has, however, not been possible. My review of the first part of LUEDERS' *Beobachtungen* has been already published in the 17th Volume of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* (1955) pp. 53-75. I therefore planned to give a review of the second part of LUEDERS' book as the main theme of my talk today. Considerations of time again have compelled me to restrict myself only to a few points.

In the Zweites Hauptstück of this book are included LUEDERS' views regarding the phonological and morphological peculiarities of the eastern language of the original Buddhist canon. About the former, we get a detailed discussion of such phenomena as the softening of surds, loss of intervocal consonants, and the treatment of the consonant clusters. About morphology, however, what has survived is only the late Professor's remarks on the flexion of the nominal stems in *-a*.

In order to assess the phonological peculiarities of the original canon, LUEDERS starts from what he considers to be the eastern characteristics of the Aśokan inscriptions, and if he finds that these same also occur in some instances in Pāli, he regards them as borrowings from the east. For the solution of this problem, then, it is of importance to examine the Aśokan data very critically and come to certain conclusions as to what may be called eastern and what non-eastern in the Aśokan inscriptions.

LUEDERS regards softening of the voiceless stops as an eastern characteristic and for this he gives instances of the change of *k*>*g*, *t*>*d*, *kkh*>*ggh*, and *ṭṭ* or *ṭṭh*>*ḍḍ* or *ḍḍh*. For the change of *k*>*g* he cites (§ 87) the following from the Aśokan evidence :—Sk. *loka*>*loga* (cf. *hidaloga*, *palaloga*) in the Jaugaḍa separate edict and Sk. *adhikṛtya*> *adhigicya* in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ inscription.

Now in a paper published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. I. 240-244 (1951-52) I have shown that the two separate

edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa show certain peculiarities which are never to be found in the versions of the major rock edicts at these two places. Further, as these peculiarities are found in the other non-eastern regions, it is legitimate to conclude that these peculiarities of the separate edicts are not to be considered as eastern but to be due to non-eastern influence. Among these comes the softening of the vioceless stops. The instance *loka* : *loga* cited from the separate edict, therefore, cannot be brought forward to establish that softening was an eastern feature. The case would have been certainly otherwise if such an instance were available also from the versions of the major rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

As regards *adhigicya* it may be pointed out that the find-spot of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ inscription is the head-quarters of a tahasīl in the Jaipur State, and an instance of voicing from this inscription, unless corroborated by other evidence, can hardly be considered as showing that particular feature as an eastern characteristic.

About the change *t*>*d*, LUEDERS cites (§ 94) Sk. *hita*>*hida* in the Kālsī, Shāh.; and Māns. versions but *hita* in the Dhauli version. Now it is difficult to know why LUEDERS regards this as an eastern peculiarity when the words noted above show that the change of *t*>*d* is witnessed in the northern and north-western versions, but not in the eastern ones. Another instance, Sk. *toṣa* > *doṣa* appearing also in a northern version (Kālsī VI), we may set aside as LUEDERS takes it to be a 'Schreibfehler'. But we can certainly take into account the Mānsehrā form *yadra*, (Sk. *yātrā*), according to BUEHLER'S reading, or *ya*(*d*)*da*, according to HULTZSCH's reading, which also supports the view that the voicing was a non-eastern tendency.

But since LUEDERS believes that the change of *t*>*d* is an eastern characteristic he has some difficulty in accounting for the presence of *t* for *d* in such forms of the separate edict as *paṭipātayehaṁ*, *paṭipātayema*, etc., from Sk. *prati*√*pad*. He observes (p. 81), "Wichtiger ist noch, dass der Redaktor von Jau. Sep. in seinem Bestreben, die Hochsprache zu gebrauchen, in alle Formen von *paḍipādayati* ‚zukommen lassen, bewirken' (Pāli *paṭipādeti*, Sk. *pratipādayati*) das *d* fälschlich durch *t* ersetzt hat...." Actually the case seems to have been that since, as suggested above, the separate edict was originally composed in a non-eastern dialect it probably contained some other words changing *t*>*d*, and these the redactor rightly changed to *t*. But this misled him in doing the same about *paṭipātayehaṁ* etc., because he probably confused the forms of √*pad* with those of √*pat*.

As regards the change *kkh>ggh*, LUEDERS cites (§ 149) Sk. *śakṣyati* (future of √*śak*): Aś *caghati* or *caghaṁti* in the 4th PE and *caghatha* in the separate edicts. The Aśokan inscriptions show a base √*cak* besides √*sak* < Sk. *śak*. The future base from this stem would be √*cakṣya* which in the eastern dialect would appear as √*cakkha*. According to LUEDERS this has further become √*caggha* in the above instance as softening in his opinion is an eastern characteristic. But possibly the Aśokan evidence is not clear enough to conclude √*caggha* with the softening of *kh>gh* to be an eastern form. Its occurrence in the separate edicts makes it a doubtful case in this regard and suggests a possible case of non-eastern influence for softening. But its occurrence in the pillar edict IV, which has an eastern version, is a little difficult to explain. As I do not regard softening to be an eastern feature I would expect the pillar edict IV to show a base √*cakkha*, and not √*caggha*, if that has to be derived from √*cakṣya*– (=√*śakṣya*–). But just on the strength of this one instance I would not like to consider softening to be an eastern tendency. The explanation of the form has perhaps to be sought elsewhere. So far as Pāli *sagghasi*, mentioned by LUEDERS, is concerned, the reading is not absolutely certain and in the context the reading *agghasi* given by other manuscript suits equally well. And even though *sagghasi* be the original reading it can be regarded as a non-eastern form arising from eastern *sakkhasi*[1]. As regards Aśokan √*cagha* I may put forward for your consideration the suggestion that here perhaps we have a base √*cagha* of the present tense, and not √*caggha* of the future from √*cak* (√*śak*). This √*cagha* indicates that the old IE base from which it is derived had a voiced aspirate in it. It will thus be *√*kagh*[2] (or **kegh*) 'to be able, to help' as once suggested by ZUPITZA in *Die Germanischen Gutturale* (= Shriften Zur Germanischen Philologie. Achtes Heft, Berlin 1896) p. 104, (cited by WALDE-POKORNY 1. p. 333) instead of *√*kak*—(*kek*- ?). This IE *√*kagh* seems to have given two bases in old Aryan *√*śagh* and √*śak* and of these √*śak* occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions as √*saka* or √*caka* and *√*śagh* as √*cagha*. Aryan *√*śagh* is perhaps found also in Sk. *śagmá* 'strong or able' which is generally related to the other base √*śak*. If this interpretation is accepted √*cagha* of the Aśokan inscriptions would represent a case of old preservation and not of voicing of intervocal -*kh*-.

In support of his contention that the change *ṭṭ* > *ḍḍ* is an eastern tendency, LUEDERS cites (§ 152) from Aśoka Sk. *āmravartikā* > *aṁbā*-

1. Or it can be explained as coming from Sk. *saghnoti* 'to take upon one's self, etc.'
2. WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gr.* I.225 considers the palatal *ś* of √*śak* to be secondary. In that case the IE base would be *√*sagh*.

vaḍikyā in the seventh pillar edict at Toprā and the Queen's edict at Kosam. Now as noted by LUEDERS himself (p. 118) the eastern treatment of Sk. *rt* is *ṭ* and not *ḍ*, cf. *kaṭaviya* etc. in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa major edicts. In my opinion *-vaḍikyā* is no exception to this general tendency since the form occurs in the north in the seventh PE of Toprā for which there are no eastern parallels. And as regards the Queen's edict, be it noted that Kosām is situated on the left bank of Jamnā, about 28 miles west by south of Allahabad, which can hardly be expected to give evidence for an eastern peculiarity unless corroborated by other clearly eastern evidence.

The same thing has to be said about the change *ṭṭh* > *ḍḍh* (§ 152) when LUEDERS cites Sk. *aṣṭakrośikāni* > *aḍhakosikyāni* and Sk. *niśliṣṭi* > *niṁsiḍhiyā* both in the seventh pillar edict at Toprā. The normal treatment in the east in similar cases is *ṣṭ* or *ṣṭh* > *ṭh*, cf. *seṭha* in the Dhauli major edict, *niṭhūliya* in the pillar edicts etc. As noted above the instances which occur only in the seventh pillar edict at Toprā should not be used as Aśokan evidence in support of a particular feature being eastern. If the same feature is not found in the major edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa or in the other pillar edicts there is every reason for its being treated as non-eastern.

In view of the above examination of the Aśokan evidence it is difficult for me to agree with LUEDERS when he observes (§ 155)—"Überblickt man das gesamte Material, das uns die Aśoka- Inschriften und die literarischen Prakrits bieten, so scheint mir deutlich daraus hervorzugehen, dass die Erweichung des *ṭṭ, ṭṭh* zu *ḍḍ, ḍḍh* eine Erscheinung ist, die der Ostsprache angehört."

We may now take a couple of instances to show how his hypothesis regarding softening to be an eastern characteristic has led LUEDERS to support or suggest some far-fetched derivations. In §§ 159-165 he gives a very instructive Exkurs über *kasati, kaḍḍhati, kassati.* In Pāli we have the verbal base √*kaḍḍha*, besides √*kasa* (√*kaṁsa*) and √*kassa* which latter go back to Sk. √*kṛṣ* or √*karṣ*. Now about the origin of √*kaḍḍha*, WEBER naturally thought to connect it with the Sk. p.p.p. *kṛṣṭa*. But LUEDERS objects to this and observes (p. 125), "Die Bestimmung der Heimat von *kaḍḍhati* ist für die Entstehung der Formen von Bedeutung. *Kaḍḍhati* kann sich nicht aus *kṛṣṭa* weiter entwickelt haben, wie Weber, allerdings durch die vielfach im Prākrit auftretenden Schreibungen mit *ṭṭh* veranlasst, ZDMG. 28,375 annahm, da der Übergang von inlautendem *ṭṭh* in *ḍḍh* auf die östliche Sprache beschränkt ist. So gewinnt die Zurückführung von *kaḍḍh* auf ein vorindisches **kṛzd*, eine

Nebenform von *kṛṣ*, die Bloomfield JAOS. 41,465 vorgeschlagen hat, an Wahrscheinlichkeit."

In the article referred to above BLOOMFIELD notes a 'root-determinative' *d* in Aryan tongues in such bases as *īḍ* = *iṣ-d*, *pīḍ* = *piṣ-d*, etc. On this analogy he offers a suggestion, described as 'daring' by himself, that Pāli-Pkt. *kaḍḍh* may go back to **kṛṣ-d* > **kṛẓd*. But this seems impossible because the forms derivable from *kṛẓd* do not only not appear in Sanskrit or Avesta, but have no parallel in any other Indo-European language. (It is not necessary to discuss GEIGER'S suggestion (§ 130) to consider *kaḍḍhati* < **kardhati*, a side-form of *karṣati*).

LUEDERS' objection to the derivation of √*kaḍḍha* from *kṛṣṭa* is just his conviction that softening is an eastern characteristic. But as shown above this is not borne out by the Aśokan evidence, and hence there should be no objection to supporting WEBER'S suggestion noticed above. In the eastern language there seems to have arisen a verbal base √*kaṭṭha* (from Sk. *kṛṣṭa*), giving forms like *kaṭṭhati*. Now as regards the formation of middle Indic verbal bases from Sk. p.p.p. we may do well to refer to EDGERTON'S BHS Grammar 28.19 where he notes such forms as *buddhati, lagnati,* from *buddha, lagna*. Pāli *kaḍḍhati* then evidently goes back to this *kaṭṭhati*. That the eastern language had a form like *kaṭṭhati* is shown by the fact that the manuscripts of the BHS texts give *kaṭṭati* which obviously stands for *kaṭṭhati* with loss of aspiration. (On other grounds, which I cannot detail here, I regard the loss of aspiration as a non-eastern characteristic). About this *kaṭṭati* EDGERTON does not offer any explanation. But he could have as well included it under 28.19 where he gives *buddhati* etc.

The other interesting case is that of Sk. *vetana* 'wages, reward, etc.'. About this we read in the words of the Editor (p. 81, f.n. 1)—"Endlich nennt LUEDERS eine Stelle aus J. 402,8, wo heisst: *na paṇḍitā vedanam ādiyanti,* Dutoit : „Nicht wollen Geldeslohn die Weisen haben." Hier steht *vedanam* für *vetanam* ,Lohn'." Thus from this remark it appears that in the opinion of LUEDERS Sk. *vetana* had become *vedana* in the eastern dialect from where it was borrowed in Pāli.

To my mind the case appears to have been otherwise. *Vetana* is a relatively late word. It was known to Pāṇini in the north-west who used it in his sūtra 4.4.12 *vetanādibhyo jīvati*. According to the Uṇādi III.150 it is to be derived from √*vī* (*gatyādau*) with the suffix *-tana*. KUIPER, *ZII* 8.263-266, has a similar explanation but he connects it with the Vedic root √*vī* 'zu gewinnen suchen'. (It is not necessary to discuss the suggestion of MONIER-WILLIAMS to derive it from √*vṛt*).

But *vetana* cannot contain the suffix *-tana* as this suffix is used for the formation of adjectives from adverbs, cf. *nūtana, sanātána*, etc. (WACK.—DEBR. *Alt. Gr.* II. 2. § 444). I am, therefore, inclined to equate *vetana* with Sk. *védana* 'wealth, possessions' from $\sqrt{}$*vid* 'to find, to obtain, to give, etc.' which is known since the Rgveda. This *védana* seems to have become *vetana* in some north-western dialect with the devoicing of inter-vocal stop, from where it was taken up again in the OIA and MIA languages. In the course of time *védana* also seems to have come to mean 'prize, reward, etc.'. For the semantic change from 'property' to 'reward' we may compare a similar change in the Germanic family from Gothic faihu (Sk. *paśu*) 'money, property' to Eng. fee. *Vedana* in Pāli then may represent the translation of an eastern middle-Indic *vetana* or it may be just the preservation of the old *védana* continued in some spoken dialect.

As regards the change $p > v$ I think LUEDERS (§§ 99-100) is right in regarding this to be an eastern characteristic. But in his articles on this subject he does not adduce the available Aśokan evidence, though small, in support of this view. For instance, among the minor rock edicts only the Sahasrām version in the east gives $\sqrt{}$*pāva* for Sk. *pra-*$\sqrt{}$*āp*, while the non-eastern versions of Rūp., Brahma., and Śiddā. give $\sqrt{}$*pāpa*. That the base $\sqrt{}$*pāva* had not thouroughly driven out from the east the other base $\sqrt{}$*pāpa* in the Aśokan days is shown by the fact that we get such forms as *pāpova* in the sixth Ararāj pillar edict and *pāpovā* in the corresponding Toprā version.

Apart from this, I wish to bring to your notice another explanation of a word dealt with by LUEDERS under Hyperpālismen (§§ 144-147) with regard to the change $p > v$. I am referring to Pāli *supāna* 'dog' (§ 146). LUEDERS considers that the strong form of Sk. *śvan* gave rise to a base *suvāna* in the eastern dialect which was wrongly translated into Pāli as *supāna* as the translator was aware of the fact that the eastern dialect changed $p > v$. Now such a misunderstanding seems unlikely in the case of a word for dog, and if the Pāli translator used *supāna* it means that that must have been the regular western correspondent for the eastern *suvāna*. This is quite likely since corresponding to Sk. *śvan* (< **kuon*) we have *span* (nom. sg. *spā*, acc. sg. *spānəm*) in the Avesta. This *span*, or a middle-Indic base from it *spāna*, probably survived even in India in some spoken dialect from which we can have the Pāli form *supāna*, just as we have *suvāna* from Sk. *śvan* or *śvāna* in the eastern dialect. The Gk. word *spáka* 'hundartig' (besides *kúon, kunós*) and the Russian word *sobáka* 'Hund' show that forms with *p* were current in other Indo-European languages besides Avesta. *Supāna* is thus an

instance not of hyperpālism but of a regular development from an archaic dialect form *spāna* agreeing with the Avesta.

I shall now take a couple of cases with regard to LUEDERS' observations on the nominal flexion. In §§ 188-195 LUEDERS has convincingly demonstrated the use of a special abl. sg. in *-aṁ* in the eastern language of the Buddhist canon. Recently De VREESE (*BSOS* 17.369-371, 1955) has expressed himself against the use of *-aṁ* as abl. sg. in old Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī (cf. ALSDORF, *BSOS* 8.329 ff., 1936). But I do not consider that De VREESE has proved his case. The use of the acc. instead of the abl. with certain verbs in the Buddhist Hybrid Skt. does not disprove the argument of ALSDORF (De VREESE had evidently not seen LUEDERS' treatment when he wrote his article), and the interpretations put by De VREESE on the Pāli passages are far-fetched. I shall not enter here into the details of my belief that this abl. sg. *-aṁ* is perhaps not a regular development of *-āt* but is only a graphic representation of the term. *-ā*. I would, on the other hand, add one more instance showing the use of *-aṁ* as abl. sg. to those already cited by LUEDERS. This instance occurs in the Dh. 135 (cited by LUEDERS in § 140 under a different topic) which runs as—

yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaraṁ/

evaṁ jarā ca maccu ca āyuṁ pācenti pāṇinam//

Max MUELLER—"As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men." LUEDERS rightly objects to *gocara* being translated as "stable". He corrects it to 'Weide' but continues to regard *gocaraṁ* as acc. sg. To my mind, however, *gocaraṁ* cannot be acc.; context shows that it must be abl. In the second half of the stanza we are told about (Old) Age and Death driving back the life of men. Hence in order to understand the simile correctly we must interprete that in the first half of the stanza there is reference to the driving back of the cattle from the *gocara* and not to it. The first line, therefore, means—"Just as a cowherd with his stick drives away the cows *from the pasture......*".

In §§ 220-225 LUEDERS very ingeniously demonstrates the use of *-hi* as loc. pl. in the eastern language of the original canon. However, his interpretation of *akkhesu* in the Suttanipāta 659 (§ 221) as a misunderstood loc. pl. does not quite carry conviction. The stanza runs as—

appamatto ayaṁ kali/ yo akkhesu dhanaparājayo/ sabbassāpi sahāpi attanā/

ayam eva mahattaro kali/ yo sugatesu manaṁ padosaye//

According to LUEDERS the stanza means, "Das ist ein geringer Unglückswurf, wenn einer durch die Würfel Geld verliert, selbst die ganze Habe samt der eigenen Person. Das vielmehr ist ein grosser Unglückswurf, wenn einer gegen die Heiligen böse gedanken hegt." LUEDERS considers *akkhesu* as a misunderstood loc. pl., that is to say in his opinion the original canon had *akkhehi* as instr. pl., but since this could also be a form of the loc. pl., the Pāli translator wrongly gave it as *akkhesu*. Now in his critical analysis of the second quarter of the first line, LUEDERS has rightly seen that in the original canon we had two separate words *dhanaṁ palājaye* and that *palājaye* was a verb form. This has been happily confirmed by the Udānavarga version (8.4) which gives—*dhanaṁ parājayet*. LUEDERS further argues that the verb form *palājaye* of the original version was misunderstood by the Pāli translator as a nominal form in the nom. sg. and hence he changed *dhanaṁ* to *dhana* and joined the two together in a compound *dhanaparājayo*. To me it does not seem very likely that the Pāli translator could have made a mistake about the verb form if *dhanaṁ palājaye* stood separately in the version before him. The more likely explanation, therefore, seems to be that in the version before the Pāli translator *dhanaṁpalājaye* were read together and hence he mistook it to be a compound formed on the analogy of the more common *dhanaṁjayá* (cf. Vopadeva 26.60). But as this was an unusual formation for the Pāli translator he changed *dhanaṁpalājaye* to *dhanaparājayo*.

But whether *palājaye* is taken as a verb form or a noun form its use with loc. in such constructions as above seems to be quite idiomatic. One may compare here favourably similar uses in some of the NIA languages—'he lost money in horses, in cards, etc.' where one uses loc. and not instr. In the above stanza, therefore, *akkhehi* could be regarded as loc. pl. and hence rightly rendered by the Pāli translator by *akkhesu*. The Udānavarga translator, however, does not seem to have understood the idiom, and hence he interpreted *akkhehi* as instr. pl. and rendered it as *akṣeṇa*. The Pāli verse is to be translated as—"that is an insignificant loss (lit. the unlucky throw, *kali*) which is loss of money at gambling (lit. dice, *akkha*) . . . . This indeed is a greater loss when one spoils one's mind against the holy persons."

III

Before I conclude let me refer to two significant events of the past two years which promise to give a great impetus to the linguistic studies in India—I mean the organising of a series of schools of linguistics at the Deccan College, and the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of India. Thanks to the initiative of the Director and the Council of Management of the Deccan College Research Institute on the one hand,

and the Rockefeller Foundation on the other a series of three post-graduate Schools of Linguistics was organised in 1954-55. I need not go into the details of the working of these Schools; their success can be seen from the great interest they evoked at each session. Perhaps for the first time in the recent history of University education in India it was possible for the students from all over India to come together and receive instruction from a Faculty constituted by drawing personnel from the Indian as well as foreign Universities. With the growing importance attached to the structural studies of our languages in a free India, the need for imparting scientific instruction in linguistics has been felt, and the holding of short-term schools has partly sought to satisfy this need. The attempt is limited, but it definitely shows steady awakening. However, what is really necessary is the starting of a full-time course in linguistics at all important Universities. This has been often suggested, but for one reason or the other not executed. It is significant, therefore, that our host University here has established a Silver Jubilee Chair in Dravidian Philology from non-recurring grant received from the Union Government, as a beginning in this direction. Let us hope that with the growing country-wide interest evinced in the subject and the proposed establishment of the Linguistic Survey of India by the Central Government, the other Universities will take adequate steps to play their part at an early date. The great task of taking up the descriptive studies of various dialects is ahead of us and this will require a band of field-workers well grounded in the tool courses of linguistics.

The second point to which I would like to refer is with regard to the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of India. I have great pleasure in announcing that the membership of the Society has recently increased from less than fifty to about three hundred. As regards the publication of the official Bulletin of the Society in future it is proposed to bring out the Volumes of *Indian Linguistics* regularly twice a year towards ultimately converting it into a quartery. Since last year an attempt is being made to hold the meetings of the Linguistic Society annually. In this regard I would request the Universities and Research Institutes to give recognition to this body for the purposes of sending delegates to its meetings and for strengthening its effective membership. Then again it is proposed that at different places where there are ten or more local members, they might form a regional or local circle and hold meetings at least once in two months for reading papers, discussing problems, or even undertaking some organised effort in dialect studies. The reports of these activities of the circles can be published in the Volumes of *Indian Linguistics*, and even some small monographs can be separately brought out. All such activities will not only help in keeping up the interest of

the members, but also in raising the Society in the eyes of the University authorities to give it due recognition.

Let me now conclude with a couple of quotations. The late Dr. SUKTHANKAR said in his sectional President's address at Tirupati 15 years ago,

> "It is the debt to the ṛṣis, which is difficult to discharge and which usually remains unpaid. Let us, however, follow the mandate of the scriptures and let us not forget our debt to the ṛṣis, even if it has been neglected in the past. Let us not forget our debt to the Maharṣi Pāṇini, who has made the name of our country resound in the halls of the academies of the world. Let us endeavour by our assiduous and fruitful study to keep bright the fair name of that illustrious Muni of imperishable fame, Pāṇini!"

And as recently as 17th October 1955, while requesting Shri Balasaheb KHER to inaugurate the Autumn School of Linguistics, Dr. KATRE repeated,

> "With your blessings, we are confident that the beginning made here will prove itself fruitful and produce not unworthy successors to the great Acharyas and Rishis who established the science of Linguistics for the first time in India. May these efforts succeed in raising a Pāṇini or a Patañjali in the next few generations to uphold and sustain the position of India as a leading country for the scientific study of languages!"

āgnīdhro 'bhigṛhṇāti / 'avabāḍho 'ghaśaṁsa' iti tṛtīye / 'avabāḍhā yātudhānā' iti caturthe (2.2.2) 'Der Āgnīdhra bedeckt das Hingestreute (rather 'dug down, buried') beim zweiten Hinstreuen (rather 'pressing, burying') mit der Formel: „Nach unten gedrängt ist das Rakṣas", beim dritten mit: „Nach unten gedrängt ist der Böswillige", beim vierten mit: „Nach unten gedrängt sind die Zauberer"'[8] (Caland).

Still in another ritual regarding the preparation of the puroḍāśa, when the husk is separated from the rice taken out for this purpose, the officiating priest puts the husk on the potsherd and pushes it below the black antelope skin. He then presses it down with the mantra 'the evil spirit is dug down, buried' (*puroḍāśakapālaṁ tuṣaiḥ pūrayitvā 'rakṣasāṁ bhāgo 'sī'ti ... adhastāt kṛṣṇājinasyopavapati / nānvīkṣate / 'avabāḍhaṁ rakṣa' ity avabādhate*/[9] Hiraṇya. 1. 5. 17).

The ritual acts described above should leave no doubt about the meaning of *ávabāḍha* 'dug down, pressed down, buried'. This follows from the fact that the mantra containing this word accompanies the action of digging and pressing down the charm etc. into the ground.

In the RV. 1. 106. 6 (= AV. Paipp. 4. 28. 6) we get *níbāḍha* which has the same meaning as *ávabāḍha*: *indraṁ kútso vṛtrahánaṁ śácīpátiṁ kāṭé níbāḷha ṛ́ṣir ahvad ūtáye* / „Indra, den Vṛtratöter, den Herrn der Kraft, hat der Ṛṣi Kutsa, als er in die Grube hinabgestossen[10] war, zu Hilfe gerufen" (Geldner). 'Pressed down' or even 'buried' would be better than just 'hinabgestossen'.

Bāḍhá without any prefix occurs only once in the Ṛgveda 1. 181. 7. There it appears to have been used as a substantive, meaning 'dug out

---

[8] Also Hiraṇyakeśi, with minor variations, 1.6.21. Caland (on Āp. Śr. S. 2.2.2) remarks that these three formulas are not found anywhere else except in the Āp. and the Hiraṇya. Śr. S. But they are given by the Vārāha Śr. S. 1.3.1.42 (with *sphyenotkaram apidhatte* for *abhigṛhṇāti*).

[9] Commentator: *hastenāvaṣṭabhyoptatuṣadeśaṁ bādhate*. Āp. Śr. S. mentions only the placing of the husk below the antelope skin (1.20.9), but does not give the following mantra for pressing it down.

[10] *níbāḍha* occurs in the general sense of 'overpowering, oppressing' in the Jaim. Br. (Auswahl by W. Caland, pp. 196—197): *sa ha Khaṇḍikaḥ Keśinam abhibabhūva / sa ha Keśī Khaṇḍikena nibāḍha Uccaiḥśravasam Kauvayeyaṁ jagāma* / „Khaṇḍika nun überwältigte den Keśin. Keśin, von Khaṇḍika bedrängt, begab sich zu Ucchaiḥśravasa, dem Sohn des Kuvaya". According to PW, additions to Vol. 7 (p. 1779) we get *saṁbāḷha* in the Taitt. Ār. 1.17 which, as mentioned in PW, means *saṁbaddha, dṛḍha* according to the commentator. I have not been able to find this word in the reference given. The Vaidikapadānukramakośa of Hoshiarpur also does not give it. Keith, *Ait. Ār.* p. 189, n. 10), apparently following PW, simply says, „It occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka" but does not give exact reference. The reference in PW is obviously mistaken and seems to be intended for *saṁbāḷhatama* which occurs in the *Ait. Ār.* 1.4.1. However, the commentator's explanation referred to by PW remains a moot point.

in the Jaipur State, Rūpnāth (ru) in the Madhya Pradesh, Maski (mk) and Kopbāḷ (kpb) in the south Hyderabad State, and Yerraguḍi (yr) in the Kurnool district of the Andhra State, show the non-eastern influence in their language. Unlike the Mysore versions, these six versions are found at places far away from each other[3] and hence they are not quite identical in their text and language. In the first instance we have to note that the Sahasrām version, which is in the east, was translated into the eastern dialect;[4] the Bairāṭ version is more or less in agreement with it and thus it shows the extent of the influence of the Māgadhan dialect. The other versions on the other hand are more or less free from the eastern influence in Phonology and show adherence to the non-eastern forms. Since many of the important points as to what may be considered eastern and what non-eastern have been already discussed and the reasons why eastern features are found in the minor rock edict have been stated, these considerations will not be repeated here. The correspondences of the non-eastern forms occurring in the minor rock edict with those in the Niya Prakrit, the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and the literary Prakrits have also been pointed out in the paper on the Mysore version referred to above. It will be sufficient in this paper here to show the regional distinctions which occur in the remaining versions of the minor rock edict. However, I have referred to in the foot-notes for the sake of comparison certain forms occurring in the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu inscription in which LUEDERS has observed a north-western characteristic.[5]

One thing may be noted regarding the contents of the versions. While most of the versions end with the declaration that the edict was issued while the king was on tour, and that he had been on tour for 256 nights, only the Mysore and the Yerraguḍi versions add to it some more matter describing what the king considered to be the *dhaṁmaguṇā*. Even with regard to this additional passage the Yerraguḍi version is more extensive than the Mysore version. Unfortunately the Yerraguḍi version is not well preserved and hence it has not been fully explained.

br—Brahmagiri version of the minor rock edict.
sd—Śiddāpur version of the minor rock edict.
MRE—The versions of the Minor Rock Edict.

3. Only the Gavīmaṭh and the Pālkīguṇḍu versions at Kopbāḷ are near to each other and are identical in contents. The Pālkīguṇḍu version, however, is much damaged.
4. The s version shows only the following few non-eastern features which it has allowed to remain from the original draft. These are—*diyaḍhiya, savachala, pāvatave*, and *palakamamīna* which are discussed below.
5. On the basis of the distinction made in the sibilants *ṣ* and *s* in the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu inscription, LUEDERS (*Philologica Indica*, p. 217), observes—Ich bin daher geneigt, den Dialekt von Bhaṭṭiprōḷu diesen Dialekten anzugliedern und in den Leuten, die den Stūpa errichteten, Kolonisten aus dem Nordwestern zu sehen."

There is one more point in which the Yerraguḍi version differs from the others. While all the other versions are written from left to right, the Yerraguḍi version, though written in Brāhmī, shows certain lines being inscribed from right to left as was the custom for the Kharoṣṭhī script used in the north-west.[6] While commenting on this state of affairs, BARUA (*IHQ* 9.114-15, 1953) observes, "The anamoly in the engraving of the inscription might be partly due to the fact that the scribe entrusted with the work was inefficient and careless, and partly due to the fact that he was so much habituated to writing the Kharoṣṭhī form of writing from right to left that it was very difficult, nay, impossible for him to shake it off even in writing a Brāhmī inscription." But this is a little difficult to admit, because there is at least some consistency in writing almost always the even lines from right to left, and it would be much better to explain the confusion as arising from the fact that it reflected an attempt on the part of the scribe to combine the two ways in which the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts were written—the former because he was actually writing the edict in that script, and the latter because the original draft was written in that script. This is a small piece of palaeographic evidence to show that the original draft was issued from the north-west. (For another possible palaeographic evidence, see below p. 94 footnote 58).

Two announcements have been made in recent times regarding the discovery of two more versions of the minor rock edict—the one at Rajula-Nandagiri near Pattikonda in the Kurnool district[7] (the find-spot is only twenty miles from Yerraguḍi), and the other in a forest near the village Gujarra in the Datia district, Vindhya Pradesh.[8] Both these versions have not been yet published and hence they are not treated in this paper. When published, these versions would be of great help either to support or alter some of the observations made in these two papers on Aśoka's minor rock edict.

With these introductory remarks I proceed to show the north-western (or western) characteristics found in the different versions.

(1) The vowel *ṛ*: In these versions there are not many words with *ṛ* which express human relationship. The only available instance is *-pitu-* (*pitṛ*) occurring in yr version, and it shows the north-western

6. I have already pointed out in my paper on the Mysore versions that the last word in that version, viz. *lipikareṇa* is written in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and that this is one of the facts pointing to the north-western origin of the edict.
7. Indian Archaeology 1953-54. A Review, New Delhi, 1954.
8. "The Times of India", 10th December, 1954.

treatment[9] *ṛ* > *u* observed in this class of words, and not the corresponding eastern *ṛ* > *i* treatment. cf. *pitu* and *bhratu* in S, M, as against *piti* and *bhāti* in D,J.

(2) The vowel *e* : In a few cases the vowel *-e* tends to become *-i* in the north-west.[10] cf. *duv*[*i*] for *duve* (*dve*), *aṁñi* for *aṁñe* (*anya*), *rajani* for *rajane* (*rājānaḥ*). Now a similar change may be observed also in kpb in the instance *upeti* for *upete* (*upetaḥ*),[11] and in ru in *pavatisu*[12] for *pavatesu* (*parvateṣu*).

(3) The vowel *a* : With the above tendency may be compared the north-western tendency to change *a* > *i* in certain instances.[13] For example, *ayi* (*ayam*) in S, M, *vinikramaṇi* M (= *vikramaṇaṁ* S). Now with this compare *bāḍhi* (*bāḍham*) in ru[14] (but *bāḍhaṁ* and *bāḍha* in the other versions). Here we may also consider the forms of the demonstrative pronoun *etad*, which in some instances in the north-west gives the base *eti-*[15] for the usual *eta-*. cf. *etisa* in S, M (*etiṣā* in K), but *etasa*

9. Also cf. the following words in the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu inscriptions (references to *Philologica Indica*) : *sapitukasa* p. 218, *kurapituno* and *kuramatu* p. 220, *mātugāmasa* p. 221.

10. For similar tendency in the Niya Pkt., cf. *nici* = *nice*, *vaṁti* = *upāṁte*, T. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (Cambridge, 1937) § 1. BURROW also notes that the change was regular in the dialect of Khotan and that similar instances are common in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada. In the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu inscription too we have *kubira* for *kubera*, p. 229 (which, in the form *kupira*, occurs also in a Bharaut inscription, see LUEDERS' List No. 794).

11. Among other versions, ru has *upete*, b *upayāte*, br and sd *upayīte*, yr *upayite*, and mk *upagate* (see below p. 86).

12. HULTZSCH, p. cxxvi and f.n. 1 takes this as the loc. pl. of the fem. base *pavati* (*parvati*) which is unlikely. cf. *pavatesu* in the s version. Similar change of *-e* > *-i* in Pāli is noted by LUEDERS, *Beobachtungen* etc., § 10, (p. 17) and f.n.3, cf. *dāni* for *dāne* (*dānaṁ*). With *pavatisu* may be compared Pāli *hemantagiṁhisu* (*hemantagrīṣmeṣu*) cited by LUEDERS.

13. Among later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we find *śati* (*śata*) and *sarviṇa* (*sarva-*), cf. M. A. MEHENDALE, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, (Poona, 1948), § 503. Among later Pkts, change *a* > *i* is found in Māhār., Amg., and JM; but Ś and Mg. preserve *a*, PISCHEL § 101.

14. *pakamasi* for *pakamasa* in ru and *kaṭiviya* for *kaṭaviya* in br may be regarded as scribal mistakes.

15. For *etina* occurring in the Khar. Dhammapada, see BURROW § 1. Pāli has also base *ti* and *eti* in fem., cf. *tissā*, *tissāya*, *tissaṁ*, *etissāya*, GEIGER § 105. Among later Pkts. M, JM, Amg. and P have bases in *-ā* and *-ī* in fem., but Mg. and Ś have in *-ā*, PISCHEL § 424, § 426. Delhi-Topra pillar edict has *kinasu* (< *kena-svit*) but Sārnāth has *kenapi*. For the base *ki-* in the forms of the interrogative pronoun in Pāli see GEIGER § 111, and in later Prakrits cf. PISCHEL § 428. In gen. the form *kīsa* appears also in the eastern Pkt. Māgadhī. *kiṁna*, instr. in form, has been noted by BURROW § 83 for Niya Prakrit.

in d, j, G. Among the versions of the minor rock edict, ru gives the base *eti-* twice, cf. *etinā* (instr.) and *etiya* (dat.). Similarly though *idam* gives forms with the normal base *ima-*, it also shows non-eastern *imi-*[16] in *imisa* S and *iminā* G. With this we may compare *iminā* in br, sd, and yr among MRE.

The change $a > i$ is also noticed in the non-eastern versions of MRE in the future ending *-siti* which varies with the eastern ending *-sati* (*-syati*). This change may be explained as palatalisation of the vowel.[17] Thus we have *vaḍhisiti* ru,[18] mk, kpb, yr, br, sd, but *vaḍhisati* s, b. Now in S we have the future ending *-śati* in forms like *vaḍhiśati* etc. where the vowel *a* is preserved due to eastern influence, but the palatalisation is even then seen in the sibilant $s > ś$. The vocalic change $a > i$ in the future ending may thus be regarded as a north-western characteristic.[19]

(4) The vowel *u* : In yr we get the non-eastern form *garu* (*guru*) with the vowel *a* (which was also found in the Mysore versions). cf.

16. Pāli has *iminā* (and *aminā*) in mas. and *imissā* and *imissaṁ* in fem., GEIGER § 108. JM, Ś, and Mg. have *iminā*, PISCHEL § 430. BLOCH, op. cit. p. 69 observes—"Ces formes à *i* intérieur (i.e. forms *imissa, imissā* and *iminā*), auxquelles il faut joindre dans l'autre démonstratif gén. sg. Sh. M. K. *etissa* et Rup. instr. *etinā* (mais dans Rup. *etiya atthāya* datif, le premier mot doit être une graphie ou une lecture fautive pour *etāya*) reposent sans doute sur l'interrogatif, où le thème *ki-* du neutre s'est étendu au delà de son domaine primitif." This is, however, unlikely, for the variation *a* : *i* shows geographical distinction and should be related to the north-western tendency to change *a* to *i* as shown above.

17. For a similar change of $a > i$ in the presence of *y*, cf. *muli* 'price', *eśvari* 'ownership' and *arogi* 'health' in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW § 9. For future, BURROW § 99 gives both the endings *-iṣyati* and *-iśati*. Pāli has sometimes *i* for *a* in the future ending when *h* appears for *s* in the Gāthā dialect, cf. *karihiti* for *karissati* etc. GEIGER § 150, § 151, § 153. Among later Prakrits, Māh., JM and Amg. have similar endings with *i* vowel, besides the usual endings with the *a* vowel: *-ihisi* and *-ihii* or *-ihī*. Hemacandra (4.275) gives *-issidi* for Śaurasenī as well. According to the same grammarian (4.302) the same ending seems to have extended even to Māgadhī in *bhaviśśidi* (PISCHEL § 520).

18. In ru once we have *vaḍhisata* which is to be read as *vaḍhisiti*, HULTZSCH, p. 167, f.n. 8.

19. The form *vadhisiti* is regarded as eastern by TURNER, *BSOS* 6.532 (1931). This does not seem to be justified in the first instance because the tendency to change *a* to *i* is found in the north-west, and secondly because among the versions of the minor rock edict, the one at s (and b) which can be regarded as eastern gives *vaḍhisati* and not *-siti*. The form *likhiyisāmi* occurring in D XIV 2 does not show the change $ayi > iyi$ as TURNER (op. cit., p. 532, and also HULTZSCH, p. xcix) would take it to be, but it is obviously influenced by *likhite* which immediately precedes it, cf. *bahuke ca likhite likhiyis*[*āmi*]. Similarly *vadhiyisati* of K (IV. 11) is either influenced by *vadhite* which precedes it, or like *vaḍhiyati*, which also occurs in K, it may be due to confusion with the future base *vaḍhi-* in *vaḍhisati*.

garu G, S (and *galu* K), but *gulu* D, J; (*guru* occurs in G, S, M also as a borrowing).

(5) The semi-vowel *y*: As in the case of the other non-eastern versions, the semi-vowel *y* is preserved initially in the forms of the relative pronoun and in the indeclinables cf. *yathā* ru, *yathāraha* (*yathārha*) yr, *ya* or *yaṁ* (*yat*) ru, b (line 2), kpb, yr, *yārisa* (*yādṛśa*) yr. But the eastern s version gives *aṁ* with the loss of initial *y*.[20] *aṁ* occurs also once in b in line 3. What is surprising is to find *aṁ* in mk and *athā* in yr. It appears therefore that the original draft contained these forms because instances like *e*, *aṁ* and *atha* were already known in the north-west due to their occurrence in the M version.[21]

As in the Mysore version, we have *y* developed before *i* in *upayita* (*upa+ita*) in yr. The form *upayāta* in b is a mistake for *upayita*.[22] An analogical extension of this phenomenon in a compound form when the first member ended in *i* was noticed in *diyaḍhiya* (*dvi+ardha*) while dealing with the Mysore version. The same form occurs in all the remaining versions, including s and b. Another instance of this nature is *hathiyāroha* (*hasti+āroha*) in yr.

The optative endings *-yu*: *-vu*: The yr version gives the eastern opt. 3rd pl. ending *-vu* as against the non-eastern *-yu* given by the Mysore version, cf. *parākamevu*[23] and *jānevu* (for *pakameyu* and *jāneyu*). This will show that the original draft had the ending *-vu* under the eastern

20. This loss in the eastern versions is not regarded by BLOCH (l.c. p. 52) and J. VEKERDI (*AO* 3.324.1953) as a phonetic phenomenon, because *y* is not initially lost in the eastern versions in substantives and verb forms like *yuta*, *yāti* etc. But in my opinion the phenomenon is so regular that perhaps it would be better to assume that the literary dialect has carried to the extreme the tendency which had appeared in the pronunciation of certain indeclinables and forms of the relative pronoun because they were of frequent occurrence in the speech.

21. A few other eastern forms like *ava* (*yāvat*) are found at S also.

22. Of course it is possible to derive *upayāta* from √*yā*. Compare, for instance, that the western G version uses √*yā* or √*niyā*, where the eastern and under its influence the north-western versions use √*nikhama* (or √*nikrama*) in the third and the eighth rock edicts (√*nikhama* occurs in d, j also. The form *ayāya* in G VIII, can as well be derived from √*i*, cf. HULTZSCH, p. lxviii, but cf. BLOCH, op. cit., p. 75). In the thirteenth rock edict, however, K and M versions have √*yā*, and S has √*vraca* (G version is missing). In the same edict, as noun form *vinikhamaṇa*, occurs in G also (K has *vinikhamana*, S *nikramaṇa*, and M *vinikramaṇa*). But so far as the versions of the MRE are concerned note the use of the verb √*i* in the form *upeta* in kpb and ru. Perhaps *upayāta* may represent an attempt on the part of the scribe to correct the form *upayita* of the original draft as it was not properly understood. The form *upeta* noticed above and *upagata* in mk point to the same inference.

23. Also see below p. 95 where even the base *palākama* is shown to be eastern.

influence. This was rightly altered in the Mysore version in keeping with the western forms, but allowed to remain in the yr version.

(6) Treatment of *r* : *l* : As is to be expected the eastern s version gives the forms with *l*, and in this respect the b version also agrees with it. cf. *uḍāla* (*udāra*), *cila* (*cira*), etc. As against this, the kpb and the yr versions agree with the non-eastern treatment and show *r*. cf. *uḍāra, cira,* etc. The ru version in Central India, however, gives forms with *r* as well as *l* : *sātireka,*[24] *ārādhe*[*ta*]*va*[25] (*ā√rādh-*), *cira*, and *savachara*, but also *sātileka, uḍāla, √palakama* (*parā√kram*), *apaladhiya* (*aparārdhya* ?), *ahāla* (*āhāra*), *vālata* (*vārataḥ*). The mk version, which is further in the south, is allowed to be more free from the eastern influence in this regard. Cf. .... [*t*]*ire* .., *pure*, but *kalaṁta*[26] (√*kar*), *uḍālaka*. This state of affairs shows that the eastern speech habit to use *l* was known very much outside its home so that the scribes who worked for the ru and mk versions thought it proper to use some forms with *l* to show familiarity with the king's speech. Moreover, it is also possible that the original draft contained some of these words with *l* as a result of the influence of the king's speech.[27] While these were completely altered in some versions, it was only partly done in the others.

(7) Sibilants : As in the standard western Prakrit, the versions of the minor rock edict have only the dental sibilant in a large majority of cases. But as the north-western dialect shows distinction between the three sibilants we have at least one instance of the palatal *ś* in *Śaka* (*Śākya*), and one instance of the cerebral *ṣ* in *vaṣa* (*varṣa*), both in mk.[28] In b, the palatal *ś* is found in an attempt at hyper-north-westernisation in *śvaga* (*svarga*); exactly as we have *śaca* (*satya*), *śava* (*sarva*), and *ācariyaśa* (*ācāryasya*) in the Mysore version.

(8) Cerebralisation : The cerebralisation of dentals is particularly an eastern characteristic. But instances of cerebralisation are found in many forms in the north-west also and hence such cases can be witnessed in the versions of the minor rock edict. Thus for $t > ṭ$,[29] cf.

24. BUEHLER and SENART read *sātileka*, cf. HULTZSCH, p. 166, f.n. 1.
25. TURNER, loc. cit., p. 8, would read *ālādhetava–*; *āladhi* and √*ālādha–* occur already in the K version in the north.
26. *Kalaṁta* occurs in K as well.
27. Some Magadhisms showing *l* for *r* have been well known in S, M, and G versions also.
28. BLOCH (op. cit., p. 48) regads these cases as scribal errors and considers that they do not represent the actual pronunciation. True, they do not reflect the pronunciation of the west or central dialect but surely they point to the distinction maintained in the original draft which came from the north-west.
29. The western dental, however, can be seen in *pavatitaviya* (*pravartitavya*) and *pakiti* (*prakṛti*) in yr.

kaṭa (*kṛta*) s, ru, kpb, and *kaṭaviya* (*kartavya*) yr; for *th* > *ṭh*, cf. *aṭha* (*artha*) s, ru, kpb, yr; for *d* < *ḍ* cf. *uḍāra* kpb, *uḍāla*[30] s, b, ru mk, *khuḍaka*[31] kpb; for *rdh* > *ḍh*, cf. *diyaḍhiya*, *aḍhātiya* (*ardhatrika*), and √*vaḍha* (√*vardh*) which occur in all versions; for *st* > *ṭh*, cf. *ṭhabha* (*stambha*) ru, but *thaṁbha* s; for *sth* > *ṭh*, cf. *ṭhitika* (*sthiti*) in all versions. Now with regard to *st* it is to be observed that *thaṁbha* is the eastern form, as *st* > *th* in D, J, K and also M, while *ṭhaṁbha* is the west-central form, as *st* remains or becomes *sṭ* in G, which latter may have been further assimilated to *ṭh* in the west-central dialect. With regard to *ṭhitika*, it may be noted that this form with the cerebral is the eastern one (as *sth* > *ṣṭh* in the forms of √*sthā*) and it occurs in the minor rock edict as it was already known in the north-west through the M version.[32] It may be added that perhaps in mk we have *uṭhāna* (*utsthāna*) while *uṭhana* is found in S, M also.

For *vyuṣṭa* we have *vyuṭha* in ru and *vyūṭha*[33] in yr as quite regular forms. The s version, on the other hand, gives the eastern form *vivutha*.[34] It appears that *vyūṭha* and *vivutha* came from two different bases derived from *vi*√*vas-*, the former from *vi* + **uṣṭa*[35] and the latter from *vi* + **vasta*.[36]

The treatment of *ṇ* : *n* : It is well known that *n* is eastern and *ṇ* non-eastern. Now among the versions of the minor rock edict, we have *ṇ* in kpb, (as also in the Mysore version), but all others give the eastern *n* : *sāvana* (*śrāvaṇa*) ru, s, yr,[37] *porānā* (**paurāṇā*), *guna* (*guṇa*), and *prāna* (*prāṇa*) in yr. But we have *sāvaṇa*, etc., in kpb. In terminations, all versions have only *n*, but kpb (and the Mysore version) has

30. This form is not known in the north-west so far as the Aśokan inscriptions go. Its appearance can be explained only as emanating from the king's speech.
31. The cerebral in this word is clearly due to the influence of the cerebral in *uḍāra*, cf. *khuḍakā ca uḍārā ca pakamaṁtu ti*.
32. Bhaṭṭiprōḷu has *ṣṭh* > *ṭh* in *goṭhī* (*goṣṭhī*), but once *th* in *gothi*, cf. Phil. Ind. p. 224, 226, 229, and 225; also cf. *kāṇīṭha* (*kaniṣṭha*), p. 220.
33. This is the reading of BARUA; BLOCH reads *vyutha*. Bhaṭṭiprōḷu also has *ṭh* in *yaṭhi* (Phil. Ind. p. 221).
34. It has been already shown in the paper dealing with the Mysore versions that we have eastern *v* for the non-eastern *y*; also cf. above p. 86.
35. The forms *diyaḍhiya* etc. above p. 86 would suggest that the north-western form should be *viyuṭha* with the development of *y* after *i*. The preservation of the cluster *vy* shows the western influence, cf. below p. 89.
36. With this cf. later Māhārāṣṭrī *vuttha* and Jain Māh. *pavuttha*, PISCHEL § 303. *vivutha* could as well come from *vi* + **uṣṭa* and correspond exactly to **viyuṭha* of the north-west (cf. the above f.n.); but as this is made difficult by the absence of the cerebral in *vivutha*, I am inclined to look upon *vivutha* as a mistake for *vivuṭha*, just as *vyūtha* in the Mysore version has been suggested in the previous paper to be a mistake for *vyūṭha*.
37. yr once gives *sāvaṇa* also.

sometimes *ṇ*: *sātirekāni* ru, but *sātirekāṇi* kpb, *aḍhātiyāni* s, ru, mk, but *aḍhatiyāṇi* kpb.[38] The kpb version thus not only preserves *ṇ*, but also changes *n*>*ṇ* (this, however, is not done in the Mysore version): *munisa* s, yr, but *māṇusa*[39] kpb, √*jāna* s, b, ru, yr, but √*jāṇa* kpb; *devānaṁ* ru etc., but *devāṇaṁ* kpb; also cf. *dāṇi* (*idānīm*) and even initial *ṇ* in *ṇo* (*no*)[40] in kpb.

(9) Consonant clusters with *y*: They are in most cases assimilated as in the north-west and the west. In two cases the cluster is preserved as is also the tendency observed in the west. It is assimilated in *Śaka* (*Śākya*) mk, *saka* (*śakya*) mk, *āroka* (*ārogya*)[41] yr. It is preserved in [*ca*]*kya* (*śakya*) b (line 6) and *yūgya* (?) yr. The eastern influence of dissolution is seen in *sakiya* yr, ru, and *cakiya* kpb, s, b (line 3), *ācariya* (*ācārya*) yr. It may also be found in *rdhy* > *dhiy*, cf. *aparārdhya*[41] > *avaladhiya* s, *apaladhiya* ru, *aparadhiya* yr. These forms show that the original draft had the eastern forms *cakiya*, *ācariya*, and *avaladhiya*. While translating into the western dialect, they were partly westernised by changing *caka* > *saka* and *l* > *r*, but the eastern dissolution was retained.

The cluster *vy* is preserved in the instance *vyūṭha* in ru and yr versions as in the west. It is dissolved in ru in the instance *vayajana* for *viyajana*[42] (*vyañjana*). In s we have *vivutha* (*vyuṣṭa* or **vivasta* see above p. 88 and f.n. 36). In future participles, the non-eastern tendency of assimilation is seen in *pāpotava* ru, kpb, *adhigatava* mk, *ārādhetava* yr (the only instance with *-v-* in yr; otherwise we have *-viy-*), and *ālādhetava* b. In the form of this word as also in *pāvatava*[43] even the s version adheres to the original in so far as the ending is concerned. The eastern tendency of dissolution is seen in *dakhitaviya* mk, *vataviya* mk,

38. According to TURNER (op. cit., Text) kpb gives *ṇ* in the terminations also in *vasāṇi* and *mahateṇa*. But in these two cases as well as in *aḍhātiyāṇi* I would read the dental *-n-* in the endings. Even according to TURNER'S reading kpb gives dental in *khudakena* and *pakamamīṇena*.

39. This is according to TURNER. I would read *mānusa*. There is no place for the upper horizontal stroke of *ṇ* between the *ā* stroke of the first letter *mā* and the *e* stroke of the third letter *se* in *māṇusehi* (line 4).

40. Here also I differ from TURNER and read *no* both in line 2 and line 4. The estampage and the photograph given by him show slight variation in the symbol which he reads as *ṇo*. If the left middle horizontal stroke seen on the estampage is due to chance erasure and that the slight upper right hand stroke is an accidental extension of the left hand mark, then the symbol can stand for *no*. In line 4, we see a symbol which clearly shows that the left hand upper horizontal stroke is a matter of chance occurrence and has no value in reading the symbol as it is separated from the main letter.

41. I intend to show in a separate paper that this derivation is incorrect.

42. BLOCH (op. cit., p. 150, f.n. 13) regards these as scribal errors.

likhāpetavaya (for *-taviya*) and *vivāsetaviya* ru, and *sususitaviyu* yr. Now the eastern tendency of dissolving the cluster was already known in the north-west in such instances as *viyapaṭa* or *viyapraṭu* (*vyāpṛta*), and especially in the endings of the future passive participles, cf. *pujetaviya, kaṭaviya* etc.

(10) Clusters with *r* : Such clusters are normally assimilated, cf. *pakata* or *pakaṁta* (*prakrānta*), *amisa* (*amiśra*), etc. The only instances where they are preserved as in the north-west are *prakāsa* ru and *prāna* yr. It may be observed that such clusters are sometimes preserved in G also.

(11) The cluster *kṣ* : It shows the eastern *kṣ*>*kh* treatment and not the non-eastern *kṣ*>*ch*, cf. *khudaka* or *khuḍaka* (*kṣudraka*) in all versions and *dakhitaviya* (from √**dṛkṣa* or from the future base √*drakṣya*) mk. Both *khudaka* (or *khudraka*) and *dakhati* occur as loan-words in the S, M versions of the major rock edicts.[44] In fact the first major rock edict shows even the base √*dakha* (or √*drakha?*) to be eastern as against √*pasa* (√*paśya-*) which is used in G.

(12) The cluster *jñ* : In yr we see the eastern change *jñ* > *n* (and not the non-eastern *jñ* > *ñ*) in √*ānapa* (√*ājñapa*) and *nātika* (*jñāti*). Now √*āṇapa* occurs already in the S, M versions[45] and the Mysore version which shows that the original draft had √*āṇapa*. The yr version, however, changed it to √*ānapa* as it changes *ṇ* > *n* in almost all instances (cf. above p. 88). In the case of *nātika*,[46] however, it seems that it occurred in the original draft itself as a borrowing from the east; but later, whereas it was correctly replaced by the non-eastern *ñātika* in the Mysore version, it was allowed to remain in yr.

(13) The cluster *tm* : The cluster *tm* > *tp* as in the west in the instance *mahātpa* (*mahātman*) yr. In the corresponding form *mahata* occurring in s, b, ru, kpb it shows the eastern assimilation *tm* > *t*, which is already found as a borrowed element in the S, M versions.

(14) The cluster *sm* : The pronominal forms *tuphe* yr and *tupaka* (for *tuphāka*) ru (**tuṣma*) are also north-western in origin since we have *sm* > *sp* in the loc. sg. term. in S, which would explain the assimilated form *ph* : **tuṣma* > *tuṣpa* > *tu*(*p*)*pha* (cf. above *ṭh* as assimilation from G *sṭ*, p. 88).

43. For the probability of the base √*pāva* being eastern as against non-eastern √*pāpa*, see below p. 93, f.n. 54.
44. The eastern *kṣ* > *kh* treatment seems to have exercised some influence in the north-west so that we see it also in the instance *nikhetu* (*ni* √*kṣip*) in the Bhaṭṭiprōḷu inscription (Phil. Ind., p. 220).
45. G has √*āñapa*; the proper north-western *ñ* is shown also by Bhaṭṭiprōḷu *āñaṁ* < *ājñām* (Phil. Ind. p. 227).
46. K in the north knows *nātika* from the east.

(15) Initial *h*: As in the Mysore version, we have instances of adding *h* before an initial vowel in such cases as *hevaṁ* (*evam*) s, ru, mk, yr, *hesā* (*eṣā*) yr. *hetā* in s is quite understandable. As we have no parallel instances in the north-west or the west, the presence of *hevaṁ*, *hesā* in the original draft of the minor rock edict can be attributed only to the influence of the king's speech.

(16) As was noted while dealing with the Mysore version in the earlier paper, the main morphological features like the nom. sg. mas. and neut. ending *-e*[47] and the loc. sg. ending *-si*[48] found in the minor rock edict are eastern. Their presence was explained to be due to the fact that they were known in the north-west through the versions of the major rock edicts. These features occur in the remaining versions of MRE as well. Some other peculiarities of noun, pronoun, and verb forms may be noted below.

(a) Nom. acc. sg. neut. - Though more frequently we find the eastern *-e*, the western ending *-aṁ* is found in *sātirekaṁ* and *ārokaṁ* in yr.

(b) Dat. sg. -The non-eastern ending *-ya* is found in *etāya aṭhāya* ru, kpb, yr; the eastern *-ye* in *etāye aṭhāye* s.

(c) Acc. pl. m.—The eastern influence in this regard can be seen also in the final portion of the yr version, for which parallel passages in the other versions are not available. Thus we have instances like *hathiyārohāni*, *baṁbhanāni*, etc., which show the eastern *-āni* ending. LUEDERS (*Philologica Indica*, p. 278 ff.) has shown this ending to be of old-Ardhamāgadhī. These endings are found in the north-west[49] and in a few cases in the west[50] and hence their occurrence in the original draft is explainable.

(d) Among the pronouns, the nom. sg. of the first person is *hakaṁ* in b, yr which is an eastern form. Its presence in the minor edict is to be attributed to the influence of the king's speech. (cf. *hevaṁ* etc. above).

(e) In the instr. sg., the non-eastern *mayā* is given by yr, and the eastern *mamayā* by b, kpb and yr give *me*, which, however, is confused with the gen. sg. form.

(f) In the second person, the forms *tuphe* yr and *tupakaṁ* (= *tuphāka*(*ṁ*)) ru are north-western as explained above, p.90 (cluster *ṣm*).

47. Cf. *upāsake*, *phale*, *sāvaṇe*, etc.
48. Cf. *Jaṁbudīpasi*.
49. Cf. *yutani*, *grahathani*, etc.
50. Cf. *khaṁdhāni*, *gharastāni*, *pāsaṁḍāni*, *pavajitāni* in G as given by HULTZSCH, p. lxii; the proper western ending is *-e*. Cf. *yute*, *athe*, etc.

(g) In the demonstrative, nom. sg. m. is *iyaṁ*, which is an eastern form along with *ayaṁ* which is non-eastern. But *iyaṁ* in the minor rock edict may not be regarded as a borrowing from the east. It seems to occur owing to confusion with the neut. sg. form *iyaṁ* which as a borrowing already occurs in the west. Cf. the following expressions : *iyaṁ phale* s, br, sd, *iyaṁ sāvaṇe*, br, sd, kpb or *iyam sāvane* s, kpb, yr with such expressions as *iyaṁ pakame* br, sd, yr and *iyaṁ aṭhe* s, ru, br, kpb.

In section G, s gives *ese* where corresponding ru version gives *esā* and br, sd, and kpb give *iyaṁ*. Obviously the original draft had *iyaṁ* as referring to *phale* occurring in the preceding section. But this *iyaṁ* was mistaken to be fem. and rendered as *esā* in ru, and mistaken to be mas. and rendered as *ese* in b. I would thus regard *ese* in b as *mas.*[51] and *esā* in ru as fem. forms.

(h) The non-eastern instrumental *iminā* is given by yr (cf. above p. 85), and the non-eastern dat. *imāya*[52] is given by ru.

(i) Among the verb forms, it may be noted that the present part. middle ending *-mīna* s, b, ru, yr, or *-mīṇa* kpb is non-eastern.[53] Its occurrence in the s version in *palakamamīnenā* is to be regarded as a borrowing from the original draft. Similarly *samāṇa* in kpb is non-eastern, while *saṁta* in s is eastern.

(17) In the end we may consider the use of certain forms of a word or the use of different words[54] for expressing an idea which throws

51. Also note that in mk *aṭhe* is added after *iy[aṁ]*. It is possible that the translator of the b version had *aṭhe* in view and not *phale* and hence he used *ese* as mas. In any case *ese* and *esā* cannot be regarded as neut. as HULTZSCH, p. cxxvii, takes them to be.

52. The same form occurs in G, while the eastern form as shown by D is *imāye*.

53. BLOCH, op. cit. § 47 (p. 80) holds a different view. He observes "De toute facon la forme en *-mina* est orientale". That is why he regards the form *karamino* occurring in S as oriental (§ 34, p. 72). But I have already shown in the paper on the Mysore version why the forms in *-mīna* have to be regarded as non-eastern. LUEDERS (*Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, pp. 157-159) rightly treats the present participles in *-nt* as an eastern characteristic.

54. In the following sections the case of the word *idānīm* has not been considered. The north-western S version (and also the northern K) substitutes in the first edict *aja* (*adya*) of the other versions by *idani*. Among the versions of the minor rock edict also we find the use of *dāni* in the non-eastern versions viz. ru, mk, yr, and *dāṇi* in kpb. But the evidence is rather scanty to allow us to look upon it as showing dialectal variation. For other isolated instances we may also compare *uḍāra* (*-la*) in all versions except Mysore, where we get *mahātpā*, and yr, where we have *mahādhanā*; *sātireka* (*-l-*) in all versions, but once the Mysore group has *adhika*; √*ārādha* (*-l-*) in all versions, but √*adhigama* (*adhigatave, adhigacheyā*) in mk; (for *upagata* in mk see above p. 86, f.n. 22; for *pure* in mk and *velā* in kpb see below P. 94 f.n. 58; for *dhamayuta* and

light on the dialectal distinctions in the days of Aśoka. It was pointed out while dealing with the Mysore version that such a distinction seems to have existed in the use of *vagra* (i.e. *varga*) in the north-west and *jana* in the east (the use is illustrated in the two separate edicts). In the following sections, instances from the Mysore version are also cited as these words were not discussed in the previous paper.

(i) We have for Skt. *manuṣya* or *mānuṣa* properly speaking, two forms in the Aśokan inscriptions viz. *munisa* and *manusa* (or *manuśa* with palatalisation). Of these, *munisa* occurring in D, J is eastern, and *mānusa* occurring in G, K[55] or *manuśa* in S, M is non-eastern. But *munisa* occurs as a loan in M also, and this form being known in the north-west it was probably used in the original draft of the minor rock edict. It was naturally retained in the eastern s version, but was also retained in the Mysore and yr versions. The eastern form, however, was replaced by the non-eastern form *mānusa* in the kpb version which has been read by TURNER as *maṇusa* (but which I would read as *mānusa*,[56] (see above p. 89, f.n. 39). Now *mānusa* actually occurs also in the western G version in XIII 5 in the form *mānusānaṁ*[57] (gen. pl.).

(ii) Mainly two words occur in all the versions of the major rock edicts to express the idea of time, viz. *aṁtala* and *kāla*. But their use shows a distinction in meaning : *aṁtala* occurs where a long passage of time is intended to be conveyed, and *kāla* occurs where the idea to be conveyed is 'at all times, night and day'. Now this distinction seems to have been peculiar to the east, and similar constructions occur in the major edicts of even the non-eastern regions because they are transla-

kalaṁta in mk see below p. 95, f.n. 59). Perhaps √*pāpa* in all versions, but √*pāva* in s may be looked upon as showing dialectal distinction.

55. In K we have *manuṣa* also.

56. But the point of interest in this section is not the cerebral *ṇ* or dental *n*, but the vowel variations in the two forms *munisa* and *mānusa*. For a preference of the vowel sequence *u*(*o*), *i*, *a* in the eastern language, see LUEDERS, *Beobachtungen* etc., p. 38, where he cites such instances as *pulisa*, *munisa*, *no mina*. Pāli and Pkt. on the other hand have *māṇusa*. Most of the modern Indian languages show the western form, cf. H. Bg. *mānus*, As. *mānuh*, P. M. *māṇūs*, G. *māṇas*; the *i* vowel of the eastern *munisa* can be seen in As. *munih*, Bg. *munis*, Or. *miṇisa*, Sgl. *minisa* (*minihā*); Nep. *mānisa* seems to have arisen from the contamination of the eastern and western forms (for the distribution of the words in the modern Indian languages I am indebted to TURNER's *Nepali Dictionary* and op. cit. p. 8, f.n. 2(4) where he considers Nep. *mānis* as contamination of *mānuṣa* and *purisa*.

57. TURNER, op. cit., p. 8, f.n. 2 reads here *manusānaṁ* which is clearly against the palaeographic evidence. The *ā* stroke of *mā*, so far as I can see, is perfectly visible on the estampage, and is similar to the form of *mā* in *mātr*[*i*] line 3, *Turamāyo* line 8, etc., occurring in the same inscription.

tions of the Māgadha version. To illustrate the above usage we may quote the following expressions from the Dhauli version :—

(a) *atikaṁtaṁ a ṁ t a l a ṁ* 'in past times'. The expression occurs in the rock edict IV, V, VI, VIII, and it has its parallels in the other versions.

(b) *atikaṁtaṁ a ṁ t a l a ṁ no hūta-puluve savaṁ k ā l a ṁ aṭhakaṁme va paṭivedanā va* (Rock edict VI). "*In times past* neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports *at all times* did exist before". (HULTZSCH's translation. Italics mine). This sentence illustrates at the same time the use of both *aṁtala* and *kāla*.

That this mode of distinction was not properly speaking current in the non-eastern regions can be seen from the versions of the minor rock edict. In these versions, the word *kāla* is used in all non-eastern versions where the eastern s version alone, consistent with the above usage, replaces it by *aṁtala*; cf. the following quotation from the E section of the ru version :

yā imāya k ā l ā y a Jaṁbudipasi amisā devā husu......"The gods who for (*all*) *this time* had been unmixed (with men) in Jambudvīpa..." (HULTZSCH's translation, ital. mine).

Correspondingly the Mysore and the yr versions have *iminā cu kālena*;[58] but the s version alone has *etena ca aṁtalena*, because the idea to be conveyed is 'in past times' and not 'at all times'.

(iii) In the versions of the minor rock edict we get two sets of expressions for 'to be zealous' or to have 'zeal' in practising morality. These expressions are $\sqrt{}$*pakama*- (*pra* $\sqrt{}$*kram*-) and $\sqrt{}$*palākama*- (*parā*-

58. b version is here missing; mk substitutes the expression by using *pure* just as it has made many other changes in the text of the version. The kpb uses *imāyaṁ velāyaṁ* instead. The use of *velā* in kpb is a little difficult to explain. At the moment I am inclined to explain it as a possible confusion in the reading of the original draft. If this explanation proves to be correct it will show that the edict was issued from the north-west in the Kharoṣṭhī script. If the right hand loop of the *ka* symbol in the Kharoṣṭhī script was forgotten or illegibly put in the draft which reached the hands of the translator responsible for the kpb version then the symbol could be easily mistaken for *va*. Now since the Kharoṣṭhī script does not mark the length of the vowels, in the original draft the word *kālāya* must have stood as *kalaya*. This being misunderstood as *valaya*, the scribe seems to have corrected the stem *vala* to *velā* and added the final anusvāra to the ending -*ya* which he thought to be loc. sg. He thus arrived at the form *velāyaṁ*. For the present, however, this explanation must be taken for what it is worth. P. MEILE (Misā Devehi Chez Asoka, JA 237, p. 209, 1949), on the other hand, would like to restitute *velāyāṁ* in the ru version on the basis of the same word occurring in the kpb version, as the symbol for *kā* in *kālāya* in ru is not quite legible. The estampage published by HULTZSCH will show that this suggestion is hardly tenable.

√*kram*-).[59] In fact the main purpose of the minor edict is to encourage all men—those that are highly placed and those that are placed low—to be more and more zealous in the practice of morality. To express this idea all non-eastern versions viz. ru, br, sd, kpb, yr[60] use the verb from √*pakama* as in *pakamatu*,[61] or the past passive participle *pakata* (*prakrānta*), or the middle pr. part. *pakamamina*, or the noun *pakama* (*prakrama*). But the eastern version s[62] consistently gives forms of √*palākama*, *palakaṁta*, *palakamamīna*, and *palākama* instead of the above forms.

Among the versions of the major edicts, even S, M, G show the eastern √*parākrama*- which, in the light of the above evidence, is to be attributed clearly to the influence of the eastern √*palakama* as seen in D, J, K.

(iv) The word for 'year' used in the versions of the major rock edicts, issued from the east, is *vasa* (or *vāsa* G, *vaṣa* S, M). The context shows that this word was used in official reckonings of regnal years like *duvāḍasavasābhisita* (IVth edict) etc.; or it was used when the period of the official tours was to be specified as in *paṁcasu vasesu* (IIIrd edict) or *tiṁni vasāni* (1st separate edict), or when the passage of many years was intended to be conveyed, cf. *bahūni vasa-satāni*, *bahūhi vasasatehi* (IVth edict). Now when we look at the versions of the minor rock edict we find that in the s version, which is also eastern, the only word for 'year' that appears is *savachala*. Here, however, the context is altogether different. The word does not occur in any of the situations referred to above, but is used while counting the years of the king's relationship with the Buddhist order. Thus it says—

(*aḍha*) *tiyāni savachalāni aṁ upāsake sumi* "(Two and a half) years (and somewhat more have passed) since I am a lay-worshipper",

59. The mk version avoids the use of either of these two expressions, probably because of their somewhat unusual meaning. Instead we find the use of *dhamayutena* and *kalaṁtaṁ* in mk.

60. In yr both BARUA and BLOCH read *pak*(*k*)*ate* (twice), *pak*(*k*)*amasa*, and *pak*(*k*)*ame*. But in lines 7-8, BARUA reads *pakamamīnena*, which BLOCH would correct to *pa*(*rā*)*kkamīnena*. Now the plate given by D. C. SIRCAR (IHQ 7, to face p. 738, 1931) clearly shows that BLOCH's suggestion cannot be accepted. We have, therefore, to retain BARUA's reading which is also in agreement with the regional distinction shown above. A little further in line 9, both the scholars read *parak*(*k*)*amevū* (Bloch *-rā-*). The plate referred to above shows that the letter read as *ra* or *rā* is defaced and perhaps testifies to the writer's attempt to cancel whatever symbol he may have inscribed. I, therefore, suggest that in line 9 also we should read *pakamevū*.

61. The forms cited are from the ru version.

62. The b version is much mutilated; but as it agrees with the s version in general it also may have given forms with √*palakama*.

and *savachale sādhike aṁ*........ "But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since (I have visited the Saṁgha and have been more zealous)."[63]

It is thus clear that in the eastern dialect *vasa* was used for mundane purposes, while *savachala* was used for ecclesiastical purposes. This distinction does not seem to be strictly observed in the non-eastern regions, so that in the context referred to above all the versions except s use *vasa* in the first occurrence of the word (*sātirekāni aḍhatiyāni vasāni ya hakaṁ upāsake*), but keep *savachara* in the second occurrence (*sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte*.......).

(v) For negation the eastern versions use *no* while the non-eastern versions have *na*.[64] Among the versions of the minor rock edict, all have the eastern form, as it has been already borrowed in the G, S, M versions, but only the yr version gives the non-eastern *na*, and the b and the mk versions have *na* once. The s version is supposed to give *na* once in the first line; but in view of the strong evidence for *no* being eastern, I would regard this a scribal mistake for *no*. Similarly the particle *tu* appears to be western, but *cu* eastern.[64] Among the versions of the minor rock edict, all give the eastern form as a borrowing, except the versions at Mysore and Yerraguḍi.

(vi) In the days of Aśoka the word for 'to write' in the northwest was √*nipisa*[65] which was borrowed from old Persian, cf. such forms as *nipista, nipistaṁ, nipesita,* and *nipesapita* occurring only in the S version, edict Nos. IV, V, VI, XIII, and XIV. The corresponding word which occurs in all the other versions is √*likha*. It must be noted that the M version at all places and the S version also in some places give the forms of the verb √*likha*. Now among the versions of the minor rock edict we get forms of √*likha* only, cf. *lekhāpeta* ru, [*likhāpa*]*yăthă* s, *likhāpetavaya* ru, *likhita* br. The original draft also may have contained √*likha* instead of √*nipisa* as it was known in the north-west as well.

(vii) In the use of vocabulary there is one point in which the br version agrees with the west and not with the north-west. Unfortunately the word referred to in this section does not occur in the other versions of the minor rock edict. For 'the writer', the br version uses *lipikara* which occurs also in G (the K version has *lipikala*); but the S version gives *dipikara*. This Persian word *dipikara* of the orignal draft was thus replaced by the Indo-Aryan *lipikara* in the br version. Other versions of the major rock edict where this word occurs in G, K, S are defective. It is obvious, however, that the D and J versions must have

63. Translation of HULTZSCH; the lacunae have been filled up from the ru version. The use of the word *savachala* in the s version is, however, clear.
64. Cf. BLOCH, op. cit., p. 82.
65. See HULTZSCH, p. xlii.

contained *lipikala,* while the M version, though it shows many 'Māgadhisms', in this respect must have contained the north-western *dipikara*. This becomes clear from the fact that the M version always agrees with the S version in giving the ancient Persian word *dipi,* while in all other versions we have *lipi*. This happens also when in the same sentence in M we find the use of eastern √*likha,* where S has √*nipisa,* but both S and M give *dipi,* cf. *ayi dhramadipi nipista* S, and *ayi dhramadipi likhita* M (5th edict, section O; also cf. 6th edict, section M, 13th edict, section X, and 14th edict, section A). This shows that while the Old Persian word *dipi* had completely ousted *lipi* in the north-west in the days of Aśoka, the word √*nipisa* had not succeeded in doing so.

NORTH-WESTERN (AND WESTERN) INFLUENCE ON THE MYSORE EDICTS OF AŚOKA

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

In a paper published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1, 240-44 (1951-52), I expressed a view that the exceptional forms which occur in the separate edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa and which do not occur in the remaining versions of the major rock edicts at these two places suggest that the two separate edicts were issued from a place other than the east. As the exceptional forms in the two separate edicts show affinity with the north-western dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, I further suggested that the two separate edicts were probably first drafted in the north-western dialect and then translated into the eastern one. Such an assumption would satisfactorily explain the presence of some north-western features in the two separate edicts.

Such an assumption would further lead to a hypothesis that not all the edicts of Aśoka were first drafted in the eastern dialect, as was hitherto believed. This hypothesis is now borne out by the study of the dialect found in the versions of the minor rock edict at Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara in the Mysore State.[1] These records resemble in contents the versions of the minor rock edict found at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, Kopbāḷ and Yerraguḍi but they also add to it a second edict[2] as it were, describing the king's instruction in morality (*dhaṁma*). The Mysore versions have another distinct feature viz. that they contain at the end of the edict the name of the scribe, and that whereas the whole edict is written from left to right in the Brāhmī script, only the last word *lipikareṇa* 'by the writer' is inscribed from right to left in the Kharoṣṭhī characters. As the Kharoṣṭhī script is other-

1. For a description of the places, the text (with plates), and the translation of the versions, see HULTZSCH, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, CII, 1. xxvi-vii, 175-180 Oxford 1925. The readings and the translations given in this paper are, unless otherwise stated, those adopted by HULTZSCH.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:—

D — Dhauli version major edicts	
J — Jaugaḍa „ „ „	d — Dhauli separate edicts
K — Kālsi „ „ „	j — Jaugaḍa „ „
S — Shāhbāzgaṛhī „ „ „	br — Brahmagiri minor rock edict
M — Mānsehrā „ „ „	sd — Śiddāpur „ „ „
G — Girnār „ „ „	jtr – Jaṭiṅga—Rāmeśvara „ „

2. The second edict at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara appears to be longer than the one at Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura. The Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara version, however, as a whole is in a much damaged condition. The enlarged version of the added second edict is better preserved in the Yerraguḍi edict. (ed. by B. M. BARUA, *IHQ* 13.132-6, 1937, and by J. BLOCH, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1950).

wise used only in the north-western inscriptions of Aśoka at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, a single word in this script in the south tends to show the north-western origin of these inscriptions.[3] As will be shown below this supposition based on a small piece of palaeographic evidence is amply supported by the linguistic facts preserved in these records.[4]

In a recent book, *Beobachtungen Über Die Sprache Des Buddhistischen Urkanons*[5] by LÜDERS, edited from the Nachlass by E. WALDSCHMIDT, the eidtor makes a reference to the paper referred to above on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa separate edicts and observes in his Zum Geleit (p. 6, f. n. 1), "M. A. Mehendale hat....einige sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten, durch die sich die 'Separat-Edikte' von den übrigen in Dhauli und Jaugaḍa gefundenen Felsen-inschriften unterscheiden, als nordwestlich nachzuweisen versucht. Er vermutet, dass Aśoka diese Separat-Edikte auf einer Reise im Nordwesten in der dortigen Sprache erlassen habe, und dass sie vor ihrer Einmeisselung in den Ostdialekt übersetzt worden seien. Eine Überprüfung dieser rein linguistisch fundierten Annahme auf inhaltliche und historische Wahrscheinlichkeit scheint erwünscht." I am thankful to the editor for these observations, in respect of which I may be permitted to state the following facts taken from the inscriptions which show that Aśoka had issued the minor rock edict and the separate edicts while he was away from the capital. (These facts make no reference to the place from where they were issued, nor to the language in which they were originally drafted).

(1) In the version of the minor rock edict itself it is expressly stated that the proclamation was issued by the king while he was

3. On the presence of the Kharoṣṭhī letters in the Mysore versions, BÜHLER (*EI* 3.135, 1894-95) already observes, "Finally, I have to point out that the Northern or Kharôshṭrî letters exactly agree with those of the Mansehra and Shâhbâzgarhî inscriptions .... The use of the two alphabets probably indicates that Paḍa (now read by HULTZSCH as Capaḍa) was proud of, and wished to exhibit, his accomplishments ....The use of the Northern characters may further be taken to indicate that Paḍa once served in Northern India, where the Kharôshṭrî alphabet prevailed." HULTZSCH supports this view when he observes (op. cit. p. xlii), "The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class (i.e. the class of writers), who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōshṭhī characters, showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India." As noted above, to me it seems to mean much more than this, viz. that the edicts themselves were first drafted in the north-west.

4. It will be shown in a separate paper that the other versions of the minor rock edict found at Rūpnāth etc. also support this view. (The paper has now been published in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College, Vol.* XVII, No. 2, Sept. 1955).

5. Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur and Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 10, Berlin, 1954.

on tour. In the Brahmagiri version[6] we read (line 8) — *iyaṁ ca sāvaṇe sāvāpite vyuthena* 'And this proclamation was issued by me on tour."[7]

6. Similar statement is found also in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Yerragudi versions of the minor rock edict.

7. HULTZSCH (op. cit. Corrigenda, p. 259), however, gives up the meaning 'tour' assigned to *vyuṣṭa* and expresses his conviction that the word means 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Accordingly he corrects his translation of the relevant section (J) of the Sahasrām edict as follows — 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer).' In support of this view HULTZSCH refers to the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra IV. 5.30 (also cf. KIELHORN *JRAS* 1904. 364f., FLEET *JRAS* 1911. 1106). It is not possible to enter here into a detailed discussion of the much-discussed word *vyuṣṭa*. For our present purposes it is sufficient to note that *vivāsā* occurring in the Rūpnāth version is clearly connected with *vi√vas* 'to stay away from home, to be on journey' as in *prabodhayati māvijñaṁ vyuṣite śokakarṣitā* 'She enlightens me, who am ignorant, and she is harrassed with grief when I am gone on journey' (Bhāg. Pur. 4.28.20) or *priyaṁ priyeva vyuṣitaṁ viṣaṇṇā* 'as the dejected beloved (longs to see) her husband who has gone on journey' (Bhāg. Pur. 6.11.26). Accordingly the section K of the Sahasrām version should be translated as 'For two hundred and fifty-six nights I have stayed away from home' and not as HULTZSCH suggests in his Corrigenda — 'Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer)." This translation is not possible also because in the minor edict itself (cf. Rūpnāth, sections B-D) Aśoka says — "Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a *Śākya*. But (I had) not been zealous. But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṁgha* and have been very zealous." Thus according to this statement Aśoka had been 'very zealous' in his observance of morality for more than one year when he issued the minor rock edict. This statement would contradict with the new translation proposed by HULTZSCH which purports to say that Aśoka had spent only 256 nights in prayer which is much less than a year. That Aśoka missed some nights of prayer even during that period of more than one year when he was 'very zealous' would be difficult to believe. It is thus clear that *vivāsā* cannot mean 'spending nights in prayer'. It only shows that while issuing the edict Aśoka was on tour. The purpose of mentioning 256 nights may have been just to give proof of the king's great zealousness by showing how long he had been away from home while he was on his religious tour (*dhaṁmayātā*). For the view *vyuṣṭa* = tour cf. F. W. THOMAS *IA* 37.22 (1908), *JA* (10 ; 15.517-18 (1910), *JRAS* 1916.117; also cf. K. A. Nilkantha SASTRI, *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute* 1.93ff. (1943). The same meaning is assigned to *vyuṣṭa* by J. FILLIOZAT (*JA* 237. p. 148, 1949) and by J. BLOCH (*Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 149, and p. 150, f. n. 14). BLOCH'S translation of the relevant passage runs as — Cette proclamation a été faite (respy. proclamée) après tournée; deux cent cinquante-six nuits ont été passée en tournée. The translation of *vyuṣṭena* as 'après tournée' is not happy, because *vi√vas* means 'to be on journey' and not 'to return from journey'. Probably the expression was so translated because the author believed that the edict was issued by Aśoka from his capital when he returned to it during the monsoon period after having spent 256 days outside his capital in pious tour. For a new interpretation of the no. 256, see the article of FILLIOZAT referred to above.

(2) In the third major rock edict the king records that he has ordered his officers to go on tours every five years to carry out state business and to instruct the people in morality. The details about the instruction in morality to be given to the people as mentioned in this edict viz. obedience to the parents, liberality to friends and relatives, abstention from killing animals, etc., are practically the same as those mentioned in the additional portion of the edict as represented in the Mysore versions. The similarity of this instruction contained in the Mysore versions with the one mentioned above which the officers were expected to give while on tour leads one to believe that the instruction contained in the minor rock edict was also the one which the king himself gave on tour and which he asked to be recorded for the benefit of his officers.

(3) In the eighth major rock edict we are told that Aśoka took pleasure in undertaking tours of morality since he was anointed ten years. Among the things done on such tours of morality were instructing the people in morality and enquiring with them about morality. Once in such enquiries the king seems to have found out that there was a misunderstanding prevailing among his subjects, especially among those who were away from the capital, as regards the people who could acquire heaven. These people believed that only those that were highly placed, and not others, were able to attain heaven as a fruit of religious merit. It is true the king had stated in his tenth rock edict that " It is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this (i.e. religious merit) without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). This is indeed difficult to accomplish for a high (person)."[8] The misunderstanding, therefore, seems to have arisen because in this edict the king has only emphasized how difficult it is to obtain religious merit ; and a reference to the highly placed persons alone in the end seems to have left the impression that this difficult task was well-nigh impossible for the lowly persons. In order to remove this serious misunderstanding which he came to know while on religious

8. The translation of the last section (F) given above differs from the one adopted by HULTZSCH. He translates *eta tu kho usaṭena dukaraṁ* (Girnār) as 'But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).' But *eta* can mean only 'this' and not 'among these (two)'. BLOCH (op. cit. p. 119) translates — Mais c'est difficile surtout aux grandes. The Jaugaḍa version which is nearer to the capital has *usaṭena cu dukalatale* which means 'This is more difficult for a highly placed'. As the Kālsī version shows, *usaṭeneva* at Mānsehrā is to be read as *usaṭena va*. BLOCH (op. cit. p. 119, line 20) reads only *usaṭen* for the M version.

tour the king possibly immediately issued the minor rock edict[9] which contained the following words — " (H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous. (I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued, [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner, and (that even) my borderers may know it ...."[10] It is important to note that in the Rūpnāth version the king asks his officers to go on tour within their districts with the text of the minor rock edict obviously to remove the misunderstanding from the minds of the people in those districts. (cf. BLOCH'S translation of the section L, p. 149. For a different interpretation of *vayajanenā* see HULTZSCH, p. 169).

(4) A word may now be said about the opening words of the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa which give proof to show that they were issued by the king from outside his capital. (This point was not noted while dealing with the separate edicts in the article referred to above).

---

9. This shows that the minor rock edict was issued after the major rock edicts — a point, as will be shown below, well supported by the linguistic evidence. This, however, goes against the view of HULTZSCH who maintains that the minor rock edicts are the first ones (see pp. xliv, liv, and also l) among the Aśokan inscriptions. The arguments given by him (p. xliv), however, are inconclusive. What is stated in the minor rock edict about inscribing the edicts on stones and pillars applies to that edict alone (cf. the words *iya ca aṭhe* and *ima ca aṭhaṁ* at Rūp. and Sah. respectively), and it does not apply to the general activity of inscribing records on rocks and pillars. The summary of the king's views about *dhaṁma* is given in the minor rock edict to show to the people how easy and simple it is to acquire morality even for lowly placed persons. and to demonstrate to the officers how they should instruct the people in morality. J. FILLIOZAT (Les Deva D'Asoka, *JA* 237, p. 232 ff., 1949) contends that the *dhaṁmayātā* referred to in the rock-edict VIII by Aśoka is the one that lasted for 256 nights and which is referred to in the minor rock edict. This would mean that the minor rock edict was issued before the major rock edicts. But there is nothing to show that the *dhaṁmayātā* of rock-edict VIII is identical with the *vivāsā* of the minor edict; and further it would be more reasonable to interprete *dhaṁmayātā* (sg) as standing for a type of tours which Aśoka contrasts with the *vihārayātā* of the former kings. The use of singular does not show that Aśoka undertook only one such tour viz. the one referred to in the minor rock edict (FILLIOZAT, op. cit. p. 233, f.n. 1).

10. Line 4 — (H) *no hiyaṁ sakye mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmaṁ tu khudakena pi*

Line 5 — *pakami... ṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhetave* (I) *etāyaṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite* [*yathā khudakā*

Line 6 — *ca*] *mahātpā ca imaṁ pakameyu ti aṁtā ca me jāneyu....* (Brahmagiri version; lacunae in square brackets filled up from the Siddāpur version).

(a) The first separate edict at Dhauli opens thus —

Line 1 — (A) *Devānaṁpiyasa vacanena Tosaliyaṁ mahāmāta nagalaviyohālakā vataviya* 'At the word of Devānāṁpriya, the *Mahāmātras* at Tōsalī, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.'

The second separate edict at Dhauli also opens in a similar manner except that it has *kumāle mahāmātā ca* for *mahāmāta nagalaviyohālakā* of the first edict.

The first separate edict at Jaugaḍa open as —

Line 1 — (A) *Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āhā* (B) *Samāpāyaṁ mahāmātā nagalaviyohālakā hevaṁ vataviyā* 'Devānāṁpriya speaks thus. The *Mahāmātras* as Samāpā, (who are) judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.'

The second separate edict at Jaugaḍa also opens in the same way as above but it adds the word *lājavacanika* which means 'The *Mahāmātras* have to be told at the word of the king.'

The commencement of the Dhauli separate edicts which is so markedly different from that of the other major edicts gives an impression that these edicts were not issued directly by the king from the capital to his officers at Tōsalī. It rather suggests that the text of these edicts was being conveyed to these officers by some other officers while the king was on tour. If the king had addressed himself directly from the capital to the officers at Tōsalī, as has been suggested by HULTZSCH (p. 177, f.n. 5), he would have begun his letter, though perhaps less modestly, somewhat like the one found at Calcutta-Bairāṭ in which the king addresses the *Saṁgha*.[11] As the king was not in the capital while issuing these edicts, he could not send these to the officers at Tōsalī in the usual manner. Hence in order to give them authority it was found necessary to say expressly at the commencement of the inscriptions that the Mahāmātras were being instructed at the instance of the king (*Devānaṁpiyasa vacanena*).[12] These words are not to be found in the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa received by the Mahāmātras at Samāpā, but the second edict there contains the word *lājavacanika* 'at the word of the king' which serves the same purpose as the opening words in the Dhauli version.

11. Here the text commences as — *Priyadasi lājā Māgadhe saṁghaṁ abhivādetūnaṁ āhā apābādhataṁ ca phāsuvihālataṁ cā* 'The Māgadha king Priyadarśin, having saluted the *Saṁgha*, hopes they are well and comfortable.'

12. Similar expression is found also in the so-called Queen's edict (*devānaṁpiyaṣā vacanenā savata mahamatā vataviyā*) where the queen seems to register her request, but authority is sought to be given to the edict by saying that the instruction was being conveyed at the instance of the king.

All these facts would supply internal evidence offered by the contents of the Aśokan inscriptions to show that the two separate edicts and the minor rock edict were issued from outside the capital. It has been already shown that the linguistic evidence given by the separate edicts tends to point out that these edicts were issued from the north-west. In FLEET'S opinion[13] the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri, the head quarters of Aśoka's southern province, by Aśoka himself. But the opening lines of these edicts clearly go against this view. They show that the officers of the king at Suvarṇagiri received the edict from the king from outside which they were now forwarding to the subordinate officers at Isila. Hence they say[14]- *Suvaṁṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ ca vataviyā/Devāṇaṁpiye āṇapayati* 'From Suvarṇagiri, at the word of the prince (*ārya-putra*) and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must (better 'may') be wished good health and be told this : Devānāṁpriya commands (as follows)'. As will be seen from the linguistic analysis below, the Mysore edicts reveal certain north-western features which enable us to draw the conclusion that they were issued neither from Suvarṇagiri in the south, nor from Magadha in the east but from some place in the north-west. A casual reading of the Mysore versions will easily point out that though the edict was issued originally in the north-western dialect and script, its versions, before being inscribed, were rewritten in a more or less standard western dialect, and in the Brāhmī script (witness the use of a single dental sibilant, the absence of the change *j* > *y*, and that of the consonant clusters). But though north-western (and western) in phonology, the language of the Mysore edicts shows apparent affinity with the eastern dialect in morphology (witness the nom. sg. mas. and neut. in *-e* instead of *-o* and *-a* (*ṁ*), and the loc. sg. mas. in *-si* instead of *-e* or *-mhi*). An explanation of this affinity with the eastern dialect will be given below. Here we may first take up the detailed linguistic analysis of these versions to see in what respects they agree with the north-western dialect of the Aśokan edicts.

The north-western features in the Mysore inscriptions :

(1) The vowel *ṛ* : In words of relationship, the eastern form favoured *-i* < *-ṛ*, while the north-western form favoured

13. *JRAS* 1909.998 ; 1911.1108.

14. This is according to the Brahmagiri version. The Siddāpur version substantially agrees with this, except that it has *āha* for *āṇapayati*. The Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara version is very much defaced.

u < *-ṛ*.[15] cf. *piti* (*pitṛ*) and *bhāti* (*bhrātṛ*) in D, J, while *pitu* ınd *bhratu* in S, M. Among the Mysore edicts jtr gives the north-vestern form *pitu*, but br gives the eastern one *piti*. The original lraft therefore possibly contained *piti* owing to the influence of he king's speech. While this was rightly replaced by the non-eastern *›itu* in jtr, it was allowed to remain in br.

In br line 9, HULTZSCH reads *prāṇesu drahyitavyaṁ* and translates firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals.' He lerives (p. cxxviii) *drahyitavya* from √*dṛh* and regards that in this orm the vowel *ṛ* > *ra*.[16] According to WOOLNER (*Asoka Glossary*, Calcutta, 1924) *dra* here represents *dar*[17] as he considers the form o be gerundive of * *darhyati* (from the same root √ *dṛh*). In any case the form can be regarded as north-western, because in S we ıave instances showing both the tendencies : Thus we have *grahatha* (*gṛhastha*) showing *ṛ* > *ra*, and *draśana* (*darśana*), *drasayitu* (*darśayitvā*) showing transposition of *r*.[18]

---

15. The same tendency is witnessed in the Niya Prākṛta, cf. *pitu, bhratu, madu*, etc. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937) § 68, § 72, BURROW, however, does not notice this treatment under *-ṛ*, § 5. The later Tor Dherai Kharoṣṭhī inscription (of about 200 A.D.), however, gives *-pitrinaṁ* as the language of this inscription is highly Sanskritized. See KONOW, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, (CII, Vol. 2, part 1, Calcutta, 1929), No. 92. Pāli has the vowel *u* as can be seen from the forms of *pitar* and *mātar* given by GEIGER § 91 (for exceptional occurrence of the *piti* and *māti* in Pāli cf. GEIGER § 12, § 77). In later Pkts forms with *u* are more common, though *i* forms occur in Amg. and JM (PISCHEL § 55 § 391). As regards *piti* in br. it may also be observed that the form had already come to the north through the Kālsi versions of the Aśokan edicts. The D version once (IV. 4) gives *pitu* which may be due to assimilation cf. the form *m*[*ā*]*t*[*i*]*-pitu-susūsā*.

16. In the Niya Prākṛta, however, the regular treatment of *ṛ* is *ṛ* > *ṛ, ri*, but not *ra* (BURROW § 5). With this we can compare the Aśokan *dṛiḍha* etc. in S. Both *ra* and *ri* treatments are, however, found in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscr. cf. MEHENDALE, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948) § 500.

17. Similar transposition of *r* is practically absent in the later Kharoṣṭhī documents (BURROW § 39), but it is found in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada. cf. *drugati, pravata*, etc. BURROW *BSOS* 8.428.

18. It may, however, be observed that the explanation of the form from √ *dṛh* is not very satisfactory, as the use of this verb with *prāṇesu* would be unusual. Generally in such contexts we find the use of *anāraṁbha* or *anālaṁbha* 'abstension from killing' (Rock Edicts 3, 4, 11, Pillar Edict 7). Once we have also *sayamo* 'gentleness' (better 'self-restraint') (Rock Edict 9), and once *pāna-dakhinā* 'boon of life' (Pillar Edict 2). The idea to be conveyed in such expressions is that no violence should be done to the animals, and this is hardly brought out by √ *dṛh* 'to be firm etc.' with the locative *prāṇesu*. BLOCH (p. 150 and f.n. 16) also derives the text word from √ *dṛṁh*, and compares with this expression the use of *saṁyama* in the rock edict IX noted above. He translates — (Il faut) se contraindre à l'égard des êtres vivants.

(2) The vowel *u* : In the word *guru*, we get the vowel *u* in the eastern form *gulu* in D, J. The vowel *u* also occurs in the west and the north-west due to eastern influence, cf. *guru* in G, S, M. But the form, proper to the west and the north-west,[19] is *garu* with the vowel *a* as is shown by the examples in G, S (and *galu* in K). It is, therefore, worthwhile to note that in the Mysore group we have *garu*.

(3) The semi-vowel *y* initially. It is well-known that the initial *y* of the relative pronouns and the indeclinables is preserved in the western and north-western inscriptions of Aśoka, but it is dropped in the eastern inscriptions.[20] The Mysore edicts also preserve *y* in *yathā, yathāraham̐, ya* and *yam̐*. The presence of *am̐* and *atha* in the Yerraguḍi version, however, suggests that these eastern forms were present in the original draft, as they were known in the north-west due their occurrence in the M version. While the alteration was carried out in the other non-eastern versions of the minor rock edict, this was not done in yr.

In the Mysore version we find a peculiar form *upayīta* (< *upa-* + *ita*) which shows the development of the semi-vowel *y* to break the hiatus. This may be attributed to a north-western tendency to pronounce *y* before the vowel *i* which has been noted by BURROW

At the moment I am inclined to read *dru* in the place of *dra* (*druhyitavyam̐*) due to the extension of the wavy line of *r* by a perpendicular stroke below for *u* (cf. *pru* in *bhūtapruvam̐* in G 5 and *sru* in *sruṇāru* G 12). If this reading is correct then the form can be derived from √ *druh* 'to hurt, to seek to harm' which is used also with the locative. But this will give the intended meaning only if we suppose that a word like *no* 'not' was in mistake omitted in writing — *prāṇesu* (*no*) *druhyitavyam̐* 'violence should not be done to the animals.' It appears that as the original draft containing *prāṇesu druhyitavyam̐* gave quite the contrary meaning, the writer at Yerraguḍi changed the expression to *pranesu dayitaviye* (*IHQ* 13, 134, line 18) 'compassion must be shown to the animals'. SIRCAR's view (*IHQ* 7.739, f. n. 2) that the plates given by HULTZSCH support the reading *dayitaviyam̐* for the Mysore version also does not seem to be correct.

19. The word is not available in the later Kharoṣṭhī records. However, Pāli has *garu* (GEIGER § 34), Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī also have *garu*, while Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī give both *garu* and *guru* (PISCHEL § 123).

20. MEHENDALE, § 31 (2). The same tendency is witnessed in the Niya Prākṛta, cf. *ya* (*yat*), *yava* (*yāvat*), *yatha* (*yathā*) (BURROW § 85, § 92 § 130). The later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also preserve *y* initially (cf. KONOW, Index Verborum). According to J. BLOCH (p. 52) and J. VEKERDI (*AO* 3.324, 1953) this absence of initial *y* is not a phonetic phenomenon. In the opinion of VEKERDI these forms are better explained as due to contamination with the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun, since in other words like *yaso*, *yāti*, etc. no loss of initial *y*- is to be observed.

(§ 32); for the Niya Prākṛta, cf. such forms as *yiyo* = *iyaṁ*, *yima* = *ime*. I am now inclined to give up the explanation of *diyaḍha* or *diyaḍhiya*, which occurs in M, K and the versions of the minor rock edict including those at Mysore, as coming directly from *dvyardha*,[21] but regard it as a simple combination of *di* (< *dvi*) and *a* (*ḍ*) *ḍha* (< *ardha*) with the analogical appearance of the initial *y* before the vowel *a* in *a* (*ḍ*) *ḍha*. That this analogy was not complete is shown by *diaḍha* which occurs in S, M and also in the two separate edicts. As *diyaḍha* and *diaḍha* occur in the thirteenth rock edict which is not found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, it is not possible to say what the eastern equivalent of *diyaḍha* was. But the Ardha-māgadhī form, which occurs as a borrowing also in Pāli by the side of the local form (GEIGER § 46), shows that it would have been *divaḍha*.[22]

(4) Clusters *ty* and *ts* : In the Mysore versions both these are palatalised as in the west and the north-west. Thus br and jtr give *saca* (*satya*),[23] with which we may compare *ācāyika* (*ātyayika*) in G and *acayika* in S, M, but *atiyāyika* in D, J. Similarly we have *savachara* or *saṁvachara* (*saṁvatsara*)[24] in br, sd, with which we may compare *cikīchā* (*cikitsā*) in G, but *cikisā* in D, J. In this respect the S, M versions also give *cikisa* as a borrowing from the east. *Savachala* (instead of *savasala*) occurs in the eastern Sahasrām version also. As the instances are few it is difficult to say whether the Sahasrām form is a loan from the original draft or whether this form was current in the east also.

---

21. As suggested by TURNER, *The Gavīmaṭh and Pālki-guṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 11, f. n. 2, and adopted by me in *Hist. Gr. of Inscr. Pkts.*, p. 11, f. n. 25. This (*diyaḍha* < *dvyardha*) is also the view of LÜDERS, *Beobachtungen*, p. 78, f.n. 2. HULTZSCH'S (op. cit. p. lxxi) derivation from * *dvikārdha* is rejected by LÜDERS (op. cit.). The change of mononsyllabic *dvi* > *di* in the compound form *di-guna* in the Niya Prākṛta, which also gives the ordinal *biti*. See BURROW § 43, § 89. Pāli also has *diguṇa*, though *dutiya* (GEIGER § 114, § 118).

22. The Sahasrām version of the minor rock edict, which is in the east, is expected to give the form *divaḍhiyaṁ*. But it also gives *diyaḍhiyaṁ* as a loan from the north-western dialect of the original draft. PISCHEL'S (§ 230, § 450) explanation of *divaḍha* from * *dvikārdha* is rejected by LÜDERS (op. cit. p. 72, f.n. 2). He regards it as a mixed form from *diyaddha* (< *di* + *addha*) and *duvaddha* (< *du* + *addha*).

23. This is, however, the general tendency in Pāli (GEIGER § 55) and later Prākṛtas (PISCHEL § 280). For Niya Prākṛta cf. BURROW § 41, and later Kharoṣṭhī inscr., MEHENDALE § 515.

24. In the Niya Prākṛta *ts* is preserved in *saṁvatsara* (BURROW § 48), but also assimilated due to eastern influence in *osuka* (*autsukya*). In the later Khar. inscr. we have *saṁvatśara* (MEHENDALE §515e). In Pāli *ts*>*cch* (GEIGER § 57) as also in later Prākṛtas except Māgadhī which shows *ts* > *śc* (PISCHEL § 32).

(5) In Mysore versions we find the retention of the cerebral *ṇ* as in the west and north-west,[25] and not its change to *n* as in the D, J versions of the Aśokan edicts. Thus we have *porāṇā, sāvaṇe, dhaṁmaguṇā* etc. The cerebralisation can be seen in the terminations as well. cf. *lipikareṇa, mahāmātāṇaṁ*[26] and *devāṇaṁpiya.*[27] In *vasāni,* however, we find the dental *-n-* as is also the case in the north-western terminations (HULTZSCH, p. lxxxv) which have *ṇ* only in *Devaṇapriye.* It may also be noted that *ṇ* in term. occurs in *saveṇā* in the second Jaugaḍa separate edict and is also possible in *pālalokikeṇa* in the same edict.

(6) As in the standard western Prākṛta, the Mysore versions have only the single dental sibilant and in this respect they agree also with the eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions. cf. *vasa* (*varṣa*), *amisa* (*amiśra*), √ *susūsa-* (√ *śuśrūṣa-*) etc. But in the Mysore versions *ś* appears for *s* in three instances. This fact betrays the writer's incomplete knowledge of the distinction between the two sibilants and his consequent attempt at what may be described as hyper-north-westernisation.[28] The instances where *ś* occurs are as follows:—

(i) In sd *śa* [*ca*] *ṁ* (*satya*) appears, while the correct form *sacaṁ* appears in br and jtr.

(ii) In jtr one *ś* has been noted in the transcript of HULTZSCH (p. 180, line 19). The jtr version contains some portion more than the corresponding br and sd versions, for which it may be compared with the concluding portion of the Yerraguḍi version. HULTZSCH reads some of the letters following this palatal sibilant in jtr as *śa* . . . *e* . *ā* . . [*ca*] *ya* . . . . . . A comparison with Yerraguḍi version (*IHQ* 13.134, line 22) will show that this portion in jtr is to be restored to — *śa* [*va*] [*m*] *e ā* [*paca*] *ya* [*nā*] . . . . If the restora-

25. Among the later Kharoṣṭhī inscr., the earlier ones also have *ṇ* (and *ṇ* and *n* in term.), but the later ones show *ṇ* > *n*, cf. MEHENDALE § 510C. With regard to this KONOW observes (pp. ciii-iv), "The impression left by this state of affairs is that intervocalic *ṇ* and *n* had the same sound at least over the greater part of the territory, and that the sound was probably a cerebral." One may not agree with this view; it is possible that the *n* sound had really begun to appear, as can be seen from the Paiśācī tendency to change *ṇ* to *n* (PISCHEL § 225). So far as the Niya Prākṛta is concerned *ṇ* and *n* are confused, the tendency being to change the cerebral to the dental (BURROW § 34). In the Dhammapada, however, *ṇ* appears quite often *aṇatva* < *anātma* etc. cf. BAILEY *BSOS* 11.499 ff., Glossary. In terminations, the Niya Prākṛta has the dentals, while the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show both *ṇ* and *n*.

26. In jtr. we have *mahāmātāna* with the dental *-n-*.

27. In jtr. line 2, *devāna* is rather doubtful. In line 20 we have *-ṇ-*.

28. The north-western inscriptions of Aśoka (MEHENDALE §35), the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 514), and the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 33) maintain the distinction between the three sibilants. For the treatment of the sibilants in the Kālsī version see HULTZSCH p. lxxii.

tion suggested here is correct, the jtr *śava*[29] will stand for *sarva*.

(iii) The third instance also occurs in the additional portion of jtr (line 18) where in the gen. sg.[30] we have *śa* (*sya*) in *ācariyaśa*.

(7) Consonant Clusters: With regard to the clusters we may only note some peculiar clusters like those with *y*, *r*, and *m*.

(a) Clusters with *y*[31] are normally assimilated in the north-west and the west, but dissolved in the east (except when such clusters are formed with the sibilants.)[32] Accordingly the Mysore versions show assimilation in *saka* (*śakya*) in sd, but the clusters *ky* and *hy* are preserved in br, cf. *sakya* and *drahyitavya*.[33] Now the preservation of the clusters with *y* may have also been a north-western tendency (though instances are not normally found in the Aśokan inscriptions) because such clusters are occasionally preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. With regard to *ky* itself it may be noted that both the tendencies of the Mysore group are available in the later inscriptions, cf. *śakamuṇi* and *śakyamuni* (MEHENDALE § 522). In the Niya Prākṛta we witness again both the tendencies viz. assimilation and preservation of clusters with *y* (BURROW § 41, § 42). It may be added here that a few instances of the preservation of such clusters are also found in the separate edicts which, as has been suggested, seem to have been issued from the north-west. cf. *mokhya* in d, but *mokhiya* in j; perhaps *ālasya* in j, but *ālasiya* in d.

(b) The clusters with *r* are assimilated as in the east. Thus *tr* > *t*(*t*) in *ayaputa* (*āryaputra*). But the preservation of *r*-clusters as in the north-west[34] is witnessed in two instances viz. *prakaṁta* (*prakrānta*) and *prāṇa* in br.[35]

29. Both *śava* and *ṣava* occur in the Kālsī version (XII 31).

30. It may be noted that the similar wrong use of the sibilant is noted in the gen. sg. *taśa* and *taṣa* in the Kālsī version. The *sya* of the gen. sg. is modified as a fricative *s*(*r*)*a* or *s*(*y*)*a* in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 514). In the Niya Prākṛta *sy* > *s* i.e. *z* (BURROW § 22, and TURNER *JRAS* 1927. 232-34. In Khotanese the group *sy* is preserved, cf. BURROW *BSOS* 8.431). I am afraid we cannot bring *ś* of the gen. sg. in relationship with the later Māgadhī *-aśśa*, as the collective inscriptional evidence goes against it.

31. For the treatment of the cluster *vy* (and *gy*) see below.

32. Cf. MEHENDALE § 43.

33. This portion is more or less defaced in sd and jtr. Still *hy* is clear in jtr. and possible in sd.

34. Cf. MEHENDALE § 44; for later Kharoṣṭhī material cf. BURROW § 36, § 37, and MEHENDALE § 523. For the more archaic nature of the Niya Prākṛta than that of the Aśokan inscriptions in the matter of preserving clusters, see BURROW, The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit, *BSOS* 8.422.

35. Instead of *prakaṁta*, BÜHLER reads *pakaṁta* in line 2. In line 3 even HULTZSCH reads *pakaṁta*, and *pakama* (*prakrama*) in line 4.

(c) The cluster *tm* > *tp* in the Mysore versions under the influence of the standard western Prākṛta as can be seen from the Girnar instances. Thus we have *mahātpā* (*mahātmānaḥ*) in br, sd; *ātpā* (*ātman*) and *catpāro* (*catvāraḥ*) in G; but *atva*[36] and *ata* (*ātman*) in M, and *ata* and *cature* (*catvāraḥ*) in S. The forms *ata* and *cature* in the north-western versions of Aśoka are clearly due to the eastern influence.[37] That the proper local treatment for the north-west was *tv* is shown by the Mānsehrā instance given above and by the later Kharoṣṭhī documents. These documents also show that in later times *tv* > *p* under the influence of the standard western *tp*.[38]

(8) In morphology also the Mysore versions agree with the non-eastern dialect in certain respects as follows:—

(a) The dat. sg. forms *etāya* and *aṭhāya* end in *-ya* and not *-ye* as in the east. In this case even the north-western versions have the borrowed forms *etaye*, *taye*, *aṭhaye* etc., but G has *etāya*, *tāya*, *athāya*, etc. In the Niya Prākṛta the endings are both *-e* and *-ya*. But as BURROW observes the dative is rare except in the infinitives and that it had died out in the popular speech (§ 52, §55). In later inscriptions we have mostly the continuation of the borrowed *-e*, though *-ya* and *-(y)a* are found in two instances (MEHENDALE § 529).

(b) The nom. sg. neut. forms *vataviyaṁ* and *sacaṁ* have the non-eastern ending *-a(ṁ)* and not the *-e* of the east. The eastern ending is of course seen in the other forms like *phale* etc. (For the explanation of eastern endings see below).

(c) In pronoun forms the inst. sg. of the first personal pronoun *maya* is north-western. The eastern forms as given in D, J versions are *mamayā* (and *me*). In later Kharoṣṭhī we have *maya*

36. Instead of *atva*, BÜHLER reads *atma*. But cf. HULTZSCH p. 81, f.n. 3.

37. *ata* also occurs in K, the separate edicts, and the Pillar edicts.

38. In the Niya Prākṛta we have the treatment *tm* > *tv* or *p* (BURROW § 44). In the Dhammapada we have *tm* > *tv* cf. *ajātva* < *adhyātma*, etc., BAILEY, *BSOS*. 11.498 Glossary. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we get four forms viz. *atmaṇa-*, *atvaṇa-*, *apana-*, and *ata-* (MEHENDALE § 528). Of these, *atmaṇa* is clearly a Sanskritised form, and *ata-* is the continuation of the old borrowing from the east found in the S, M versions. Thus the proper north-western treatment (*tv* and *p*) is shown by the remaining two instances. That *ata* in S, M and the later Kharoṣṭhī versions cannot be regarded as due to assimilation of *tv* > *t* is shown by the fact that in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 524a) and in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 43) *tv* is either preserved or assimilated to *p* and not to *t*, except in the absolutive suffix. The non-eastern treatments leading towards assimilation to *p*, and the eastern treatment leading towards assimilation to *t* can also be seen from the later Prākṛtas (PISCHEL § 277).

in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 78), but *me*, owing to confusion with the gen., in the inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 536).

The instr. sg. of the demonstrative is *iminā* in the Mysore version which agrees with the form in the Girnar version and the one in Pāli (GEIGER § 108). The eastern form given by the J version is *imena*. The north-western Aśokan forms are not available. (For the other forms of the demonstrative see below).

(d) The ending *-yu* is the non-eastern and *-vu* the eastern in the optative forms. The Mysore forms *jāneyu, pakameyu* are thus non-eastern. In the Niya Prākṛta, however, the optative has always the primary endings, thus for 3rd per. pl. *-eyaṁti* (BURROW § 100) ; the same is the case in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (MEHENDALE § 542).

(e) In br once we have *saṁvacharеṁ*, where the anusvāra at the end may have been due to its being confused for loc. sg. An anusvāra at the end of a loc. sg. form appears in a later Kharoṣṭhī inscription, cf. *divaseṁ* (MEHENDALE §529a, p. 317). It is interesting to note that a similar anusvāra at the end of a loc. pl. form is found in *sahasesuṁ* in the Dhauli separate edict I, line 4. Or these anusvāras may have been due to the north-western tendency to put an anusvāra where it does not properly belong and which has been noted in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 47).[39]

(f) In the Mysore version we have a form of the present participle *paka* [*m*] *i..ṇa* which HULTZSCH proposes to read as *pakamamīṇa*. If this is correct we may compare with this the Shāh. pres. part in *-mina*, viz. *karamina*. The other Aśokan forms in *-mīna* are *saṁpaṭipajamīna* and *vipaṭipādaymīna* which occur in the Dhauli separate edict. Further, in view of the absence of the middle present participles in the D, J versions, we may also attribute the Mysore form *samāna* (from √ *as*) to the north-western influence, though the actually recorded form in the north-western version is *saṁta*. It may be noted that *samāṇa* occurs in Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī also. In the literary Prākṛts, though the present participles Parasmaipada are available, a tendency to generalise the middle forms in *-māna* is noted especially frequently in Ardhamāgadhī. In Ardhamāgadhī we have also forms with the ending *-mīṇa* (cf. PISCHEL § 561, § 562). In Pāli also GEIGER (§191) gives instances of the middle forms from the active bases. In the Niya Prākṛta, the instances of present participles are rare. But a tendency to use *-māna* freely has been noted by BURROW § 101.

39. With this we may also compare *paṁkiti* (*prakṛti*) of the Mysore versions. This reading is adopted by WOOLNER in his *Aśokan Glossary*. HULTZSCH reads the word without the anusvāra in all the Mysore versions.

In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the instances are not available. Among the later Brāhmī inscriptions the use of *-māna* is found in the Nāsik in the west and in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in the south (cf. MEHENDALE § 207, § 259). There is thus reason to regard the middle participles in *-māna* or *-mīna* as originally non-eastern.

It has been suggested in f.n. 9 that on the basis of the contents of the inscriptions the minor rock edict seems to have been issued after the major rock edicts. If this suggestion is correct it will show that the affinity of the Mysore version with the east in certain cases can be explained to be due to certain elements borrowed from the east in the north-western versions of Aśoka's major rock edicts, and which were thus known in the north-west when the minor rock edict was issued from there.

(1) The semi-vowel *y* is changed to *v* in *dīghāvusa*[40] in the Mysore versions. This is an eastern tendency as the change $y > v$ is seen in the optative terminations in D, J. cf. *vasevū, nikhamāvū,* etc. As against this the non-eastern tendency is to preserve *-yu.*[41] cf. *vaseyu* S,M,G, *śruṇeyu* S, M, etc. The presence of *v* in *viṣava* (*viṣaya*) in S, (but *viṣaya* in M and *visaya* in G) is therefore to be attributed to the eastern influence. The *v* in *dīghāvusa* is thus due to the influence of borrowed words like *viṣava* in the north-western versions. It is interesting to note here that among the separate edicts the Dhauli version gives optatives with the eastern *-vu* (*asvasevu* etc.) while the Jaugaḍa version gives the same forms with the non-eastern *-yu* (*asvaseyu etc.*)

(2) The cluster *vy* is normally dissolved in the eastern versions ($vy > viy$), but assimilated in the north-west ($vy > vv$), and preserved in the west.[42] In respect of this cluster the Mysore versions show a mixture of the eastern and the non-eastern tendencies. Thus the cluster is dissolved,[43] as in the east, in such instances as *susūsitaviya* (*śuśrūṣitavya*), *vataviya* (*vaktavya*), and *pavatitaviya* (*pravartitavya*). Now though the assimilation of this cluster is noted as the normal north-western tendency above, we find a few

40. Pāli also has *dīghāyu* (GEIGER § 101), though in Pāli instances where $y > v$ are also to be found (GEIGER § 46). For the preservation of *y* in *āyu* and *visaya* in the later south Indian copper-plate grants cf. PISCHEL § 253. The change of $y > v$ in a few forms is noted by PISCHEL §254 for Ardhamāgadhī Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, Apabhraṁśa and secondarily for Paiśācī.

41. The change of *y* to *v* is not noted either in the Niya Prākṛta or in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

42. MEHENDALE § 43 (4).

43. The cluster *gy* is also dissolved in *ārogiya* (*ārogya*) in br, sd. Later Kharoṣṭhī has the normal assimilation in the case of this word, cf. *aroga* (KONOW, Nos. 27, 35, etc.) and *arogi* (BURROW § 9).

instances also of dissolution as in the east in the north-western versions of the major rock edicts. cf. *viyapaṭa* or *viyapraṭa* (*vyāpṛta*), *pujetaviya* (*pūjayitavya*), *kaṭaviya* (*kartavya*), etc. Therefore the instances from the Mysore group showing *vy* > *viy* are to be attributed to the borrowed eastern elements in the north-west.

The preservation of this cluster, as in the west, is found in two instances in the Mysore group, viz. *vyūtha* (*vyuṣṭa*) and *drahyitavya*. It is possible that this was the standard western tendency in Aśokan times.[44]

(3) The borrowing of the eastern trait through north-west is more evident in the treatment of the cluster *kṣ*. In the Mysore versions *kṣ* is assimilated to the guttural *kh* as in the east and not to the palatal *ch* as in (the north-west and) the west.[45] Thus we have in the Mysore version *khudaka* (*kṣudraka*). Now in the case of this very word it is interesting to note that even the north-western versions show the eastern form with the guttural. cf. *khudaka* D, J ; *khuda* or *khudaka* M, *khudraka* S ; but the Girnār version gives the proper non-eastern form *chuda* or *chudaka*. In my opinion this evidence shows that *khudaka* happened to be in the original draft as by the time the minor rock edict was issued, the major edicts were already inscribed in the north-west and the borrowed eastern form with *kh-* had gained some currency there.

(4) In the Mysore version the cluster *jñ* > *ñ* as in the north-

44. As mentioned above though instances of the preservation of this cluster are not found in the north-western versions of the Aśokan edicts, this may have been a local tendency. cf. *divya* in the Kālsī version and the instances in the Niya Prākṛta *dadavo* and *dadavya*, BURROW § 9, § 41. The continuation of the borrowed eastern tendency of dissolution is also seen in the Niya Prākṛta, cf. *viyala* (*vyāla*), BURROW § 42 and word-index. It is again worth while to observe that the separate edicts furnish one instance of the preservation, possibly as a north-western characteristic. cf. *saṁcalitavya* in j, but *saṁcalitaviya* in d. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, we have only the proper north-western tendency of assimilation, cf. MEHENDALE § 522 (xvi).

45. Cf. MEHENDALE § 37 (1, iii). According to HULTZSCH (p. lxxxviii) *kṣ* remains in the S version. On p. 55, f.n. 5, however, he observes—"In order to distinguish this sign (i.e., the one where it corresponds to sk. *kṣ*) from the real *chh* (i.e. where it corresponds to skt. *ch*), I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually spoken like that." (brackets mine). Later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show the continuation of the eastern influence as they show *kh* (MEHENDALE § 526 b), but Niya Prākṛta shows *ç̱h*, while the Kharoṣṭhī Dh. has *ch* (BURROW § 48). For *kṣ* > *kh* as a borrowing in the Dhammapada cf. BURROW *BSOS* 8.425. For *kṣ* in Gāndhārī cf. BAILEY, *BSOS* 11.770-75.

west and the west, and not *n* as in the east.[46] cf. Mysore *ñātika* (*jñātika*) with *ñāti* or *ñātika* G,S,M, but *nāti* in D, J.

But the cluster *jñ* in √*ājñapa-* has an interesting story. It shows the normal non-eastern treatment (palatal) noted above in G in √*āñapa*, and the normal eastern treatment (dental) in D, J in √*ānapa*. But among the major edicts the S, M versions show the cerebral √*āṇapa-*, which is nothing but the borrowed *n* treatment from the east with further north-western cerebralisation of the dental nasal.[47] Now this √*āṇapa* is found also in the Mysore version, which shows that this minor rock edict was issued from the north-west only after this word had been already familiar there due to the versions of the major rock edicts.[48]

(5) Cerebralisation of dentals in combination with *r* (*ṛ*) or *s* : This is normally the eastern characteristic, whereas in the west the dentals are preserved (in the north-west cerebralisation is observed due to eastern influence).[49] The Mysore versions show a mixture of both these tendencies, thereby again pointing to the fact that this edict was issued after the major edicts were inscribed at S, M which show sometimes the eastern influence in this regard. Thus we see the dental in *pavatitaviya* (*pravartitavya*) and *pakiti* (*prakṛti*) in the Mysore group. But in *kaṭaviya* (*kartavya*) we have the cerebal of the east. Now it may be noted that *kaṭaviya* is found in M as a complete borrowing from the east (cf. the same form in D, J), as *kaṭava* in S, but *katavya* in G.

Similarly *rth* > *ṭh* in the Mysore versions, as in the east, cf. *aṭha* (*artha*). The same word is also found in the major edicts and it is represented as *aṭha* D, J, S, *aṭhra* S, *athra* S, M, *atha* G. Thus it will be seen that though the north-western versions show the proper dental treatment, they also show sometimes the cerebral,

---

46. Cf. MEHENDALE § 48 (1); for the same treatment of the cluster in later Kharoṣṭhī material cf. MEHENDALE § 515d, BURROW § 44. In Pāli too the normal treatment in *ññ*, (GEIGER § 53), in Paiśācī *ññ*, in Ardhamāgadhī both *ṇṇ* and *nn*, and in the other Prākṛtas *ṇṇ* (PISCHEL § 276).

47. cf. similar cerebralisation of *n* in √*prāpuṇa-* (*pra*-√*āp-nu*) in G, S, √*maṇa* (√*man-ya*) and *aṇa* (*anya*) in M.

48. The same exceptional treatment in the case of √*ājñapa* is found in the Niya *anati* (*ājñapti*), BURROW § 44. (For confusion between *n* and *ṇ* see above f.n. 25). For *ānata* in Khotanese cf. BAILEY, *BSOS* 11.779. Pāli also gives √ *āṇāpa-*, but has *aññā* (*ājñā*) 'perfect knowledge' also (GEIGER § 53). A later Kharoṣṭhī inscription, however, gives the proper local form *aña* (*ājñā*) (KONOW Nos. 11,14).

49. In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also dentals with *r* are preserved or assimilated to the dentals; only a few instances of cerebralisation are found (MEHENDALE § 520b, § 516). The same tendency is found in the Niya Prākṛta (BURROW § 37 which also gives *kaṭavo*).

borrowed from the east. *aṭha* in the Mysore versions is therefore to be attributed to *aṭha* or *aṭhra* in S.[50]

In the Mysore versions the cerebral is also seen in *ṭhitīka* (*sthitika*), which is to be attributed to the presence of a similar eastern form twice in the Mānsehrā version in the north-west. cf. *ṭhitika* M, *ṭhitīka* D, J, but *thitika* S (*sṭita* G).[51]

Here may also be noted the treatments of *rdh* and *ṣṭ*.

The cluster *rdh* > *ḍh* in *vaḍhisiti, diyaḍhiya* etc. in the Mysore group in keeping with the north-western and western borrowings from the east. Thus the forms of √*vardha* > √*vaḍha* are found in S, M, G, as well as in D, J (though the dental is seen in some forms at G).[52]

The absence of the cerebral in *vyūtha* (*vyuṣṭa*) in br is obviously due to mistake (for a similar mistaken dot in the circle see *va* in *hemeva* in line 9 br) unless we attribute it to the presence of the dentals in the west (and the north-west) as against the cerebrals in the east. But in the case of *ṣṭ* we find *ṭh* in the northern version in *aṭha* (*aṣṭa*) K, and *aṭhamī* (*aṣṭamī*) in two pillar edicts.[53] I am therefore more in favour of regarding *th* as a mistake for *ṭh* in *vyūtha*.

(6) It has been said above that the Mysore versions agree with the eastern dialect in morphology in certain important respects as nom. sg. in *-e* and loc. sg. in *-si*. But even these agreements possibly show that the Mysore versions were issued after these Magadhisms were known in the north-west through the versions of the major rock edicts.

---

50. In the Niya Prākṛta, the cluster *rth* is preserved or changed to *ṭẖ* of doubtful value (BURROW § 36, § 37, § 49), but in my opinion probably a continuation of the eastern borrowed cerebral *ṭh*. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions *rth* is preserved (MEHENDALE § 520b). In the Dhammapada *rth*>*th*, cf. *aṇatha* < *anartha*, BAILEY, *BSOS* 11.499, Glossary.

51. In the Niya Prākṛta also the forms of √*sthā* show *st* or *th*, or rarely *ṭẖ* of doubtful value. The cerebal is found only in *aṭhi* (*asthi*), cf. BURROW § 49. The same is also true of the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, cf. MEHENDALE § 520 iii, iv, § 516b. For the treatment in the later Prākṛtas cf. PISCHEL § 307, § 308.

52. In the Niya Prākṛta, *rdh* is mostly preserved, though *dh* and *ḍh* are found once each (BURROW § 36). Similarly *rdh* is preserved in the later inscriptions, though *ḍh* is found in proper names and *dh* in *vudha* < *vṛddha* (MEHENDALE § 520b iv, § 516d, § 500c).

53. *aṭha* in S, M is doubtful. But the change *ṣṭ* > *ṭh* in the north-west is shown by the later Kharoṣṭhī documents, cf. BURROW 49, and MEHENDALE 519a. The change of this *ṭh* > *ḍh* is found in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription (KONOW No. 11) cf. *aḍha* (*aṣṭa*). For a similar change in the Aśokan inscriptions cf. HULTZSCH, p. 135, f.n. 1, 2. In Khotanese, the group *ṣṭ* is preserved, BURROW *BSOS* 8.431.

(a) The non. sg. mas. in the Mysore version ends in *-e* as in the east, cf. *aṭhe, devānaṁpiye* etc. Though the proper north-western term. is *-o*, we find some forms in *-e* already in the S version like *jane, vivade* etc., and in the M version the *-e* ending is almost the exclusive one.[54]

(b) The nom. sg. neut. in the Mysore version ends in *-e* as in the east, cf. *phale* etc. The proper north-western term. is *-aṁ*, but the Māgadha forms with *-e* are quite frequent in those versions, cf. *dane, drasane,* etc.[55]

(c) The loc. sg. of *-a* bases ends in *-si* as in the east, cf. *Isilasi, Jaṁbudīpasi.* Now the north-western termination is *-spi* or *-e*. But the eastern termination is already seen in the north-western versions in such instances as *apakaraṇasi, uṭhanasi,* etc.[56]

(d) The neuter form *se* of the base *ta* occurs in the Mysore versions as in the east. But its use in the north-west is already witnessed in the M version. The nom. pl. mas. of this base is given as *se* for the Mysore group by HULTZSCH (p. cxxx); here, however, the north-western form is *te* and eastern *se*. In the Niya Prākṛta also (BURROW § 80) *te* occurs. In view of this evidence I am inclined to regard *se* in the Mysore group not as nom. pl. mas., but as the nom. sg. neut. used as the beginning of the sentence.[57]

(e) The demonstrative base *idam* gives once the nom. sg. mas. *iyaṁ*. But this may not be regarded as an eastern mas. form. It is rather to be explained as arising out of confusion with the neuter form *iyaṁ* because both the nom. sg. mas. (*aṭhe*) and the

54. For the agreement of the Niya Prākṛta with the M version in this respect cf. BURROW *BSOS* 8.420-21, 424. For both *-o* and *-e* terminations in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions see MEHENDALE § 529. In the Dhammapada the ending *-e* is absent, BURROW *BSOS* 8.428.

55. In later inscriptions we have *śivathale* (KONOW No. 26). Otherwise the normal ending is *-aṁ* or *-a* (MEHENDALE § 529). For the Niya Prākṛta ending *-a* < *-aṁ*, cf. BURROW § 52, § 53.

56. In later Kharoṣṭhī material, the term. is usually *-ṁmi* (or *-mi*), and *-e* (see BURROW § 58, MEHENDALE § 529, pp. 316-17). In one case, however, we have *si* in *hasisa* written for *hasasi* (KONOW, No. 31). Perhaps this *-si*, confused with gen *-sa*, occurs in the Dhammapada, BURROW *BSOS* 8.429

57. cf. for instance *se* in *se hevaṁ devāṇaṁpiye āha* (lines 8-9) with *se* in *se ime dhaṁmaguṇā pavatitaviyā* (line 10) in the br version. The *se* in the second instance is dropped in the sd version and just likely in the jtr. version. This second *se* does not correspond to Skt. *te* as nom. pl. mas. and agree with *ime dhaṁmaguṇā*, but it corresponds to the neuter *tad* used as a conjunctive. The passage is therefore to be translated as 'that these moral virtues should be practised' and not as HULTZSCH does 'these same moral virtues must be practised.' Similarly *se hevaṁ devāṇaṁpiye āha* should be translated as 'that Devānāṁpriya speaks thus' and not as HULTZSCH does 'Moreover, Devānāṁpriya speaks thus.'

nom. sg. neut. (*phale, sāvaṇe*) with which it occurs end in *-e*. This *iyaṁ* as neut. occurs in the Mysore versions quite often. It is an eastern form which is found already in the north-western versions together with *idaṁ* which is the proper form there.[58]

(7) There remain only two cases in respect of which the Mysore versions agree with the east and for which instances are not available in the north-western versions. Thus the tendency to add *h* at the beginning of a word with an initial vowel,[59] cf. *hevaṁ* (*evaṁ*) in the Mysore versions as also in D, J where we get such other words as *hida, hedisa,* etc., for which in the western and north-western versions we have *evaṁ, idha, ediśa,* etc.

Similarly the nom. sg. of the first personal pronoun in the Mysore versions is *hakaṁ*[60] which agrees with the form in the D, J versions but which disagrees with the western and north-western *ahaṁ*. In the later Niya Prākṛta and the Dhammapada also we have *ahu* (BURROW §78, BAILEY, The Khotan Dhammapada, *BSOS* 11. 488ff. Index). Therefore *hakaṁ* is clearly the eastern form with which the later Māgadhī *hage* may be compared.

Perhaps the explanation that can be given for these two eastern words *hevaṁ* and *hakaṁ* in the Mysore versions and for which parallels are not to be found in the north-western versions is that they are reminiscent of the language of the Maurya king who dictated the edict. This may be especially true about *hakaṁ* as it refers to king Aśoka himself.

In the end we may note a point with regard to the separate edicts which goes to show that these two edicts were issued from the north-west. This point was not noticed in the article dealing with the two separate edicts referred to above at the beginning of this paper.

The north-western versions no doubt use the word *jana* as the other versions do. But in the tenth rock edict in section D, *jana*, which appears in G, is substituted by the word *vagra* in S, M (and by *vaga* in K). This use of *vagra* i.e. *varga* for *jana* witnessed in the north-west is again found only in the separate edicts. Thus in the first separate edict, sections AA, at Dhauli we read *Ujenite*

58. For later Prākṛta forms cf. PISCHEL § 429, § 430 and for Pāli cf. GEIGER § 108.

59. In the Niya Prākṛta, BURROW § 28 finds considerable irregularity in the treatment of *h*, owing to its absence in the native language. But a possible instance of the above type is noticed in *heḍi* = *eḍā* (sheep). In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions such instances are absent, cf. KONOW, Word Index. For the unstability of *h* in the Gāndhārī cf. BAILEY *BSOS* 11.791-93.

60. HULTZSCH (p. lxxviii) follows PISCHEL (§ 417) and refers to Pāṇini 5.3.71 in explaining *hakaṁ* from * *ahakam*.

pi cu kumāle etāye va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa .... hedisameva vagaṁ 'But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose .... a person (*vagaṁ*) of the same description.' The corresponding Jaugaḍa version is unfortunately defaced. But in the first separate edict, section L, in Jaugaḍa we read — *tata hoti akasmā ti tena badhanaṁtika anye ca vage bahuke vedayati* 'In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people (*vage*) (continue to suffer).' Here in the corresponding section K of the Dhauli version, however, we have *jane*.[61] This correspondence between *jana* and *varga* which pertains to vocabulary is an important piece of evidence to show that the two separate edicts were issued from the north-west.

61. HULTZSCH has already drawn attention to these substitutions (p. 40, f.n. 2), but without noticing that *vagra* or *vaga* is the north-western substitution for the eastern *jana*, which reappears as a borrowed word in the separate edicts.

ON GĀTHĀS 8 AND 10 OF THE TAKKĀRIYA JĀTAKA

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

Deccan College

One of the Bhārhut sculptures, now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, bears the inscription *kinarajātakaṁ*.[1] The sculpture represents a well-dressed man, meant to be a king, seated in a chair, and a man and a woman, intended as a kinnara couple, standing beside him. The sculpture has been variously identified with the Candakinnarajātaka (No. 485), the Bhallāṭiyajātaka (No. 504), and the kinnara-episode in the Takkāriyajātaka (No. 481). The last one was first proposed by Hultzsch, and has been rightly accepted by Lüders who deals with this subject at some length in his book on Bhārhut inscriptions (pp. 134-138).[2]

The story of the kinnara-episode in the Takkāriyajātaka is, in short, as follows: A hunter once captured a kinnara couple and brought them to the king of Benares. The king had never seen such beings before. He was told by the hunter that the beings were expert in dancing and singing. The king therefore asked them to show their skill. Being afraid of committing an error, the kinnaras remained silent. The king therefore became angry and said that the beings were in no sense superhuman. They were just ordinary creatures and hence should be killed and served as food. At this, first the female and then the male kinnara uttered some gāthās. On hearing them, the king was pleased and set the kinnaras free.

Gāthā No. 8 attributed to the kinnarī runs as follows:

sataṁ sahassaṁ dubbhāsitānaṁ kalam pi nāgghanti subhāsitassa,
dubbhāsitaṁ saṁkamāno kileso, tasmā tuṇhī kiṁpurisā, na balyā.

Lüders translates the gāthā as follows: " A hundred thousand of bad speeches do not weigh as much as one piece of good speech. Fearing calamity from bad speech, the kinnaras are silent, not out of stupidity."[3]

The third pāda of the gāthā offers difficulty. Lüders says that as it stands in the manuscripts it "cannot be right; the explanation of the commentator, who seems to take *kileso* as verbum finitum[4] is without value."[5] Lüders therefore emends the third pāda, which then reads as *dubbhāsitā saṁkamānā kilesaṁ*. His translation of the gāthā given above follows the emended text. In addition, Lüders also observes that, " It is to be noted that *kilesa* apparently has not been used in the Buddhistic sense,"[5]

1. Complete Bibliography to be found in the book of Lüders, referred to below, pp. 134-135. One may also look up his List No. 701 in the Appendix to Ep. Ind. Vol. 10.
2. Published by the Government Epigraphist for India as *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part II (Ootacamund, 1963).
3. Lüders, *Bārh. Inscr.* p. 137.
4. *dubbhāsitaṁ saṁkamāno kilissati kilamati.*
5. Lüders, *ibid.*, footnote 4.

The difficulties in interpreting this pāda can be overcome with less effort if we assume that the Pāli translator of the original canon in the eastern dialect[6] misunderstood the gāthā word *kilesa-* as standing for Pāli *kilesa-*, Skt. *kleśa-*. Actually, it seems to have represented a contraction *kil' ese* = Pāli *kir' eso*[7] where *eso* stands for the kinnara standing beside the kinnarī, and *kil ese* has nothing to do with *kleśa*. The last two quarters of the gāthā in the eastern dialect of the original canon probably ran as: *dubbhāsitaṁ* (or *-daṁ*[8]?) *saṁkamāne kilese, tasmā tuṇhī kiṁpulise na balyā*, which the Pāli translator should have rendered as *dubbhāsitaṁ saṁkamāno kir' eso, tasmā tuṇhī kiṁpuriso, na balyā*, "This one, indeed, (i.e. the kinnara) is afraid of (uttering) bad speech; therefore the kinnara is silent, and not due to stupidity." The kinnarī, by uttering this gāthā, tried to achieve two purposes. She wanted to prove to the king that she was no ordinary creature; and further, to plead in behalf of her husband and explain reasonably his silence. She probably thought that this would enable her to secure the release of both of them, and that the king would not demand further proof from her husband to show that he was also a kinnara. But the Pāli translator was misled by the word *kilese* of the original canon and rendered the line mechanically into Pāli without worrying for the meaning. Or, he understood it in some such way as "Fearing that calamity occurs due to bad speech (*dubbhāsitaṁ* = *dubbhāsitā kileso hotīti saṁkamāno*), the kinnara has remained silent." Later, some one who construed *saṁkamāno kileso*, instead of *saṁkamāno kiṁpuriso*, and interpreted the former in some such way as done by the commentator, changed *kiṁpuriso* (sg.) to *kiṁpurisā* (pl.) in order to make it applicable to both the kinnaras who had remained silent. The reading *kiṁpuriso*, presumed in the interpretation suggested above, is in fact supported by one manuscript.[8] This interpretation involves only one emendation *kiṁpuriso* for *kiṁpurisā*; and it spares us from the necessity of having to interpret *kilesa* (= *kleśa*) in a non-Buddhistic sense.

When the king heard the gāthā of the kinnarī he ordered her release; but he said that the kinnara, who had not yet spoken, should be roasted and served at breakfast. The kinnara therefore thought it was time for him also to speak and recited three gāthās, the first (No. 10) of which ran as follows:

pajjunnanāthā pasavo, pasunāthā ayaṁ pajā,
tvaṁnātho 'smi mahārāja, nātho 'haṁ bhariyāya ca,
dvinnam aññataraṁ ñatvā mutto gaccheyya pabbatam.

The last two quarters of this gāthā also are difficult. Lüders translates the gāthā as: "The cattle depend on the god of rain, these beings on the cattle. On you, oh great king, I depend: on me, my wife depends. One of us when released, could only go into the mountains, after having known that the other

6. "Dem Kanon der buddhistischen Schriften im Pāli und im Sanskrit liegt ein Urkanon Zugrunde, der in êinem östlichen Dialekt abgefasst war.," *SBAW*, 1927, p. 123, cited in Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des budhistichen Urkanons*, p. 8, 1954.

7. "Die Partikel, die im Sk. stets *kila* lautet, ist im Pāli in der gesamten Literatur *ikra*". Lüders, *Beobachtungen* § 31, p. 35.

8. About *-t-* > *-d-* in the eastern dialect. see Lüders, *Beobachtungen* § 94 - § 98 (esp. §98), pp. 81-88.

8. C[k-]; C[s] gives *kiṁpurise.*

one is dead." In foot note 6 on p. 137, Lüders observes that the last two quarters are not understandable to him. His translation partly follows the explanation of the commentator: *amhākaṁ dvinnam antare eko ekaṁ mataṁ ñatvā sayaṁ maraṇato mutto pacchā himavantaṁ gaccheyya jīvamānā pana mayam annamannaṁ na jahāma/tasmā sace si imaṁ himavantaṁ pesetukāmo paṭhamaṁ maṁ māretvā pacchā pesehīti/*

From this, Lüders conjectures that "*aññataraṁ* is perhaps an attempt to rectify *aññatamaṁ* distorted from original *aññaṁ mataṁ*." He also adds, "I have translated accordingly, but I am by no means sure to have found the right meaning."

The doubt expressed by Lüders regarding the correctness of his interpretation is justified. His way of understanding the text not only involves a conjecture regarding the distortion of the text and an attempt to rectify it, but also the meaning arrived at after having done all that is not quite satisfactory.

It is therefore proposed to interpret the text in the following way. When the kinnarī utters the gāthā, the king knows her real nature and orders only her release. The kinnara then realizes that, despite knowing the true nature of the kinnarī and receiving an assurance from her that her companion is also a kinnara, the king is not ordering the release of both of them. Now he must break his silence and by his speech show to the king that he is no ordinary creature. He therefore utters a gāthā, and fearing as though that this itself will not be enough to secure his release, pleads that his wife, who has secured her release, depends on him; if the king were also to free him (*mutto*), realizing (*ñatvā*) from his speech that the remaining creature (*aññataraṁ*) is also a kinnara, he will be free to accompany the kinnarī to go to the mountain.

This interpretation does not do any violence to the text; it supplies what is easily understandable; and the meaning arrived at seems satisfactory. The two quarters may accordingly be translated as: "(Now) having known (me), the other one of the two (also to be a kinnara), when released (by you), I may go[9] to the mountain."

9. *gaccheyya* has been taken as the form of the 1st pers. sg.

NOTES ON AŚOKA'S ROCK EDICTS

M. A. Mehendale
POONA.

(1) ROCK-EDICT X

The last line of this edict has been divided by Hultzsch into two sections as follows :[1]

E *dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chudakena va janena usaṭena va aññatra agena parākramena savaṁ paricajitpā* /

F *eta tu kho usaṭena dukaraṁ* /

Hultzsch translates the above sections as follows :

(E) "But it[2] is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person)."

The versions at Shāh., Mān., Kāl. and Yerrā. are in substantial agreement with the Girnar version. As understood by Hultzsch, section E does not indicate any difference between the lowly person and the highly placed one regarding the effort they have to make for the attainment of merit. Both are expected to make great effort and leave aside every other aim for its attainment. When this has been once said, there really does not seem to be any point in merely repeating in the following section what has been already said for the highly placed one in the previous section.

Hultzsch tries to remedy this situation by taking recourse to the comparative expression *dukalatale* which occurs in the Jaug. version and translates '(more) difficult to accomplish' although in the Gir. text we have only *dukaraṁ* without any comparative suffix. A distinction has thus been obtained between the lowly person and the high one. For the former, the accomplishment of merit is difficult, for the latter, it is *more* difficult.[3]

J. Bloch tries to get over the above difficulty and bring out the difference between the low and the high persons by translating the particle *kho* as 'above all, chiefly'. His translation of the last section runs as "Mais c'est difficile surtout aux grandes" (*Les Inscriptipn d'Asoka* p. 119).

But it is possible to seek the distinction between the low and the high persons without taking any liberty with the text. We should divide the line differently into two sections as follows :

E *dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chudakena va janena usaṭena va* /

F *añatra agena parākramena savaṁ paricajitpā eta tu kho usaṭena dukaraṁ* /

This will mean that accomplishment of merit is difficult for both the classes of people. But the highly placed ones will be required to put in extra effort and abandon every other aim in case they wish to attain merit. Abandoning every other aim seems to go better only with the highly placed persons.

The word order in the Dh. and the Jaug. versions is somewhat different. There we have to divide the text as follows :

E [*dukale .... anata agena palākamena savaṁ*] *ca palitijitu khudakena vā usaṭena vā* /

F *usaṭena cu dukalatale* /

It is now obvious that the division of the text into two sections as done by Hultzsch for the Girnar and the other versions was influenced by the text in the Dh. and the Jaug. versions. According to these versions, both the classes of men are required to make extra effort and abandon every other aim in pursuit of merit. But section 'F' makes a distinction between the two classes by pointing out that this aim is more difficult *(dukalatala)* for the high persons.

It is worth noting that although the Yerra. version in general agrees with the Dh. and the Jaug. versions, in this instance it disagrees with them and agrees with the Girnar and the other versions in placing *khudakena va vagenā usaṭena*[4] *va* before, and not after, *aṁnata agena palākamenā savaṁ palitijitu*. This suggests that the Girnar and the other versions faithfully represent the word order of the original text as it was issued from the

capital. The change in the text was made for some reason in the Dh. and the Jaug. versions and then in order to make the text reasonable *dukale* was changed to *dukalatale*.

(2) ROCK-EDICT XII

Section 'D' of the Girnar version has been read and translated by Hultzsch as follows :

tasa tu idaṁ mūlaṁ ya vaci-gutī kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṁḍa-garahā va no bhave aprakaraṇamhi lahukā va asa tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe /

"But its[5] root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case."[6]

This gives an impression that Aśoka permitted on a moderate scale both the praise of one's own sect and blaming of the other sects. But this is very unlikely. The pious emperor might have permitted only a moderate praise of one's own sect on proper occasions. But since he was anxious for the promotion of all the sects, in no case could he have thought of recommending even moderate criticism of other sects. This becomes quite clear from the next section 'E' which is read and translated by Hultzsch as follows :

pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṁḍā tena tana[7] *prakaraṇena* /

"But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case".

Hence it shoud be clearly understood that *lahukā va asa* applies only to *ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-pūjā* and not to *para-pāsaṁḍa-garahā*. The last part of the section 'D' therefore should be translated as, "or (that the praise of one's own sect) may be moderate on every oceasion."

(3) ROCK-EDICT XIV

The last section 'E' of the Girnar version of this edict has been read and translated by Hultzsch as follows :

tatra ekadā asamātaṁ likhitaṁ asa desaṁ va sachāya kāraṇaṁ va [a] locetpā lipikarāparādhena va /

"In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer."

As regards *alocetpā*, Hultzsch derived it from *loceti* = Skt. *rocayati*[8] and took *a-* as the negative prefix. He, therefore, translated *kāraṇaṁ va alocetpā* as 'or because (my) motive was not liked'. Bloch also does the same when he translates the words as 'ou faute de considerer le fond (or for want of appreciating the basis)' (p. 134). But this meaning is extremely unlikely. It is difficult to imagine that the king's motive was not liked by them. Hultzsch and those who thought like him, were obviously misled by the reading *aloceptā* in Gir., *alocayitu* in Kal., and *aloceti* in Shāh., all having an initial *a-*. This *a-* was looked upon as the negative prefix. But the Dhauli version has *locayitu* without initial *a-* and this could have made it clear that the verb underlying the form *alocetpā* etc. was not √*ruc* but √*loc*, often used with the prefix *ā-*, 'to consider'. This initial short *a-* in Girnar is, therefore a, mistake. It should have been *ā-*. As regards the other two versions, it is well known that the vowel length is not marked in the Shāh. version, and at Kāl. *ā-* is often written as *a*. Woolner in his *Glossary* under *locayitu* had already suggested to read *ālocayitu* 'having regard to'. This has now been confirmed by the Yerrāguḍi version which gives the reading *ālocayitu*. Following Woolner, the correct rendering of the words *kāraṇaṁ va alocetpā* could, therefore, only be 'or having considered (some) reason (for the omission)'.

The words *desaṁ va sachāya*[9] in this edict have also caused difficulty. Hultzsch took *desaṁ* to mean 'locality'. As regards, *sachāya* he equated it with either *saṁkśāya*[10] or *saṁkhyāya* 'on account of'. Thus, according to him, Aśoka's edicts were at times incompletely written on account of the locality concerned. In footnote 6 on p. 26 he mentions as an example of this kind of omission the fact that the Rock-edicts XI-XIII were omitted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa and the two separate edicts were substituted for them.

D.C. Sircar who reads the text of the Yerrā. version as *desaṁ va saṁkhāyāyā* (obviously a mistake for *saṁkhāya*) translates 'either as the (particular) place (of a record) was considered (unsuitable for them)' (*EI* 32.15). Apparently he too takes *desa* to refer to the localities and derives *saṁkhāya* from *saṁ* √*khyā-*.

J. Bloch, on the other hand, translates *desaṁ va sachāya* as 'soit par omission d'un détail'. He apparently follows Senart who derived Kālsi *ṣaṁkheye* from *saṁ* √*kṣi-* and translated the words as 'in suppressing a

passage'.[11] Bloch, however, notes in footnote 6 that it is tempting to interpret *desa* as referring to localities (as done by Hultzsch) where the inscriptions are engraved because in fact there do exist local variations in the versions of the edicts. But he notes that in that case we shall have to derive *saṁkhāya* from *saṁ* √*khyā*-. But the Girnar version gives *sachāya* as the corresponding form and *khy* does not normally give *ch* in MIA. One is, therefore, led to see the verb √*kṣi* in deriving these forms and then it would be impossible to take *desa* to mean locality.

Aśoka says that at times his edicts may not have been written completely. This could have happened either because the omission had crept in inadvertently or because it was intentional. In the former case the omission can be attributed to the mistake of the writer (*lipikarāparādha*). In the latter case, the officer-in-charge must have thought of some good ground for making an omission (*kāraṇaṁ va alocetpā*). But a third factor, not related to the contents of the edicts, also could have been responsible for certain omissions. It was that the place where the edict was to be engraved was not enough for this purpose. It could not contain the entire inscription and hence some omissions were called for. The word *desa*, therefore, should be taken to refer to the place like the surface of the rock where the inscription was to be engraved and *sachāya* is to be derived from *saṁ* √*khyā*-. We, therefore, translate *desaṁ va sachāya* as 'either having taken into account the smallness of the place (where the edict was to be engraved).'

Bühler had long ago[12] correctly explained the word *desa*. His translation of the Kāl. version runs as 'sei es mit Ruecksicht auf den Ort (wo die Inshrift steht)'[13] which he further explains as 'weil auf dem steine nicht fuer alles Raum war.'

As noted above, Bloch who considered the possibility of interpreting *desa* as locality rejected it because in that case the form *sachāya* had to be derived from *saṁ*√*khyā*, but the *ch* of the Girnar form could not be explained from the cluster *khy*. But this difficulty can be overcome by explaining *ch* in *sachāya* as an instance of 'hyper-westernism'. It is true that *khy* does not give *ch*. But the cluster *kṣ* gives *ch* in the western, and *kh* in the eastern dialect, cf. *chamitave*, *chuda*, and *vracha* at Girnar, but *khamitave*, *khudaka*, and *lukha* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The translator at Girnar was, therefore, familiar with the fact that a western *ch* corresponded to the eastern *kh* in certain words. It is, therefore, quite likely that he in mistake did the same kind of substitution in the eastern form *saṁkhāya*,[14] although it was not etymologically justified, and wrote it as *sa(ṁ)chāya*.

In the wording of the three possible causes for omissions, the particle *vā* occurs between two words in the case of the first two alternatives in all the versions, as, for example, in Girnar *desaṁ va sachāya* and *kāraṇaṁ va alocetpā*. In the case of the third alternative, however, in the Gir., Kāl., and the Yerrā. versions only a word precedes *va* but nothing follows it:[15] *lipikarāparādhena va.* This dissimilarity is corrected by the writer of the Shāh. version by dissolving the compound and writing one word before and one word after *vā* : *lipikarasa va aparadhena.*

References

1 The text is given following the Girnar version.

2 i.e. absence of demrit.

3 D. C. Sircar (EI 32.20-21) also renders *dukale* of the Yerra. version as '(more) difficult'. His division of the text into two sections is similar to that of Hultzsch.

4 The Yerra. version has in the last section *usaṭeneva* (instead of *usaṭena*) which is not found in any other version.

5 i.e. of the promotion of the essentials of all the sects (*sāra-vaḍhī sava-pāsaṁḍānaṁ*).

6 Bloch's (p. 122) and Sircar's (EI 32.26) translations are similar to that of Hultzsch.

7 For *tena*.

8 See his footnote 7 on p. 26. He looked upon the presence of *l* (in *alocetpā*) in the western dialect, instead of the expected *r*, as an instance of pure Magadhism (see his footnote 3 on p. 8).

9 For *sachāya* of Gir., the other versions have *ṣaṁkheye* (K), *saṁkhaya* (Sh.), *saṁkhāyāyā* (Yr.)

10 What exactly is intended by this form is not clear to me.

11 As given in Woolner's *Glossary* p. 138 under *saṁkhaye*. In the IA 10.272, Senart's translation reads as 'perhaps that a passage has been mutilated.'

12 ZDMG 40. 141-142.

13 His translation of the Shāh. version is 'be it on account of the space' EI 2.472. It may be noted, however, that Bühler took *alocayitu* with both *diṣā* (for Gir. *desa*) and *kālanaṁ* and construed *saṁkheye* (for Gir. *sachāya*) as an adjective of *kalanaṁ*. As already noted by Hultzsch, this is not natural. Bühler's translation of the whole passage runs as, "But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *specially* determined, or through mistake of the writer." (EI 2.472),

14 This is how the form must have occurred in the original draft.

15 A closing *ti* follows *vā* in the Yerrā. and also perhaps in the Dh. version. But this *ti* has nothing to do with the words connected with the three alternatives.

Y卐

NOTES ON AŚOKA'S SEVENTH AND NINTH ROCK EDICTS

By M. A. MEHENDALE*

1. *Rock-edict VII*

The Dhauli version of this edict reads as follows:

(A) *Devānāmpiye Piyadasī lājā savata ichati savapāsamḍā vasevū ti/*

(B) *save hi te sayamam bhāvasudhī ca ichamti/*

(C) *munisā ca ucāvucachamdā ucāvuca lāgā /*

(D) *te savam va ekadesam va kachamti/*

(E) *vipule pi cā dāne asa nathi sayame bhāvasudhī ca*[1] *nīce bāḍham/*

Hultzsch translates the edict as follows:

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

In the above rendering, Hultzsch sees opposition between *vipule dāne* on the one hand and *sayame* and *bhābasudhī* on the other. He is therefore required to add the word 'but' in the section E to bring out the contrast. But this interpretation does not satisfactorily bring out the significance of the last two words *nīce bāḍham* 'very mean.' It is therefore suggested that *nathi* (=*nāsti*) should be construed with all the three, *dāne, sayame* and *bhāvasudhī*. The

* Deccan College, Poona.

1. All versions, except those at Dhauli and Jaugada, add here two more virtues *katamnatā* and *dadha-bhatitā* (Girnar version) rendered as 'gratitude' and 'firm devotion' by Hultzsch.

passage may then be translated as: 'And if one does not practise even great liberality, and (also) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, (he) is very mean.'

Aśoka has said at the beginning of the edict that he desires followers of all sects to practise self-control (*sayama*) and purity of mind (*bhāvasudhī*). But since this is not possible for all people, it is likely that some practise only a few of the recommended virtues but not the others. It seems that according to Aśoka, liberality is a virtue which can be easily practised by all. If one practises only a few virtues and not all, it is bad enough. But if one does not practise even liberality, and also does not have self-control and purity of mind, it is absolutely bad (*nīce bāḍham*). Practising great liberality is thus a beginning of attaining other virtues like self-control and purity of mind. It is only when we understand the edict in this way that the significance of *nīce bāḍham* is clearly brought out.

2. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 1)

The ninth rock-edict of Aśoka ends as follows in the Girnar version:

(K) .... *idaṁ kacaṁ idaṁ sādha* (read *sādhu*) *iti, iminā saka svagaṁ ārādhetu iti* /

(L) *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī* /

This has been translated by Hultzsch as follows:

(K) .... 'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven.

In what precedes the above sections in this edict, Aśoka recommends to his people the practice of morality (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) in place of the other ordinary practices which they were accustomed to follow. He says that many of the latter practices are vulgar and useless. They bear little fruit. But the practice of morality bears much fruit. Even heaven can be obtained by the practice of morality. Since what is being emphasized all along in the edict is the practice of morality which can ultimately lead to heaven, it is better to translate the last line *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā sva-*

gāradhī as "And what else than this (viz. the practice of morality) deserves more to be done so that (*yathā*) it leads to the attainment of heaven. The pronominal forms *idaṁ* and *iminā* in section 'K' refer to the practice of morality. It is therefore better to take *iminā* in section 'L' also to refer to the practice of morality than to the attainment of heaven as done by Hultzsch. Moreover, *katavya-taraṁ* can hardly mean 'more desirable.'[2]

3. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 2)

Towards the end of the ninth rock-edict, from section I onwards, the Kālsī, the Shāhbāzgarhī, the Mānsehrā, and the Yerraguḍi versions differ from the other versions of the edict. It appears that the text in the former four versions is more in keeping with what precedes in this edict. Here. in this edict, Aśoka wants to point out to his subjects the difference between the ordinary ceremonies that are performed on such occasions as marriage, child-birth etc., and the religious practices (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) which the king recommends to them. The Kālsī version reads as follows :

(I) *e hi itale magale saṁsayikye se* /

(J) *siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyā siyā punā no* /

(K) *hidalokike ceva se* /

(L) *iyaṁ punā dhaṁmamagale akālikye* /

(M) *haṁce pi taṁ aṭhaṁ no niṭeti* (read *nivaṭeti*) *hida aṭhaṁ*,[3] *palata anaṁtaṁ punā pavasati* (read *pasavati*) /

(N) *haṁce punā taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā, tato ubhayesaṁ ladhe hoti, hida cā se aṭhe palata cā anaṁtaṁ punā pasavati tenā dhaṁmamagalenā* /

Hultzsch translates the above sections as follows :

(I) For other ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

2. Only the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions agree with the Girnar in closing the edict in this way. The other edicts have a different ending for which see the next note. Both the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions are damaged.

3. This *aṭhaṃ* after hidā seems to be redundant. In the following section (N) *aṭhaṃ* is not repeated after *hidā*.

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

In section 'L' in the above text we get the word *akālikya* (*akalikaṁ* at Shāh., *akalike* at Mān., and *akālike* at *Yerra*). Hultzsch has rendered it as 'not restricted to time.' Although this reading and its interpretation give good sense, it seems that in the context in which the word occurs it has probably been mis-spelt. What was intended to be inscribed was not *akālika,* but *alokika,* 'not restricted to (this) world.' Aśoka says that the ordinary *maṁgala* which was practised by the people may or may not bear fruit. And even if it does, the fruit belongs only to this world. But in the case of *dhaṁmamaṁgala,* the fruit is not in doubt. It is certain. Either it produces result which has relevance in both the worlds or it produces endless merit valid for the next world. Thus, while the fruit of the ordinary *maṁgala* is restricted to this world alone (hidalokika), the fruit of the *dhaṁmamaṁgala* is not restricted to (this or that) world (*alokika*). The contrast with *hidalokika* is better brought out by *alokika,* than by *akālika.* If the fruit of the religious practice was restricted only to the next world, Aśoka would have used the word *para–or pāra-lokika* to contrast with *hidalokika.*[4] But since the fruit of the religious practice is not restricted to the next world–it may yield fruit even in this world, as made clear in section 'N'–Aśoka has chosen to call it *alokika.* In the context when the location, and not the time, of the result of the action done in this world is emphasized, the desired sense is better obtained by the reading *alokika* instead of *akālika,* which involves in writing the transposition of the letters *'k'* and *'l'*.

In this very edict we find another instance of the transposition of letters. In place of *pasavati* in section 'M', we get *pavasati.* It

4. As he, in fact, does in other edicts.

is likely that the text issued from the king's capital, on which the four different versions were based, contained these two cases of misspellings, viz. *pavasati* and *akālika.* But while the former was corrected in all versions except the one at Kālsī, the latter was retained in all the four versions, possibly because the word was understood to mean 'not restricted, to time.' It is true that in the case of *akālika* for *alokika,* besides the transposition of the letters '*k*' and '*l*', we also need one more horizontal mark to the left for the vowel '*o*'. But such minor errors regarding vowel marks are not uncommon in the Aśokan inscriptions.

In the end one minor correction to the translation of Hultzsch may be suggested. In the last section (N), Hultzsch takes *ubhayesaṁ* to refer to the two kinds of results, viz. the attainment of one's object (*aṭhaṁ*) in this world and endless merit (*anaṁtaṁ punā*) in the next. Perhaps it would be better to take *ubhayesaṁ* as referring to both the worlds and translate: "But in case one obtains the object in this world, the gain of both (the worlds) arises from it....."

On the Name and Gāthā 12 of the Takkārijātaka

by

M. A. Mehendale

This Jātaka (No. 481) is so called because in the narrative the Purohita of the king has a pupil who is supposed to have the name Takkāriya. We find this name clearly mentioned in the prose portion of the narrative. On pp. 245-46 (Vol. IV of Fausböll's edition) we read *tadā Bodhisatto Takkāriyo nāma māṇavo hutvā tassa santike sippaṁ uggaṇhāti.* " At that time Bodhisatta, having become a young Brahmin by name Takkāriya, was learning sciences with him (i. e. with the Purohita) ".[1] The author of the prose narrative[2] has apparently given this name to the pupil on the basis of Gāthā 1 which runs as—

ahaṁ eva dubbhāsitaṁ bhāsi bālo
bheko v' araññe ahiṁ avhayāno
Takkāriye sobbham imaṁ patāmi
na kir' eva sādhu ativelabhāṇī

Lüders translates the Gāthā as follows: " Ich selbst habe aus Dummheit üble Rede geredet wie der Frosch, der im Walde die Schlange herbeiruft. Takkāriya, ich stürze in dies Erdloch. Fürwahr, nicht gut ist unzeitiges Reden ".[3]

In the above translation the form *takkāriye* has been interpreted as vocative singular which is irregular for a stem ending in *-a*. The commentator has sought to explain it away as a voc. sg. of Takkāriyā which he looks upon as the pupil's name in the feminine gender (*tassa Takkāriyā ti itthiliṅgaṁ nāma*). Lüders is

1. Also cf. *atthi deva tass' eva antevāsī Takkāriya māṇavo nāma* (IV. 247).

2. That the Gāthās alone in the Jātakas are canonical and that the prose is later has now been well established by Lüders. Cf. his *Bhārhut und die Buddhistische Literatur*, p. 139; also cf. Alsdorf, The Ākhyāna Theory Reconsidered, *JOI*, Baroda, Vol. 13 (1963-64), p. 199.

3. *Bhārhut* etc. p. 96; also cf. Bhārhut Inscriptions, *CII*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 139.

justified when he considers this explanation impossible.[4] He is also right when he rejects the view of Hertel,[5] according to whom the feminine form suggests that the person addressed to in the Gāthā was originally some female being, perhaps the wife of the Purohita. According to Lüders the correct explanation has been given by Geiger in his Pali Gr. p. 81. Geiger looks upon this vocative form ending in -*e*, instead of in -*a*, as an instance of "Magadhism". This explanation suits well with the theory of Lüders who maintains that the Buddhist canon was originally composed in the eastern dialect and was translated later into Pāli.

As regards the name Takkāriya itself Lüders considers it 'striking' (auffällig). He tries to explain it as related to a place name. He points out that certain inscriptions of the mediaeval times often mention a place Tarkāri or Tarkārikā, also written as Ṭakkārikā. This was a centre reputed for Vedic scholarship. Many Brahmanical families went out from this place to the east and the south: Lüders thinks that it would be permissible for us to suppose that Tarkāri was a settlement of Brahmins not only in the mediaeval period but also in ancient times, centuries before the name began to appear in the inscriptions, and that the people who belonged to that place called themselves with pride Tarkārikas or Takkāriyas. This is how the pupil got what appears to be a 'striking' name.

As regards the vocative form *Takkāriye*, the explanation given by Geiger and accepted by Lüders is undoubtedly better than the other two, viz., those given by the Pāli commentator and Hertel. As regards the name Takkāriya itself, Lüders' explanation is ingenious and shows his perfect acquaintance with the details of India's past. The explanation should be acceptable, if nothing better than that can be found. But it seems that it is possible to offer another explanation, both of the stem and the form, which comes out of the narrative itself and, therefore, easier to accept.

In the first instance we have to note that there is no clear indication in the Gāthās themselves to show that Takkāriya is the name of the pupil. The Gāthās are silent about the name of the

4. Lüders has discussed this whole Jātaka in his book on Bhārhut, referred to above, pp. 94 ff; also cf. *CII*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 137 ff.

5. *ZDMG* 60, 785.

Purohita, and it is very likely that they do not really contain the name of the pupil either. The author of the prose narrative did not understand the Gāthā word *takkāriye*, mistook it to be a vocative singular of *takkāriya* and hence interpreted it as the pupil's name. Apparently he did not bother about the difficulty, noticed above, in accepting the form as a vocative singular of an *-a* stem.

But this difficulty, together with the 'strikingness' of the name Takkāriya, will disappear if we explain the word in a different way. The Pāli form *takkāriya* can be equated with Sanskrit **tatkārya* which may be taken to mean 'to be made or prepared for him' (*tasmai kāryam*). As the story of this Jātaka goes, the wife of the Purohita was in love with another Brahmin who was very much like her husband in appearance. The Purohita did not succeed in persuading his wife to leave her paramour. He, therefore, carefully devised a plan to kill him by burying him in a pit after he was killed and offered in a sacrifice to please the great spirits. The Purohita was so sure about the success of his plan that he could not keep the secret to himself and, out of jealousy, narrated it to his wife. She, on her part, forewarned her lover of the impending danger, and the latter, to save his life, left the city in good time. The next day when the paramour could not be found, the king ordered that the Purohita himself, who, as mentioned above, looked like the paramour, be sacrificed and buried in the pit under the city gate. The pupil was then appointed by the king to take the place of the Purohita. When both of them reached the place of sacrifice, the teacher recited Gāthā 1, cited above, in which he lamented over his haste in divulging the plan to his wife. His untimely speech had brought about the unfortunate situation in which he himself was to fall in the pit intended for his wife's paramour. He, therefore, rightly described the pit as *takkāriya* < **tat-kārya* which may be interpreted as 'to be made for him' (*tasmai kārya-*). The last two lines of the Gāthā have, therefore, to be translated as—" I am going to fall in the pit which was to be made for him. Indeed, the speaker of an untimely speech is not doing a right thing ".

In the above interpretation *takkāriye* has been interpreted as locative singular of *takkāriya*. The form is regular but since the noun it qualifies, *sobbhaṁ*, is in the accusative, we should have expected *takkāriyaṁ* in place of *takkāriye*. But, in favour of the

locative, it has to be noted that the use of locative is more common with the verb √*pat*. One Burmese manuscript actually gives the reading *sobbhamhi* using the locative. The whole line in this manuscript runs as—*takkāriye sobbhamhi ahaṁ pahāmi*. *Pahāmi* is probably to be explained as an unreduplicated form of √*hā* 'to abandon'. This line makes us suspect that in the original canon composed in the eastern dialect, the third line of the Gāthā probably read as—*takkāliye sobbhasi*[6] *maṁ pahāmi* 'I shall abandon i. e. throw myself in the pit to be made for him'. The Pāli rendering of this line seems to have given rise to two kinds of readings—

(1) *takkāriye sobbhamhi, haṁ pahāmi*, and

(2) *takkāriye sobbhamhi maṁ patāmi*.

It is the latter which is the basis of the reading given by the Ceylonese manuscripts, viz., *takkāriye sobbhami maṁ patāmi*, interpreted as *sobbhaṁ imaṁ patāmi*. One may speculate as one will regarding the way in which the present accusative form appeared in place of the original locative. There seems to be little doubt about the interpretation of *takkāriye* as locative singular to be connected with the following word *sobbha*. The author of the prose narrative, however, misunderstood it as vocative singular and hence intepreted Takkāriya to be the name of the pupil. The title given to this Jātaka is thus secondary, based on the wrong interpretation of *takkāriye*. Originally the Jātaka may have been named by the first line of the above Gāthā.

A form **tatkārya* in the sense *tasmai kāryaṁ*[7] perhaps may not be available for the standard dialect of the educated in those days.

6. For the use of two different locative endings side by side cf. Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.* §366 a, p. 251 f. According to Lüders, the locative singular term. for the eastern dialect of the original canon was *-e*. But one has also to assume, on the basis of Aśokan evidence, the term. *-si* for the eastern dialect. E. Waldschmidt, in his introductory remarks (p. 10) to Lüders' *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, observes, "Hinzufügen möchte ich, dass Lüders' Auseinandersetzungen über Missdeutungen bei der Übersetzung von Nominativen bzw. Lokativen aus der Sprache des Urkanons voraussetzen, dass der Lok. Sg. im Urkanon nicht oder *nicht durchgehend* (ital. mine) den Ausgang auf *-si* hatte, den die östlichen Aśoka -Inscriften zeigen, sondern den auf *-e*". This *-si* is probably to be read as *-ssi*.

7. *takkāriya* could have also been explained as * *tatkārita* 'caused to be made for him' (*tasmai kāritam*). But there is a difficulty in explaining *-iya*

Normally, such a form, if it occurred in the dialect of the educated, would be in the sense *tena kāryam* or *tasya kāryam*. But it should not be too difficult to assume the existence of such a form in the popular dialects, especially if such an assumption gave a better explanation of the Pāli form.

* * *

Gāthā No. 12 in this Jātaka[8] reads as :—

sabbo loko paracitto acitto
sabbo loko cittavasamhi citto
paccekacittā puthu sabbasattā
kass' idha cittassa vase na vatte

W. H. D. Rouse's translation[9] runs as follows: "Some one there is who each man foolish finds;[10] Each by imagination different still; All different, many men and many minds; No universal law is one man's will."

It is hardly possible to agree with this translation and Lüders seems to pass over it in silence. Lüders' translation, which is definitely better, reads as follows: "Jederman ist ohne Verständnis für den, der (die Sache) anders versteht; jederman hat Verständnis für den, der sich dem (eigenen) Verständnis fügt. Alle

from *-ita*. It is true that the ending *-ika* is often found as *-iya*, and *-iya* for *-ika* has been assumed by Lüders as the normal treatment for the eastern dialect (cf. Beobachtungen etc. § § 89–90 and § § 133–138). But it is very much to be doubted whether the same treatment, even as sporadic, can be assumed for *-ita*. As for the use of the dative with the past participle, Wackernagel (II. 1 § 184, p. 199) has noted the use of *tvad-anveṣaṇa-prasṛta* 'started for your search' from the *Daśak*. 38.1. He also notes the rule of Pāṇini 2.1.36 which sanctions the use of the dative with the participle *rakṣita*. As examples, the commentators give *gorakṣita*, *aśvarakṣita* which have to be understood as 'preserved for a cow, preserved for a horse'. This sūtra of Pāṇini also includes another participle, *hita*, but its verbal meaning is not implied. It is taken to mean 'beneficial, wholesome', thus *gohita* 'wholesome for a cow'.

8. I have discussed Gāthās 8 and 10 of this Jātaka in *Studies in Indian Linguistics* presented to Prof. M. B. Emeneau, pp. 231–233.

9. The Jātaka, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. IV, p. 160.

10. If the reading is *paracitte*, Rouse would translate : "Everybody is foolish in some other man's opinion". In line 2, Rouse feels, there may be a pun on *citto* (various) : "all the world becomes different through the power of thought".

Wesen verstehen (die Dinge) besonders, ein jeder für sich. Wessen Verständnis soll ich mich unter diesen Umständen anschliessen?" This may be translated into English as: "Everyone is without understanding to him who understands (the things) in a different way; everyone is with understanding to him, (everyone) who accommodates himself to his (i. e. latter's) understanding.[11] All beings understand (the things) separately, everyone for himself. Whose mind, in these circumstances, shall I follow?"

Lüders notes in footnote 2 that this Gāthā and the commentary on it have been much corrupt. He is certain that in the first line we should read *paracitte*[12] corresponding to *cittavasaṃhi* of the second line. As regards the last line, Lüders suggests that we should read either *kass' īdha cittassa vasena vatte* or *kass' īdha cittassa vase nu vatte.*

But it appears that it should be possible to understand the Gāthā even as it is and translate it as: "Everyone who follows the mind of some one else, (and not his own) is (to be considered as) having no mind; (but) everyone who is under the control of (his own) mind, is (to be considered as) having mind. All beings are different, each one having a mind for himself. (Hence) no one, here, should be under the control of anybody else's mind".

The Kinnara couple had not sung or danced immediately when the king had ordered them to do so. They spoke only when they found that otherwise they would meet with death. In this Gāthā and in the one which precedes it, the Kinnara is justifying their silence. He says that he and his wife were silent for a while because men have different dispositions and it is not easy to avoid criticism (G. 11). If they had said something, it was quite likely that the king might have thought it to be wrong. In that case he would have judged them as beings without any intelligence. But since they were really beings possessed of intelligence they wished to follow their own inclination and not act according to the will of some one else.

---

11. I am not sure whether this translation of the second line comes out of the German. But this I feel is what Lüders meant.

12. This reading is found in one manuscript.

THE DICTIONARY OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS – A DESIDERATUM

By

M. A. Mehendale

It is often felt by those working in the MIA field that it is necessary to have a dictionary of inscriptional Prakrits based on both the Brāhmi and the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions dating from about 3rd century B.C. to about 4th century A.D.. In order to make the work complete, it may be good to include in this dictionary the vocables found in the early Ceylonese cave inscriptions from about the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd CenturyA.D. It may be advisable to exclude from the proposed dictionary the material offered by the Aśokan inscriptions. And this, for two reasons. In the first instance, good indices to Aśokan inscriptions are available, and secondly, these inscriptions are of a nature different from the rest of the Prakrit inscriptions, for they give different versions of the same major or minor rock and pillar edicts. It is true that even the available Aśokan indices need a revision in the light of the recent publication of the complete set of the 14 major edicts at Erraguḍi in the Ep. Indica Vol. 32 and a few other smaller publications of versions of major and minor edicts.

Before a dictionary of Inscriptional Prakrits is undertaken, it is necessary as a first step, to reedit many of the Prakrit inscriptions which have not been practically touched almost since the end of the nineteenth century. The only notable exceptions are the group of inscriptions at Sanchi which have been edited by N. G. Majumdar (The Monuments of Sanchi, Vol. I) and those at Bhārhut which have been edited by H. Lüders (CII Vol. II, part 2, 1963). The work of editing the inscriptions will have to be done carefully. The available texts show that the scribes were not quite particular in showing the *anusvāra* and the vowel length. It would be desirable to restore these signs for the purposes of the dictionary, where such restoration is absolutely certain, indicating, of course, into brackets the forms actually available in the inscriptions. The other peculiarity of these inscriptions is that they show only a single consonant where a geminated stop is intended. It would also be necessary to indicate where such geminated stop is to be read, e.g. *ni(g) godha* in place of *nigodha* (Skt. *nyagrodha*) or *bha(y)yā* for *bhayā* (Skt.*bhāryā*). This practice of indicating geminated stops has been followed by J. Bloch in his edition of the Aśokan inscriptions.

A large number of Prakrit inscriptions are donative in nature. They are, therefore, short and have a standard form. They mention that a particular object –a pillar, or a rail-bar or some such thing—is a gift of some

one—an individual or a community—coming from such and such a place and following such and such a profession. Thus we have among Bhārahut inscriptions s one which reads as *Vedisā Cāpadevāyā. Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhamathabho dānaṁ* (Lüders List 712)[1] 'The first pillar, the gift of Cāpadevā, the wife of Revatimitta from Vedisa''. But such details are not always given. Hence one may find at Bhārhut a simple inscription like *Vedisā Phagudevasa dānaṁ* (Lüders 780) "The gift of Phaggudeva from Vedisa", or simpler still *Isidatasa dānam* (Lüders 830) "the gift of Isidatta". The word for 'gift' *dānam* naturally occurs very frequently in these inscriptions and it does not seem necessary to give references to all its occurrences in the dictionary. The few examples given above will also show that these donative inscriptions contain a large number of personal names, of places and of professions. If the proposed dictionary gives as many identifications of geographical names as possible and attempts a classification of geographical names, e.g. on the basis of their endings like—*kaṭa* (*Karahakaṭa, Bhoja-kaṭa*), *-gāma* (*Nava-gāma, Sāṁika-gāma*), *-ghara* (*Udubara ghara, Kura-ghara*) etc., and a similar classification of personal names, it would be of great geographical and sociological interest. Let me illustrate this point by citing the following few lines which indicate what one can say regarding the personal names occurring in the Bhārhut inscriptions: " A large number of these names is religious (theophoric). Apparently we are in a period when the worship of old Vedic deities still existed and when the rule of some *Grihyasūtras* recommending to name a person after some *nakshatra* was in vogue. But the cult of minor deties and spirits like *Yakshas*, *Bhūtas* and *Nāgas* and of saints seems to have been very popular. Besides, names derived from the Vaishnavite and Śaivite deities prove also the existence of these sects in that period. Often the person is called 'protected' (*gu(t)ta=gupta, ra(k)khita=rakshita, pālita*), or 'given' (*da(t)ta=datta*) by some deity or star; or the person is said to have some deity as 'friend' (*mi(t)ta=mitra*) or 'god' (*deva*), or is said to be the deity's 'servant' (*dāsa*). In the case of such names as may be called Buddhist, however, words as *saṁgha, dha(m)ma = dharma, (bu(d)dha = buddha, bodhi* and *thūpa = stūpa* appear in place of the deity's name. It is surprising that such Buddhist names are relatively few, and that there is no marked difference in naming laymen and clergymen. The non-religious names referring to the appearance of body, mental dispositions, plants or animals are comparatively seldom met with."[2]

I now give some examples, taken mostly from Bhārhut inscriptions, to show how we get from inscriptional Prakrits (*A*) some new words, or (*B*) new forms of words already known, and (*C*) some forms of grammatical interest.

1. A list of the early Brāhmī inscriptions has already been published by Lüders as an appendix to EI, Vol. 10. It is necessary now to bring this list up to date.

2. Bhārhut Inscriptions, pp. 3-4.

A : *New Vocables.*

1. *a(s)savārika* 'a horseman, cavalier', Sk. *aśvavāra-ka* L 728 (A 22).[3] It occurs also at Sanchi (L 381) in the form *a(s)savāraka.*

2. *ūkraṁti* 'conception', Sk. *upakrānti* L 801 (B 19). The sculpture on which this inscription (*bhagavato ūkraṁti*) appears shows the Buddha in the form of a six-tusked elephant coming down to enter the womb of Māyā. In works like the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* the term used for conception is *avakrānti* 'descent' and the verb used is *avakram-* Pāli has *okkama*) or *ukkama* as in *mātu kucchiṁ okkami, Majjihimanikāya* III. 20. The Pkt. form to correspond Skt. *avakrānti* would be *okkaṁti*. Hence Hultzsch considers the form *ūkraṁti* of the inscription to be a mistake for *okraṁti*. But Lüders considers this not quite necessary. He thinks it possible to explain *ūkraṁti* from Skt. *upakrānti* 'approaching, coming near' and compares this with the expression *udaram upagataḥ* occurring in the *Mahāv.* II. 8. 18 and *Lalitavi.* 55.8.

3. *kubhā* 'cave' L 954-956 occurs in the Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions of *Devānaṁ piya Daśaratha.* The word occurs also in the Barabar hill cave inscriptions attributed to Aśoka.

4. *koṭisaṁthata* 'a layer of crores', Skt. *koṭisaṁstṛta* L 731 (B 32). The word occurs in the inscription which is attached to a sculpture depicting Anāthapiṇḍika's presentation of Jetavana to the Saṁgha after having bought it for 'a layer of crores'. The price is referred to in such terms because the coins were spread on the ground. In Pāli (*Cullavagga*), we get *santhara* (Sk. *saṁstara*) in place of *saṁthata* of the inscription. The Pāli ppp. of *santharati* is *santhata* and the Amg. form is *saṁthaḍa* (Pischel § 219, p. 157).

5. *ña (t) ti* 'announcement', Skt. jñpti. L 697 (B 64). The word occurs in what is read as a compound *sigālañati* 'announcement to the jackals'.[4] The sculpture shows a woman seated on a tree. Three jackals are shown sitting under another tree and the woman seems to be addressing them. In the foreground a man is shown lying who may be dead since the scene is laid in a *susāna* (*smaśāna*), or he may be sleeping, since he is lying on his left side with one arm below his head.

The sculpture has not yet been properly identified and hence it is difficult to decide the meaning of *ñati.* Hultzsch thought that the inscription should have been written as *sigāle ñati* = Skt. *śṛgālān jñātrī* 'who has observed

3. In such references, L refers to Lüders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions in EI, Vol. X and the number in brackets refers to the numbering adopted in his book on the Bhārhut inscriptions.

4. The inscription in full runs as *Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigālañāti.*

the jackals'. Barua-Sinha relate *ñati* to Skt. *jñāti*, Pāli *ñāti* and translate it as "jackals . . . her kinsmen'. Lüders prefers to equate *ñati* with Skt. *jñapti* referring to some announcement made by the woman to the jackals. Perhaps, *ñati* here stands for *viññatti* = Skt. *vijñapti* 'request, appeal'.

6. *ṭana-cakama-pari* (*repo*) 'The plastering of the *ṭana*-walk' L 903 (A 127). The inscription is not attached to any sculpture. The word *cakama* = *caṁkama* offers no difficulty. It refers to a place, levelled or raised with bricks etc., where monks sat down or walked in meditation.[5] The word *ṭana* presents difficulty. Barua-Sinha read it as *vana*. Lüders' remark on this inscription in his List is 'No sense has been made out' and his treatment of the inscription in his manuscript of the book of Bhārut inscriptions has been lost. Perhaps, *ṭana* stands for *ṭhāna* which is to be derived from *sthāna* referring to a *caṁkama* used for 'standing' in meditation. If the end part of the inscription is really *parirepo* it may refer to the plastering of the *caṁkama*, the cost of which was borne by some one and this is recorded in the inscription.

7. *tikoṭika* 'having three points', Skt. *trikoṭika*, L 765 (B 78). The word occurs as an adj. of a *caṁkama*.

8. *turaṁ* 'music', Skt. *tūryam*, L 743 (B 27). The word does not occur in *Pāli*, but has been noted by Hemachandra for various Prakrits (Cf. 2.63 and Pischel § 284, p. 195).

9. *daḍani* (*k*) *kamo* 'strong exertion', L 696 (B 77). This also occurs as the name of a *caṁkama*. According to Lüders it very probably stands for Pāli *daḍhanikkama* referring to the strong exertion displayed by a monk when he was tempted by Māra.

10. *dhenachako* L 781 (B 76). The inscription is not found with any sculpture. The meaning of this word has not been properly ascertained. Barua-Sinha identify the word with Pāli *dhonasākho*[6] which, in the Jātaka 353.4, appears as a name of a banyan tree. Lüders does not agree. He tentatively suggests that *dhenachako* may have been intended for *dhenuchako* = Skt. *dhenūtsakaḥ* 'a cow-well' i.e. a well which gives milk like a cow.

11. *pa*(*ṁ*)*ca-nekāyika* 'a monk who knows the five *nikāyas*' L 867 (A 57). It occurs as a title of a monk. It also occurs at Sanchi (L 299) in the form *pacanekayika*.

5. *caṅkamam āruyha katipayavāre aparāparaṁ caṅkami* J.V. 132,
caṅkamā oritvā paññatte āsane nisīdi Suttan. I.212.

6. Lüders thinks that the Pāli word was probably *poṇasākho* = Skt. *pravaṇaśākha*— 'with sloping branches'.

12. *pu(k)kharinī* 'a pond' L 907. Not in **Pāli**, but occurs in various forms in Pkts, Pischel § 125, p. 100. § 302, p.206.

13. *peṭaki* 'a monk who knows the *piṭakas*', L 856 (A 56).

14. *bo(d)dhago(ṭ)ṭhī* 'a Bauddha Committee' L 234, 351. These inscriptions from Sanchi record the gifts of such committees from the place called *Dha(m)mava(ḍ)ḍhana*.

15. *mugapha(k)ka* '(a *jātaka* relating to) dumb and paralysed' L 807 (B 59). The word occurs in the title of a Jātaka as it appears in the inscription. Pāli has the words *mūgapakkha* and *mūgapakkhika*. But *phakka* appears in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (271, 121) among the words indicating bodily defects (like *andha*, *jātyandha* etc.). In the *Gāthā* 33 of the Pāli *Jātaka* (No. 538) also *pakkha* indicates some bodily defect, cf. *nāhaṁ asandhitā pakkho* 'I am not *pakkha* because I have no joints . . . . . .'. In the opinion of Lüders *phakka* is the correct form which was changed to *pakkha* in Pāli under the influence of *pakkhāhata*.

16. *rājalipikara* 'royal scribe' L 271 occurs in a Sanchi inscription. Pāli has *lipi*, not *lipikara*, and the only reference given is to *Milindapañha* 79. As is well known *lipikara* occurs also in the Aśokan inscriptions.

17. *rupakaṁma* 'carving' L 845 occurs in a Sanchi inscription.

18. *rupakāraka* 'sculptor' L 857 (A 55) occurs in a Bhārhut inscription.

19. *lupada(k)kha* 'copyist' L 921 occurs in the Ramagaṙh cave inscription. Pāli *rūpadakkha* means an 'artist'.

20. *sa(ṭ)tupadāna* 'who has abandoned attachment' L 792 (A 58). This occurs as a monk's title. According to Lüders the meaning is not quite certain. Hultzsch thought it to be equal to Skt. *śāstropādāna* 'who is versed in sciences'. Barua-Sinha suggested instead *smṛtyupasthāna* 'who is adept in the practice and experiences of mindfulness.' Lüders thinks it to be an imperfect spelling for *sa(ṭ)ṭupādāna* 'who has abandoned attachment'. He compares *saṭṭa* from *sṛṣṭa* with Pāli *maṭṭa* (also *maṭṭha*) from *mṛṣṭa* 'wiped, clean' and Pāli *sa-upādāna* 'full of attachment' and *an-upādāna* 'unattached'.

21. *Sādikasaṁmadaṁ* 'accompanied by (?) a mimic dance' L 743 (B 27). Hoernle rightly connected *sāḍika* with *saṭṭaka* which is mentioned as one of the Uparūpakas. According to Lüders it is possible to have *sāṭaka* from *saṭṭaka* and, just as we have *nāṭikā* by the side of *nāṭaka*, it is possible to imagine *sāṭikā* by the side of *sāṭaka*. The *sāḍika* of the inscription stands for *sāṭikā*. The sculpture on which the inscription occurs shows some women playing on musical instruments and four *apsaras* dancing. This would show

that originally *saṭṭaka* was a mimic dance performed by women and from this developed later a real drama.

The word *saṁmadaṁ* which occurs as the latter part of the compound is more difficult. It has been suggested to transalate it as 'gladdening, gay, joyous'. Lüders offers for consideration the suggestion that originally it meant 'causing joy together with something else' and later it became a technical term meaning 'accompanied by'.

I would rather connect *saṁmada* with *saṁmata* and translate the whole inscription *sāḍikasaṁmadaṁ turaṁ devānaṁ* as 'the music of the gods as approved for the *sāḍikā*', i.e. which is suited for a *sāḍikā*.

22. *so(t)tika* 'weaver', Sk. *sautrika* L 321. It occurs in a Sanchi inscription. Pāli has *sūtrakāra* 'spinner'.

B. : *Vocables having a different form or meaning* :

23. *āvesani* 'artisan' L 346. It occurs in a Sanchi inscription. Pāli has *āvesana* 'workshop', Skt. *āveśana* is given by Hemachandra as a word for *śilpiśālā*.

24. *kaṁmaṁta* (in *silakaṁmaṁta*) '(stone) work,' i.e. carving of sculptures in stone' L 687 (A 1). With this may be compared *selaka(m)ma* 'stone work' occurring in a Sanchi inscription (L 350). Pāli *kammanta* (working, profession, house work) does not have this meaning.

25. *gharinī* 'house-wife' L 516. It occurs in a Sanchi inscription. Pāli has *gharaṇī*. Māhār. seems to have *ghariṇī* (Pischel § 385, p. 268).

26. *cirāti*. It occurs as a name of a nun in Sanchi inscriptions (L 388, 624). Pāli has *kirāta*. But forms with palatalisation are noted from other Prakrits, Māhār. *cilāa*, *cilāī*, Amg. *cilāya*, *cilāiyā*. Śaura., however, has *kirāda* (Pischel § 230, p.164).

27. *ni(g)godha* 'banyan tree', Skt. *nyagrodha* L 755 (B 70). Pāli has *nigrodha*.

28. *bramana* 'Brahmin' L 810 (B 51). Pāli has *brāhmaṇa*, Amg. and JM *bambhaṇa* (also *māhaṇa*), Pischel § 250, p. 174. According to Lüders *bramana* is a faulty spelling for *braṁhana*. But it is also possible to read it as *brammana*.

29. *bhaya* i.e. *bhayyā* 'wife', Skt. *bhāryā* L 882 (A4). In Bhārhut we also get the form *bhāriyā* L 712 (A 34) and L 854 (A 115). Pāli has *bhariyā*. The Prakrits give different forms like *bhāriyā*, *bhariā*, *bhayyā* and *bhajjā* (Pischel § 134, p.105, § 284, p.195).

30. *bhānaka* 'reciter' L 804 (A 54). Pāli has *bhāṇaka*.

31. *bhi(k)khunī* and *bhi(c)chunī* 'nun' L 764, L 723 (A52, A 24), Pāli has *bhikkhunī*, Amg. *bhikku*. Buddhist Skt. *bhiksuṇī*, Skat. *Bhikṣukī*. According to Lüders the forms with *-kh-* would be eastern and those with *-ch-* would be western.

32. *laṭuvā* 'quail' L 825 (B 44). Pāli has *laṭukikā*.

33. *va(ḍ)ḍaki* 'carpenter' L 495. It occurs in a Sanchi inscription. Pāli has *vaḍḍhakī*.

34. *vo(k)kata* 'descended', Sk. *vyavakrānta* L 777(B 18). Pāli has *vokkaṁti*.

35. *su(t)tātikinī* 'nun well-versed in the *Sūtrāntas*'. It occurs in three Sanchi inscriptions (L 319, 352, 625). Pāli has the mas. form *suttantika* (which occurs also in Sanchi inscriptions L 625, 797).

26. *se(c)cha* 'student' L 704 (B 45). It occurs in the name of a Jātaka '*se(c)chajātaka*' which has been identified with *Dūbhiyamakkaṭajātaka* (No. 174). Barua-Sinha attempt to derive *seccha* from Sk. *siñc-*. Lüders does not agree and suggests to connect *seccha* with Pāli *sekkha* (or *sekha*) 'a monk who has not attained arhatship'. Sanskrit Kośas give *śaikṣa* in the meaning *prāthamakalpika* 'a beginner, one who has just begun his studies'. According to Lüders *sekkha* is the estern, while *seccha* is the western form. In Sanchi we have the work *se(j)jha* in the same meaning (L 570).

C : *A Few verbal Forms.*

37. *avayesi* 'played (on lute)' L 810 (B 51). This is Aor. 3rd per. sg. of *vād*—. The inscriptional form obviously stands for *avāyesi*. In Pāli we get *avādesi* in *yaṁ brāhmaṇo avādesi*.

38. *ke(t)tā* 'having bought' L 731 (B 32). Block derives it from * *krayitvā*. Skt. has *krītvā* and Pāli *kiṇitvā*.

Perhaps it should be possible to derive *kettā* also from *krītvā*. We may compare *ve(s)sabhu* < *Viśvabhū* (B 14) L 714, and *Anādhape(ḍ)ḍika* < *Anāthapiṇḍika* < (B 32) L 731.

39. *gahuta* 'mad' L 694 (B 50). It occurs in the title of a Jātaka '*Sujato gahuto*', identified with Sujātajātaka (No. 352). Cunningham wanted to derive it from *go-hūta* meaning 'bull-inviter'. But Lüders agrees with Hultzsch who equates it with Sk. *gṛhīta* 'caught. seized'. For *gṛhīta*, Pāli has *gahīta* and the Pkts. have *gahida* or *gihida*, *gahiya*, *gahia* (Pischel § 564, P.384).

PĀLI—ITS HISTORY AND ITS RELATION TO THE 'ORIGINAL' CANON

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

PĀLI, the language of the sacred writings of the Buddhists of Ceylon, represents the earliest recorded stage of the Middle Indo-Aryan. The literature contained in this language is very vast and preserves for us numerous grammatical forms and lexical items to enable us to obtain a clear idea about the language. Although this language belongs to the MIA stage it shows certain phonological and morphological features which cannot be explained on the basis of the classical Sanskrit but have to be traced back to Vedic Sanskrit. Among these features may be counted the occurrence of -ḷ- and -ḷh- in place of -ḍ- and -ḍh- exactly as it happens in the Ṛgveda. Similarly, the instrumental plural termination -ehi as in devehi can be explained only as derived from the trisyllabic Vedic form devebhiḥ. Also the Pāli absolutive forms in -tvāna (pītvāna) can be explained only on the basis of the similar ending in the Vedic and not the classical -tvā. Such features compel us to conclude that some of the linguistic features of Pāli had started to develop already very early when the Vedic Sanskrit—especially the one on which the language of the Ṛgveda was based—was still a spoken language.

Is it possible for us to take further back the history of Pāli? Is it possible to demonstrate that some of its features had started to develop even before the period of Vedic Sanskrit, i.e. in the Indo-Iranian period? Now, among the features which mark off Pāli from an eastern dialect which later developed into Māgadhi we note the following two: (*i*) it has only the dental sibilant s, while Māgadhi has ś; and (*ii*) it shows final -as developing into -o, while Māgadhī has -e (thus we have the opposition devo : deve etc.). It is significant to note that in both these points Pāli agrees with Avesta, and hence it seems possible for us to say that the forerunner of Pāli shared some of its isoglosses with those of Avesta. If this is true, it would be unnecessary for us to assume the merger on the Indian soil of the two Sanskrit sibilants s and ś (we leave out Sanskrit ṣ since for some time it must have been only an allo-

phone of s) into a single sibilant in Pāli. In other words, occurrences of Pāli s which correspond to Skt. ś never passed through the stage of ś. Together with Avesta, Pāli saw the merger, probably on the Iranian soil, of IE ḱ and s into s.

Pāli, like Avesta, shows the development of final -as >-o. But in this respect there is a slight difference which we would do well to remember. It is also important to bring to notice one point in this regard which perhaps has not been done before. In Sanskrit itself final -aś > - o in certain conditions. But it also shows in sandhi only the final -a, or -as is either preserved or it changes to -aś and -aṣ. Now if we imagine that Pāli developed from the spoken form of Sanskrit and if we also imagine that the sandhi rules of grammarians were based on the spoken forms of Sanskrit—and we have to imagine both these things—then it is impossible for us to believe that Pali devo āyāti developed from deva āyāti, or Pāli devo carati developed from devaś carati. We must imagine for the proper explanation of the nom.sg. forms of Pāli that already in very early times in some spoken dialect of Sanskrit the devo form was generalized so that we had in this dialect expressions like devo carati devo tarati etc. It is from such forms that we can explain Pāli nom.sg. -o ending. In this respect Avesta slightly differs from Pāli. Although it is also marked by the isogloss which used the ending -o irrespective of what followed in a continuous utterance, it has preserved as relics the sandhi forms like išsavas ca, išavas cit, nəmas[9] tē.

One more phonetic feature also deserves attention. In Sanskrit no consonant cluster of two stops can occur at the beginning of a word. But a cluster of this type is known to occur in the Girnar version of Aśokan inscriptions. True, this cluster does not occur in Pāli, but this point is worth mentioning because in many other respects Pāli and the Girnar dialect go together. The cluster in question is db which corresponds to Skt. dv. Thus Sk. dvādaśa is represented twice in Girnar version as dbādasa, but Pāli has bārasa. In Avesta we find a similar feature which points to a common isogloss. In Gāthā Avesta dv occurs as it is or as d^{a}b and in younger Āvestan it is represented by *t*b or b.

Pāli differs from Māgadhī in respect of the sounds r and l. Whereas Pāli has both of them, Māgadhī has only l. In this case, Sanskrit and probably early Pāli, are similar to Avesta for the early Vedic period. All apparently had only r. In later Vedic, and probably just about that time in Pāli, l forms begin to appear and

then become more frequent. In the early stages of Sanskrit and Pāli, both these languages shared with Avestā the isogloss of merging IE r and l into r. But later they fall apart and begin to show l forms due to dialect mixture.

Language of the Original Buddhist Canon :

The Ceylonese tradition asserts that Pāli is Māgadhī and it represents the language in which Buddha taught his disciples. If this tradition is to be believed the Pāli canon would represent the original Buddhist canon. But this Ceylonese claim has been seriously doubted. As was noticed above Pāli does not agree with later Māgadhī, but it very closely resembles the Girnar dialect i.e. the western dialect of Aśokan inscriptions. It is therefore difficult to accept the view that Pāli preserves the preachings of Buddha in its original form.

Pāli is not a very homogeneous dialect. It shows many dialectal features belonging to the eastern dialect. These usually go under the name Māgadhisms. The question arises how do we explain these Māgadhisms in Pāli. Lüders, on comparing the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions of the Buddhist Canon, came to the conclusion that there must have been an original canon in the eastern language of which Pāli and Sanskrit writings are translations. This original canon however, has been completely lost to us. According to Lüders, this language of the original canon agreed in many respects with the Māgadhī of the Aśokan inscriptions.

Although Lüders had given expression to this opinion as early as 1927, he had not come out fully with his complete description of the language of the original canon for quite a long period. It appears that he wanted to publish his findings in his introduction to the edition of the Udānavarga based on the fragments discovered in Turfan. Unfortunately the edition of the Udānavarga was destroyed in the Second World War. But, fortunately, some part of the manuscript related to the introduction of the edition escaped destruction. This has been edited and published in 1954 by Prof. Waldschmidt under the title Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons. This publication helps us to get at least some idea of what Lüders thought of the eastern language in which he had assumed the original canon was composed. The Māgadhisms in Pāli occur, according to Lüders, because the Pāli translator occasionally retained some eastern forms in his translation or because he misunderstood the text of the original canon.

Some of the linguistic features attributed by Lüders to the language of the original canon are as follows :

(1) voicing of unvoiced intervocal single and geminated stops, e.g. -k- > -g-, -t- > -d-, -kkh- > -ggh-, -ṭṭh- > -ḍḍh-.

(2) Weakening of intervocal voiced stops to -y-, e.g., -j- : -y-, -d- > -y-.

(3) -p > -v-.

(4) use of l (and no r)

(5) Abl. sg. of -a stems in -aṁ, (cf. Pāli : akataṁ dukkataṁ seyyom Dh. 314 instead of akataṁ dukkatā seyyo).

(6) Acc. pl. of -a stems in -aṁ, e.g. kaṇhaṁ dhammaṁ Dh. 87 for kaṇhe dhamme.

(7) Loc. pl. of -a stems in -hi, e.g. virūpakkhehi me mettam cullav. V. 6 for virūpakkesu.

(8) nom. sg. of -a stems in e.

But a question is here justified. If the assumed original canon in the eastern language has been completely lost to us, how does Lüders formulate his views on the nature of the language of this canon ?

The method adopted by Lüders can be described in the following way.

(*i*) If Pāli, as a western dialect, shows a particular phonetic or morphological feature as its general characteristic, and also shows a few exceptions to the general pattern, then Lüders assumes that these exceptions occur due to these being borrowings from the original eastern canon. In that case the phonological or the morphological feature which occurs asexception in Pāli is to be looked upon as a regular characteristic of the eastern language. To give an example, if in Pāli -k- in the intervocal position happens to correspond generally to Sanskrit -k-, but in a few cases Pāli -g- corresponds to Skt. -k, then according to Lüders, these words with -g- occur in Pāli on account of their being borrowings from the eastern language. In that case -g- for Skt. -k- or voicing of intervocal sounds to sonants is to be considered as a regular feature of the eastern dialect. Similarly if Pāli gives acc. pl. forms of -a

stems generally as jane, and then if in a few cases forms ending in *-aṁ* have to be interpreted as acc. pl. then Lüders considers these as forms retained from the original canon by the Pāli translator. In that case, again, aṁ has to be considered as the normal ending of acc. pl. of -a stems in the eastern language.

If the method is simply stated as above, it is not likely to carry conviction. It must therefore be stated that Lüders has tried to justify his conclusions whenever possible by internal and external evidence. This may be described as follows :

As an example of internal evidence we may point out that Lüders interprets *kaṇhaṁ dhammaṁ* (*vippahāya*) of the Dhamma. 87 as acc. pl. because in Pāli literature elsewhere these *dhammas* are spoken of in the pl. (*sabbe pi akusalā dhammā kaṇhā*). This interpretation is further supported by external evidence since in the Udānavarga version in Sanskrit (16.24) we have the pl. forms *kṛṣṇān dharman* (*viprahāya*). Occasionally supporting evidence is drawn also from the variant readings in the manuscripts. For example, in the Suttanipāta 510, we have pañhe pucchituṁ where pañhe is the regular Pāli acc. pl. form. But in this case the Simhalese manuscripts which usually give the older readings have pañhaṁ which shows that the original canon had pañhaṁ as acc. pl. which was changed in the other Pāli manuscripts to pañhe.

It was stated above that Pāli has both *r* and *l*. Now if Pāli has ' wrong ' *l* and nom.sg. in-e, these are attributed to be due to eastern language. In this case the external evidence is given by Aśokan inscriptions which clearly show the eastern dialect to be exclusively *l* and *e* dialect.

Reprinted from *Indian Linguistics*, Volume XVII, 1957.

IV) Linguistics

TRACE OF AN OLD PALATAL *ẑh > j IN SANSKRIT

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, *Poona*

It is well known to the students of the historical phonology of Sanskrit that IE palatal *ĝh* survives in Sanskrit as *h* (< *ẑh*). It seems, however, probable to demonstrate its survival also as *j* (< *ẑ* with loss of aspiration) in an OIA form *ujjayati* occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the description of the Vājapeya sacrifice.

One of the peculiarities of this sacrifice is the drawing of the seventeen Surāgrahas along with an equal number of the Somagrahas. About the symbolism of this act we read in the Brāhmaṇa (5.1.2.10-13): *atha saptadaśa Somagrahān gṛhṇāti/ saptadaśa Surāgrahān Prajāpater vā ete andhasī yat Somaś ca Surā ca tataḥ satyaṁ śrīr jyotiḥ Somo 'nṛtaṁ pāpmā tamaḥ Suraite evaitad ubhe andhasī ujjayati sarvaṁ vā eṣa idam ujjayati yo Vājapeyena yajate Prajāpatiṁ hy ujjayati sarvam u hy evedaṁ Prajāpatiḥ* (10). *sa yat saptadaśa/ Somagrahān gṛhṇāti saptadaśo vai Prajāpatiḥ Prajāpatir yajñaḥ sa yāvān eva yajño yāvanty asya mātrā tāvataivāsyai tat satyaṁ śriyaṁ jyotir ujjayati* (11). *atha yat saptadaśa/ Surāgrahān gṛhṇāti saptadaśo vai Prajāpatiḥ Prajāpatir yajñaḥ sa yāvān eva yajño yāvaty asya mātrā tāvataivāsyai tad anṛtaṁ pāpmānaṁ tama ujjayati* (12). *ta ubhaye catustriṁśad grahāḥ sampadyante/ trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiś catustriṁśas tat Prajāpatim ujjayati* (13). EGGELING translates (SBE 41.8-9) the above as follows: "He (the Adhvaryu) then draws seventeen (other) cups of Soma, and (the Nesh*tri*) seventeen cups of Surâ (spirituous liquor), for to Pragâpati belong these two (saps of) plants, to wit the Soma and the Surâ;—and of these two the Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and the Surâ untruth, misery, darkness: both these (saps of) plants he thereby wins; for he who offers the Vâgapeya wins everything here, since he wins Pragâpati, and Pragâpati indeed is everything here (10). Now as to why he draws seventeen cups of Soma;—Pragâpati is seventeenfold, Pragâpati is the sacrifice: as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is its measure, with that much he thus wins its truth, its prosperity, its light (11). And why he draws seventeen cups of Surâ;—Pragâpati is seventeenfold, Pragâpati is the sacrifice: as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is its measure, with that much he thus wins its untruth, its misery, its darkness (12). These two amount to thirty-four cups; for there are thirty-three gods, and Pragâpati is the thirty-fourth: he thus wins Pragâpati (13)."

Now in the above extract the use of *ujjayati* with Prajāpati and *sarvam idam* is quite understandable since this identification is common in the Brāhmaṇa literature and according to the Āp. Ś. S. the very purpose of the Vājapeya sacrifice is the winning of Prajāpati (cf. *Prajāpatim āpnoti* 18.1.3). What strikes us, however, is its use with both Soma and Surā (*ubhe andhasī*) without apparent distinction when the former has been identified with truth, prosperity, and light and the latter with untruth, misery, and darkness. EGGELING translates *ujjayati* in both contexts as 'wins'. But it must be admitted that this reads rather awkward. It is reasonable for the Brāhmaṇa passage to tell us that the Adhvaryu seeks *to win* for the sacrificer truth, prosperity, and light with the help of the Somagrahas, but it is quite contrary to our expectation to hear the same text tell us that the other priest seeks *to win* for the sacrificer also untruth, misery, and darkness by drawing the Surāgrahas.

In all our ancient literature, whether philosophical or otherwise, we often find passages to show that gods and men have aspired to gain truth, prosperity, and light and not their opposites. To give only a few instances we may cite the following about truth (*satya*):—

tasya vā etasyāgnyādheyasya / satyaṁ evopacāraḥ sa yaḥ satyaṁ vadati yathāgniṁ samiddhaṁ taṁ ghṛtenābhiṣiñced evaṁ hainaṁ sa uddīpayati tasya bhūyo-bhūya eva tejo bhavati śvaḥ-śvaḥ śreyān bhavaty atha yo 'nṛtaṁ vadati yathāgniṁ samiddhaṁ tam udakenābhiṣiñced evaṁ hainaṁ sa jāsayati tasya kanīyaḥ-kanīya eva tejo bhavati śvaḥ-śvaḥ pāpīyān bhavati tasmād u satyam eva vadet / Śat. Br. 2.2.2.19. EGGELING translates (SBE 12. 312-313) — "Now, attendance on (or, the worship of) that consecrated fire (agnyâdheya) means (speaking) the truth. Whosoever speaks the truth, acts as if he sprinkled that lighted fire with ghee; for even so does he enkindle it: and ever the more increases his own vital energy, and day by day does he become better. And whosoever speaks the untruth, acts as if he sprinkled that lighted fire with water; for even so does he enfeeble it: and ever the less becomes his own vital energy, and day by day does he become more wicked. Let him, therefore, speak nothing but the truth."[1]

Similarly we get passages to show that it was prosperity (*śrī*), and not its opposite, that was considered desirable by gods and men. To quote again from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 14.1.1.3: *ta āsata / śriyaṁ gacchema yaśaḥ syāmānnādāḥ syāmeti tatho eveme satram āsate ye satram āsate śriyaṁ gacchema yaśaḥ syāmānnādāḥ syāmeti /* EGGELING (SBE. 44.441)—"They[2]

1. For the desirability of truth as a protective power also cf. the famous instance given by Uddālaka Āruṇi to Śvetaketu in Ch. Up. 6.16. For the use of the verb √ji with *satya* cf. *satyajit* VS 17.83, AV 4.17.2, *satyajiti* Kāty. Ś.S. 19.5.4.

2. i.e., the gods.

entered upon the session thinking, 'May we attain excellence! may we become glorious! may we become eaters of food!' And in like manner do these (men) now enter upon the sacrificial session thinking, 'May we attain excellence! may we become glorious! may we become eaters of food!' "

It is hardly necessary to give again many instances to show that what applies to truth and prosperity, applies equally to light (*jyotiṣ*). To give a random instance from the Ṛgveda we may cite: *jīvā́ jyótir aśīmahi* (7.32.26) "living, may we obtain light", and refer to the famous prayer from the Bṛhad. Up. *tamaso mā jyotir gamaya* (1.3,28) "Lead me from darkness to light."[3]

As against the above passages showing that it were *satya, śrī,* and *jyotiṣ* which were considered as desirable possessions, we may cite a few others just to show that their opposites were never sought to be 'won', but were deemed as worth 'striking down or driven away' both by gods and men.

(1) *anṛta*: *ávātiratam ánṛtāni víśvā ṛténa Mitrāvaruṇā sacethe* / ṚV. 1.152.1. "Alle Ungesetzlichkeiten[4] unterdruecktet ihr; ihr haltet es mit dem Gesetz,[4] Mitra und Varuṇa!"[5] (GELDNER)

(2) *pāpman*: *yathā vai manuṣyā evaṁ devā āsan te 'kāmayantāvarttiṁ pāpmānaṁ mṛtyum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadaṁ gacchemeti ta etaṁ Caturviṁśatirātram apaśyan tam āharan tenāyajanta tato vai te 'varttiṁ pāpmānaṁ mṛtyum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadam agacchan ya evaṁ vidvāṁsaś Caturviṁśatirātram āsate 'varttim eva pāpmānam apahatya śriyaṁ gacchanti śrīr hi manuṣyasya / daivī saṁsaj....* (TS. 7.4.2.1-2). KEITH (HOS. 19.600):

"As are men, so were the gods in the beginning. They desired, 'Let us strike off the misfortune, the evil of death,[6] and reach the conclave of the gods.' They saw this twenty-four night (rite); they grasped it, and sacrificed with it. Then they struck off the misfortune, the evil of death,[6] and reached the conclave of the gods. Those who knowing thus perform the twenty-four night (rite) strike off the misfortune, the evil, and win prosperity, for the conclave of the gods is in the case of man prosperity...."[7]

3. Also cf. ṚV 2.27.11; 3.34.4; 4.1.14 etc.; VS 8. 52,20.21; AV 8.1.21; 8.2.2; Śat. Br. 14.1.1.33.

4. Rather 'untruths' and 'truth'.

5. Also cf. ṚV 7.66.13; VS 6.17; etc.

6. Rather 'evil (and) death'.

7. It may also be noted that while taking fire from the Gārhapatya, one says: *uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano mā yad avidvān yac ca vidvāṁś cakāra/* (Śāṅkh. ŚS. 2.6.6). Also cf. ṚV 1.24.9; 3.7.10; VS 3.45; AV 1.115.1-3; 10.1.10; 3.4; etc.

(3) *tamas*: *sauryáṁ bahurūpám ālabhetāmúm evādityáṁ svéna bhāgadhéyenópadhāvati sá evāsmāt támaḥ pāpmānam ápahanti pratīcy asmai vyucchántī vyúcchaty ápa támaḥ pāpmānaṁ hate* / (TS. 2.1.10.3). KEITH (HOS. 18. 144):

"he should offer to Sūrya (a beast) of many forms; verily he has resort to yonder sun with its own share; verily it drives away the darkness, the evil, from him, the dawn shines upon him, he strikes away the darkness, the evil."[8]

It will thus be seen that we often come across passages to show that *anṛta*, etc., were not considered fit to be 'won' in the same sense as *satya*, etc. It should not be argued against the objection raised here to the use of *ujjayati* with *anṛta*, etc., to say that it is used in the sense 'to conquer, to bring under control'. For apart from the fact that *ud*√*ji* is not used in this sense elsewhere, it is worth noting that we do not come across statements to illustrate the use of √*ji* with *anṛta, pāpman,* and *tamas*. What we get instead is their use with verbs to mean 'to cross over, to go beyond', 'to strike or drive away', 'to burn', or 'to shake away, to abandon'. A few instances may be given here which are taken from the principal Upaniṣads.[9] *tarati śokaṁ tarati pāpmānaṁ* Muṇḍaka 3.2.9, *nainaṁ pāpmā tarati sarvaṁ pāpmānaṁ tarati nainaṁ pāpmā tapati sarvaṁ pāpmānaṁ tapati* Bṛhad. 4.4.23, *papmānam apahatya* Ait. 3.8.4, Bṛ. 1.3.10,11 (*pāpmānaṁ mṛtyum apahatya athainā mṛtyum atyavahat*), *hanti pāpmānaṁ jahāti ya evaṁ veda* Bṛ. 5.5.3,4; *apahatapāpmā* Ch. 8.7; *śarīre pāpmano hitvā* Taitt. 2.5; *ya idaṁ sarvaṁ pāpmano 'trāyata* Ait. 2.1: *aśva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpaṁ* Ch. 8.13; *sarvān pāpmana auṣat* Bṛ. 1.4.1; *yady api bahv iva pāpaṁ kurute sarvam eva tat saṁpsāya* Bṛ. 5.14.8; *pāpanudaṁ* Śve. 6.6; *na sa pāpmano vyāvartate* Bṛ. 1.5.2; *evaṁ hāsya sarve pāpmānaḥ pradūyante* Ch. 5.24; *tasmai mṛditakaṣāyāya tamasas pāraṁ darśayati* Ch. 7.26; *tamasaḥ pāraṁ gamiṣyati* Maitri 6.30; *svasti vaḥ pārāya tamasaḥ parastāt* Muṇḍaka 2.2.6; *tamaḥ praṇudati* Maitri 2.2; *bhittvā tamaḥ* Maitri 6.24.

Starting then from the fact that *anṛta, pāpman,* and *tamas* were considered as something 'to be driven away, to be given up' it is possible to suggest a more satisfactory explanation of *ujjayati* when used with them. In all probability it seems to stand for an older form **ujjhayati* (< **uj-ẑhayati*) meaning 'abandons, gives up, etc.' The loss of aspiration in this form seems to have occasioned its mingling with *ujjayati* 'wins, etc.' which occurs

8. We may also cite: *śaśvat putreṇa pitaro 'tyāyan bahulaṁ tamaḥ*/ Ait.Br. 7.3. *támas* is called *ájuṣṭa* in ṚV 7.75.1.

9. For other literature one may do well to look up to the *Pertersburg Woerterbuch* under the respective words.

so often in this section of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. This (*ud-*) **jhayati* can be derived from IE root * *ĝhēi* 'verlassen, fortgehn' which is given by WALDE-POKORNY I 542-43 and POKORNY 5.418-19. * *jhayati* (1st conj. cf. Avestan participle *uzayanto*) is obviously akin to Sk. *jahāti* (3rd conj.) 'abandon, etc.' going back to IE * *ĝhē*, from which we have the past participle *ujjhita* (*ud* + * *ĝhitá*) with the same prefix as in * *ujjhayati*.[10] With this explanation the text under consideration would mean that the drawing of the seventeen Surāgrahas was intended for symbolising the abandoning (and not winning) of *anṛta, pāpman*, and *tamas*. When *ujjayati* occurs in the expression *ubhe andhasī ujjayati* we have naturally to suppose that here both *ujjayati* and * *ujjhayati* have fallen together so that once *ujjayati* means 'wins' when it refers to Soma, and once it means 'abandons' (as coming from * *ujjhayati*) when it refers to Surā.

The passage quoted at the commencement of this article can now be translated, with the necessary changes in EGGELING's translation, as follows: "He (the Adhvaryu) then draws seventeen (other) cups of Soma, and (the Neṣṭṛ) seventeen cups of Surā. These two (saps of) plants, to wit the Soma and the Surā, belong to Prajāpati; of these two the Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and the Surā is untruth, misery, darkness. Both these very (saps of) plants he thereby (respectively) wins (*ujjayati*) and abandons (*ujjayati* < * *ujjhayati*); for he who offers the Vājapeya wins everything here, since he wins Prajāpati and Prajāpati is indeed everything here ...... And why he draws seventeen cups of Surā; — Prajāpati is seventeen-fold, Prajāpati is the sacrifice: as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is its measure, with that much he thus abandons its untruth, its misery, its darkness. These two amount to thirty-four cups; for there are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth; he thus wins Prajāpati."

It may now be shown that the above interpretation of the passage based on the two-fold derivation of *ujjayati* is supported by the ritual practice of the Vājapaya and further by a literary usage in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. First then to the ritual. The method of drawing and disposal of these two sets of cups, viz. those of Soma and of Surā, clearly show that it was intended from the beginning to keep a complete distinction between the two, and that the two were not allowed to co-mingle. The two were purchased separately, had a separate entrance, separate drawing, separate placing, and separate disposal. This procedure is a clear pointer to the fact that there was no question of 'winning' the Surāgrahas and what it stood for, not also

10. Sk. *ujjhati* 'leaves, gives up, etc.' occurring from the epics is clearly a new formation from *ujjhita* as already noted by UHLENBECK (*Kurz. Et. W.*). His other explanation based on WACKERNAGEL I. 164 is not probable. For the above explanation of *ujjhita* ≤ *ud-hā* through *ud-žhitá* see LEUMANN *IF* 58.20 ff. (1942).

of 'conquering' them, but undoubtedly abandoning them, giving them away. To give some details about the procedure it may be mentioned that the seventeen Soma cups are drawn by the Adhvaryu seated in front of the axle of the Soma cart with his face westwards, while the Surā cups are drawn by the Neṣṭṛ (or Pratiprasthātṛ according to the Āp. Ś.S.) while sitting behind the axle with his face turned eastward (Śat. Br. 5.12.16). Then there are two separate earthern mounds (*khara*) erected for depositing the cups, one in front of the axle for the Soma cups and one behind the axle for the Surā cups. The purpose of erecting two mounds is stated as *net somagrahāṁś ca surāgrahāṁś ca saha sādayāma* (5.1.2.15) "lest we should deposit together the cups of Soma, and the cups of Surâ" (EGGELING). The Adhvaryu and the Neṣṭṛ do not hold the Soma and the Surā cups beyond the axle — *nej jyotiś ca tamaś ca saṁsṛjāva* (5.1.2.17) "lest we should confound light and darkness" (EGGELING). The Adhvaryu now says *sampṛcau sthaḥ sam mā bhadreṇa pṛṅktaṁ*[11] with reference to the Soma cups before placing them on the mound. The Neṣṭṛ, however, says, *vi pṛcau stho vi mā pāpmanā pṛṅktaṁ*[11] with reference to the Surā cups. The significance of the latter mantra is explained in the Śat. Br. 5.1.2.18 as — "Even as one might tear a single reed from a clump of reed-grass, so do they thereby tear him out of all evil: there is not in him so much sin as the point of a grass-blade."[12] (EGGELING). This passage as well as the following given below should leave no doubt about the interpretation of *ujjayati* with the Surā cups as coming from * *ujjhayati*. In the following section we are told that the Somagrahas are offered and drunk at the evening pressing (Ś. B. 5.1.2.19). But about the Surāgrahas we read — "And the Nesh*tri*, taking the cups of Surâ, steps out by the back door. He walks round by the back of the hall, and placing one (of the cups) in the Vaisya's, or Râganya's, hand, he says, (ŚB. 5.1.5.28) 'With this I buy him of thee!'[13] For the Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and the Surâ is untruth, misery, darkness: he thus imbues the Sacrificer with truth, prosperity, and light; and smites the Vaisya with untruth, misery, and darkness."[14] (EGGELING).

11. VS. 9.4.

12. *tad yatheṣīkāṁ muñjād vivṛhed evam enaṁ sarvasmāt pāpmano vivṛhatas tasmin na tāvac canaino bhavati yāvat tṛṇasyāgram/*

13. This refers to the taking of the Madhugraha from a Vaiśya or a Śūdra in exchange of the Surāgrahas. The Madhugraha is then given to the Brahman priest (cf. also Kāty. Ś.S. 14.4.15-17).

14. *anena ta imaṁ niṣkrīṇāmīti .... satyam evaitac chriyaṁ jyotir yajamāne dadhāty anṛtena pāpmanā tamasā Vaiśyaṁ vidhyati/.*

It is worth noting that the Surā is not offered in the Āhavanīya. The Surā cups are taken to the Mārjālīya, shaken, and drunk by those who participated in the race. Cf. Āp. Ś.S. 18.7.2, 4, 8.

Now about the Upaniṣadic passage in favour of the interpretation of *ujjayati* in the sense 'to win' only when going with *satya* and not its opposite *anṛta*. In the Muṇḍaka 3.1.6 we read the famous line — *satyam eva jayate nānṛtam*. It has been usual to take *satyam* here as the subject of *jayate*[15] and accordingly translate the line as 'truth alone conquers, (and) not falsehood.' But there is some difficulty about this interpretation, because in the principal Upaniṣads *satya* appears only as something to be described, being often identified with Brahman, Ātman, Āditya or Dharma;[16] or as an object of *upāsanā* or knowledge;[17] or as a means to obtain the soul.[18] About *satya* as something worth seeing at death we have the well known verse from the Īśopaniṣad 15 (also Bṛ. 5.15.1): *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitaṁ mukham/ tat tvaṁ pūṣann apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya dṛṣṭaye//*[19] But nowhere does *satya* appear as a subject being associated with any activity as its agent.[20] In the light of these observations it would not be possible to construe *satyam* as the subject of *jayate* in the line referred to above. Also the context does not justify it. Just in the preceding verse we are told about truth (and knowledge etc.) being used as a means by an ascetic to obtain the soul (*satyena labhyaḥ ...... hyeṣa ātmā ...... yaṁ paśyanti yatayaḥ kṣīṇadoṣāḥ* — Muṇḍaka 3.1.5). An ascetic (*yati*) is the subject there, *satya* the means. In our verse, in the second half, we are told that the sages go along the *devayāna* to reach the place which is the highest store of truth (*yenākramanty ṛṣayo hy āptakāmā yatra tat satyasya paramaṁ nidhānaṁ*). A sage (*ṛṣi*) is the subject here, *satya* apparently the object. In between these two statements, it is not correct to regard *satyam* as the subject of

15. The controversy about the reading *jayate* or *jayati* may be left for the time being to a critical examination of the manuscript material.

16. *tad etad akṣaraṁ brahma sa prāṇas tad u vāṅ manaḥ/ tad etat satyaṁ tad amṛtaṁ tad veddhavyaṁ Somya viddhi//* Muṇḍaka 2.2.2, *tasya ha vā etasya brahmaṇo nāma satyam iti /* Chānd. 8.3, *satyaṁ hy eva brahma* Bṛ. 5.4; *tat satyaṁ sa ātmā tat tvam asi Śvetaketo/* Chānd. 6.8.16; *tad yat tat satyaṁ asau so ādityaḥ/* Bṛ. 5.5.2; *yo vai sa dharmaḥ satyaṁ vai tat/* Bṛ. 1.4.14.

17. *te devāḥ satyaṁ eva upāsate/* Bṛ 5.5.1, also 6.2.15, *satyaṁ tv eva vijijñāsitavyam/* Chānd. 7.16.

18. *satyena labhyas tapasā hy eṣa ātmā samyajjñānena brahmacaryeṇa nityam/* Muṇḍaka 3.1.5; *evam ātmani gṛhyate 'sau satyenainaṁ tapasā yo 'nupaśyati/* Śve. 1.15.

19. On which LUEDERS (*Varuṇa*, p. 26) observes: "Aber auch die Sonne ist doch nur ein Abglanz der hoechsten, reinen Wahrheit. Erst wenn in der letzten Stunde die Seele den Koerper verlaesst, schaut man rein und unverhuellt die Wahrheit hinter der Decke der Sonne."

20. Perhaps the only exception could be in the cosmogonical account in the Bṛ. Up. 5.5.1 where we read: *āpa evedam agra āsuḥ/ tā āpaḥ satyam asṛjanta satyaṁ brahma brahma prajāpatiṁ......*But usually here *satyaṁ* and Brahma are considered identical. Hence HUME translates: ".....That water emitted the Real - Brahma (being) the Real —; Brahma Prajāpati.....",

jayate. Obviously a yati or a ṛṣi is intended as the subject and *satya* the object. The line therefore means—"(He) wins for himself (hence perhaps the use of Ātmanepada) only truth and not untruth (as means and as an end)." It would be interesting to cite here Śaṅkara's comments on this passage, though his ultimate interpretation differs from the one suggested here as he does not take *satyam* and *anṛtam* as objects of *jayate*. He says, "*na hi satyānṛtayoḥ kevalayoḥ puruṣānāśritayor jayaḥ parājayo vā sambhavati/ prasiddhaṁ loke satyavādinā 'nṛtavādy abhibhūyate na viparyayo 'taḥ siddhaṁ satyasya balavat sādhanatvam/*".

One cannot object to this interpretation on the ground that in the preceding verse (Muṇḍaka 3.1.5.) and in the present one (3.1.6) *yatayaḥ* and *ṛṣayaḥ* are plural forms while in *satyam eva jayate* we have supposed yati or ṛṣi in the singular. For, in the present section of the Upaniṣad we find the use of singular in many other verses. But if the point is still stressed, it has to be pointed out that *jayate* lends itself being interpreted also as 3rd plural Ātm. $\sqrt{ji}$ in the 2nd conjugation attested in Vedic forms like *jeṣi*.

It is thus clear that the Upaniṣadic line *satyam eva jayate nānṛtam* gives good evidence to show that in the ancient tradition it was truth alone which was regarded as fit to be won and not untruth and that the use of $\sqrt{ji}$ was suited for *satya* and not *anṛta*. It would, therefore, be correct to take *ujjayati* 'wins' only with the Soma cups, and not the Surā cups in the Brāhmaṇa passage; in the latter case *ujjayati* = **ujjhayati* 'abandons'.

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD OF INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

In his article "Sound Change and Linguistic Structure" (*Language* 22·138-43, 1946) Prof. Henry M. Hoenigswald discusses from the point of view of internal reconstruction various kinds of sound changes and their effects on linguistic structure. In § 2 of this paper he takes up the case of 'phonemic change without loss of contrast'. To illustrate this point he offers as an example the Germanic sound shift. To quote: "IE voiceless stops were changed in Germanic to spirants (e. g. [t] to [θ]), and voiced stops to voiceless ones (e.g. [d] to [t]). But after voiceless consonant, only some kind of [t] occurred in IE. The latter, which was presumably not changed at all at the time of the general shift, was originally most similar to the stop of the old [t]-words; it is new most similar to that of the new[t]-words. .... The alternation between þ and t in Goth. salbo-þ-s 'anointed' and haf-t-s 'restrained' reflects the redistribution of allophones and allows us to reconstruct one original morpheme –to–. See § 3c and § 4a."

The conclusion in the above quotation about the reconstruction of "one original morpheme –to–" is, however, based upon our knowledge of the pre-history of Germanic derived from the comparative method. It does not arise in the form in which it is presented above (morpheme –to–) out of the application of the method of internal reconstruction demonstrated in § 3c and § 4a to which we are referred at the end of § 2.

As mentioned in § 4a, if in a language, of the two given phonemes one occurs more freely and the other is restricted, and further if there is a regular and compulsory paradigmatic alternation between these two phonemes, then it is legitimate to conclude that this alternation reflects a process by which what now appears as a restricted phoneme has undergone a phonetic change into what now appears as a more free phoneme.

If we apply this method of internal reconstruction to the above Germanic case we shall have to conclude that the original past passive

* I am thankful to Dr. A. M. Ghatage, with whom I had the benefit of discussing Prof. Hoenigswald's paper, for some useful suggestions.

participle morpheme was –θo– and not –to–. In Gothic θ is restricted in its occurrence (it does not occur after voiceless spirants) while t is more free (it can occur after voiceless spirants). The compulsory alternation between restricted θ and free t in the above morpheme therefore would indicate that there has occurred a previous conditional sound change of θ to t in these positions from where it is now excluded in the language. The original reconstructedm orpheme on the basis of this internal evidence. therefore, would be –θo– which has become –to– under certain conditons, If we assume that the original morpheme was –to–, how shall we state the conditions about its change? Our reconstruction of the morpheme –θo– from internal evidence, however, does not agree with the original IE morpheme –to– arrived at on comparative evidence. Hence this seems to be a limitation of the method of internal reconstructon where phonemic change without loss of contrast is involved.

This case discussed under § 2 is partly similar and partly dissimilar with the one discussed under § 5a. Under the latter Prof. Hoenigswald takes up a case where compulsory alternation arising out of a primary phonetic change is disturbed and made non-compulsory by a secondary sound change and thus prevents internal reconstruction. It may, however, be pointed out that theoretically reconstruction would be possible even in such cases if by some procedure the cases of secondary change can be set aside and the non-compulsory alternation changed to compulsory one[1].

Thus it may happen that some allophones of /x/ merge with /y/ so that /x/ becomes limited and alternates compulsorily with the more free /y/. Further it may happen that subsequently the missing portion of /x/ is filled up by a change in the pronunciation of another phoneme /z/ which is now reassigned to /x/ on the basis of phonetic similarity. This will disturb the nature of the first alternation between /x/ and /y/ and make it non-compulsory. Now this filling up of the missing /x/ could be of various types. If it is of the type illustrated by Prof. Hoenigswald, which is a case of partial filling up, internal reconstruction would be difficult. Also if the phoneme /z/ completely merges with /x/, the previous alternation between /ya/ and /xb/ will be non-compulsory. But if on the other hand /z/ changes to /x/ only in the positions in which /x/ has become /y/, say before /a/, and this affects paradigm, then /z/ becomes restricted and /x/ more free and the alternation between /xa/ and /zb/ would be regular and compulsory. This will permit internal reconstruction of the phoneme /z/

1. Compare a similar possibility mentioned in § 6 of recovering the old structure by setting aside foreign vocabulary.

which has undergone a conditioned sound change. When these cases of /xa/ are recognized as arising out of /za/ and therefore set aside, the alternation between /ya/ and /xb/ owing to the primary change will also be compulsory and permit internal reconstruction of the phoneme /x/.

What has been said above about the reconstruction of the Germanic morpheme –to– applies also to Prof. Hoenigswald's observation on the possibility of reconstructing an IE morpheme *dhē/dhə on the basis of Latin evidence. After giving a comparative reconstruction on the basis of Osco-Umbrian and Latin correspondences he observes: "This is as far as the comparative method itself will take us, on the basis of Osco-Umbrian and Latin alone. It does not tell us, for instance, that the set f = f < *f– is the reflex of four originally contrasting IE phonemes (*bh–, *dh–, *g^{w}h–, and *s before r) ...... The same facts can also be recovered by internal reconstruc tion on the basis of such alternation as Lat. con-dere 'found' (with d) - fecī. I made' (with f), representing an IE morpheme *dhe/dhə with and without a prefix."[2]

But appplying the method of internal reconstruction we do not arrive at this conclusion. As it is the alternation between Latin f– and –d– is regular but not compulsory since instances of –f– are also found. If, however, on same other evidence we are in a position to set aside the instances of –f– as due to borrowing, then the alternation f– ~ –d– becomes both regular and compulsory. Now in this case f is restricted and d free. Therefore by applying Prof. Hoenigswald's rule of internal reconstruction the reconstructed phoneme will have to be set up as *f and not *d (much less *dh). Our reconstruction will mean that Latin shows a split : pre-Latin *f > f–, –d–, the latter merging with the other d. It cannot reveal that Latin *f– < *dh– has merged with f– to be derived from other pre-Latin phonemes.

2. The Principal Step in Comparative Grammar, *Language* 26. 363 (1950).

INTERNAL AND COMPARATIVE RECONSTRUCTION*

(Some Procedural Considerations)

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

The procedure for Internal Reconstruction has been outlined by Henry M. Hoenigswald, *Language* 22.138–43, 1946 (and also in his recent book—*Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*, Chicago 1960)[1]. Wallace L. Chafe, while writing on Internal Reconstruction in Seneca, *Language* 35.477 ff. 1959, points out what he considers to be the shortcomings in the existing theory and gives suggestions for a revised theory.

In the first instance Chafe points out that there is an essential methodological similarity between internal and comparative reconstruction in as much as both are based on the comparison of cognate forms. In comparative reconstruction the cognates are taken from different but genetically related languages; in internal reconstruction the comparison is made between cognate allomorphs.[2] Thus we get a correspondence *t/d* from the German allomorphs *Bunt* and *Bund(e)* or Sanskrit allomorphs *śarat* and *śarad(ā)*. We have another set *t/t* extracted from *laut* and *laut(e)* or Sanskrit *marut* and *marut(ā)*. From the point of view of distribution these two sets contrast because both occur in the environment $\frac{\text{word final } (t, t)}{\text{before a vowel } (d, t)}$. We therefore assign them to two different phonemes **d* and **t*. Now we have also a set *d/d* which never occurs in the above environment in which *t/d* occurs. We can therefore combine these two sets and assign them to one phoneme **d*.

This is a good point made by Chafe as it shows how internal reconstruction is similar to comparative reconstruction. But if this was the only method available for reconstruction on internal evidence, it would have a limitation which does not figure in Hoenigswald's procedure. For, Chafe's method can work only if the language fortunately shows a paradigmatic set

* Paper submitted for discussion at the Autumn Seminar in Linguistics, M. S. University, Baroda, Oct.–Nov. 1962.

1 Also cf. J. W. MARCHAND, Internal Reconstruction of Phonemic Split, *Language* 32.245–53 (1956).

2 It is of course presumed that allomorphs are cognates, unless suppletion has clearly taken place.

t/t, in the above instance, occurring in the same environment as the set *t/d*. However, it cannot be assumed that such a set in a language would always occur,[3] and if it does not, then there is no set with which the set showing the alternation *t/d* could be compared. It will remain in complementary distribution with both *t/t* and *d/d* which do not occur in the environment of *t/d*.

Chafe's feeling that Hoenigswald has left vague this point of the procedure which helps one to make the choice of the reconstructed phoneme is not correct. Hoenigswald has unfortunately made one statement regarding the reconstruction of Gmc. *t*, on the basis of the alternation between *t* and *θ*, which has led to this impression. It appears that Hoenigswald has been influenced by his knowledge of comparative Indo-European when he lebels his reconstruction as **t*. Hoenigswald probably did not feel it necessary to test his statement by applying the procedure of internal reconstruction outlined by him because, in the light of our present knowledge, the reconstruction as such (**t*) is the correct one. But if he had done so he would have found that the evidence leads to *θ (and not to **t*). That this *θ is after all to be replaced by **t* is shown by comparative evidence and cannot be obtained by internal one. This is not the fault of the procedure but merely constitutes a limitation of internal reconstruction[4]. But for the above statement, Hoenigswald has clearly stated the procedure regarding the choice of the reconstructed phoneme: "Compulsory alternation between restricted /x/ and free /y/ in a paradigm indicates a previous conditioned sound change from /x/ to /y/ in the position from which it is

3 Word final *t*, as in [unt] (und), would help Hoenigswald but not Chafe as it does not yield any paradigmatic alternation.

4 See A. M. Ghatage, *Indian Linguistics* 21.88 (1960) and M. A. Mehendale, Limitations of the Method of Internal Reconstruction, *Indian Linguistics* 21.101–103, 1960. Hoenigswald's defence against Chafe's objection (Phonetic Similarity in Internal Reconstruction, *Language*, 36.191–92, (1960) is not a very happy one, because it forces him to bring in a statement like "Furthermore, we know—whether from internal reconstruction or in other ways—that a Gothic t may also have another antecedent /*z/, (e.g. in the word which corresponds to E nest)." (p. 191) How one can bring forward this as an argument when one has set oneself the task of internal reconstruction is not clear. His footnote 6 "It would have been better to punctuate: 'one orignal morpheme, "–to"'" is also not very helpful. It is intended to suggest that the reconstruction pertains to '*one* morpheme' and that the label '*to*' attached to it is of no significance. All this has come in because one hesitates to admit the limitation of the internal reconstruction.

now excluded." (*Language*, 22.140). When this rule is applied to the German or Sanskrit alternation between *t* and *d* noted above it unmistakably points to the reconstruction of **d* which is arrived at by Chafe by comparison of similar sets.

While there is this similarity between internal and comparative reconstruction, Chafe points out one essential difference between them. For, whereas comparative reconstruction yields inferences about *one* particular stage of the proto-language, internal reconstruction yields inferences about not one but *several different* stages in the development of a language. Chafe also shows the way of determining the chronological order of at least some of the phonetic changes which have come about at different periods in the history of a language. This can be done, he argues, wherever we have an automatic (or compulsory) alternation, i. e. one which is predictable in phonological terms applying throughout the language, and a non-automatic (or non-compulsory) alternation, i. e. one which is predictable only in a given grammatical environment. According to Chafe automatic alternations are the results of the most recent sound changes, because the compulsory nature of the alternation has not been disturbed by subsequent sound changes. Therefore the change reconstructed from automatic alternation can be regarded as only *one* stage removed from the attested stage. On the other hand a change reconstructed from non-automatic alternation is *two stages* removed from the attested stage because the automaticity of the earlier stage has been disturbed by a subsequent sound change.[5]

Now with regard to this procedure about determining the chronology of sound changes on the basis of the nature of the alternation, compulsory or otherwise, one thing has to be made explicit. What has been said above will apply only in cases where a reconstruction arising out of a compulsory alternation renders another non-compulsory alternation compulsory. We may, however, have a case of a different type where this relationship does not exist. We know that some of the phonetic changes are gradual in their spread, and if the recorded history of a language gives evidence for two different stages, it will show that the change is non-compulsory at the earlier but compulsory at the later stage. In such a case the non-automatic earlier stage is not the result of any disturbance caused by an intervening change but because of the fact that the particular sound change had not covered all cases at a given period. At a later stage, however, these

5 See the example given by Chafe of the reconstruction of Gk. **ti>si* as *one* stage removed from the attested one, while that of Gk. *génes-os>géne-os* being *two* stages removed.

exceptions were also covered by the phonetic change and made it automatic. The alternation between *ś* and *ṭ* in Sanskrit may be cited as an instance. This alternation is automatic in classical Sanskrit *viś-ā* : *viṭ-su*, *viṭ-pati*—but it is not so in Vedic Sanskrit. There it is regular in the paradigm *viś-ā* : *viṭ-su*, but not applicable for the whole language, since we get words like *viś-pati*, *viś-patnī* (and even *viś-palā* if that is the correct analysis of the word). If one keeps to the formula, without any other considerations, that a non-automatic alternation reflects a later stage of the language, then it will be seen from the Sanskrit example that that is not always the case. Non-automatic *ś* ~ *ṭ* is the earlier one, automatic *ś* ~ *ṭ* is the later. A reconstruction based on the late Sanskrit automatic alternation *ś* ~ *ṭ* as **ś* > *ṭ* will only find confirmation in the instances like *viś-pati* found in Vedic language. The Seneca illustration given by Chafe (p. 484, § 25) of an anomalous form ˀóxtnɛˀtaˀ 'fern' need not necessarily be explained as a result of some recent phonetic change which is responsible for the sequence *tn* in it. It may as well be the case of an old survival which has until now resisted the change **tn* > *hn*.

There is also another way of deciding the chronology of phonetic changes in terms of internal reconstruction when we get a double alternation in a given paradigm. If, among these two alternations, one concerns phonemes which are phonetically closer, then it may be said that the phonetic change which led to this alternation occurred earlier than the one which led to the alternation between phonemes not so close. Thus e. g. in the paradigm of Sanskrit *viś* we have the alternation *ś* ~ *ṭ*: *viś-ā*, *viṭ-su* and *ś* ~ *ḍ*: *viś-ā*, *viḍ-bhiḥ*. In these two alternations phenemes *ś*, *ṭ*, and *ḍ* are involved. Of these, *ś* and *ṭ* are phonetically closer than *ś* and *ḍ*. Therefore we conclude that the change **ś* > *ṭ* occurred before *ṭ* was affected by another change leading to the alternation *ś*~*ḍ*.

Another instance of the above type of alternation is found in *ś* alternating with *k* and *g* in Sanskrit *diś-ā*, *dik-ṣu*, *dig-bhiḥ*, and as stated above, we suspect that the change *ś*>*k* occurred before *k*, in certain environments, was replaced by *g* as a result of a subsequent change.[6]

As regards the relative merits of internal and comparative reconstruction Hoenigswald observes, "In principle, internal reconstruction cannot claim to yield phonetic detail any more than the comparative method does", (*Lg*. 36, p. 192, 1960). However one is inclined to feel that in this respect internal reconstruction stands on a somewhat different level than the comparative one. Since, in a majority of cases, internal reconstruction is likely to

6 By the way, these two alternating types *ś* : *ṭ* : *ḍ* and *ś* : *k* : *g* will show that these are not cases of compulsory alternations in the strict sense.

yield facts which, at a time, are removed only one or two stages from the attested one, it may be regarded to be in a better position to give phonetic details of the reconstructed stage.[7] Therefore it seems reasonable to uphold Chafe's contention that internal reconstruction should precede the comparative method. This in fact will help us to eliminate some of the problems of comparative reconstruction. For example if on the basis of the alternation $t \sim \theta$ in Germanic, the third person sg. present is first internally reconstructed as θ,**isθ* would replace *ist* 'is'. In that case while attempting comparative method, Hoenigswald's set 1 (cf. Principal Step, *Lg.* 26.358) *t/t*, extracted from Skt. *asti* : Gmc *ist*, will disappear. Instead we will have *t/θ* which will be identical with his set 3. This will lead to economy, as we have been able to reduce the number of sets and also eliminate the difficulty encountered by Hoenigswald about grouping the set 1 with 2 and 3 or with 5 (*Language*, 26.360).

If it is agreed to attempt internal reconstruction first before proceeding to comparative method, then it may be suggested to take one more step in between and apply the information made available by internal reconstruction to some specific items in the data. For instance, we have in Sanskrit an alternation *t*~*ṭ* in the past passive participle morpheme *–ta*, e.g *gata* : *tuṣṭa*. Internally *ṭ* is reconstructed as **t* in this morpheme since in Skt. *t* never occurs after *ṣ*. We now make use of this information and reconstruct *ṭ* as **t* after *ṣ* also in other items where no alternation between *t* and *ṭ* is available, e. g. Skt. *aṣṭa* < **aṣta* 'eight'. This is done because while comparing Skt. with Avesta it helps us to get rid of a set *ṭ/t* which we would have extracted from cognates Skt. *aṣṭa*: Av. *ašta*. To take another example, it has already been shown that word-final *–t* can be reconstructed as **–d* in German /Bunt/ and Sanskrit /śarat/. We may now proceed further from this step and also reconstruct *–t* as **–d* in some other items where no paradigms are available, e.g. German /unt/, and Sanskrit prefix /ut/, indeclinables like /īṣat/ and /yugapat/, and the abl. ending /–āt/ (even when the latter had not shown final /–d/ in external sandhi). It is, of course, not advisable to do this reconstruction if none of the related languages shows final /–d/ in the cognates.

A typical problem in comparative reconstruction has been posed by W. S. Allen (*TPS* 1953, p. 82 ff.) and its solution suggested by A. M. Ghatage (*Indian Linguistics* 22. 82–85, 1961 and *Historical Linguistics and Indo-Aryan Languages*, Bombay 1962, pp. 65 ff.). Allen has raised the problem about

7 Chafe observes "In general .... internally reconstructed features tend to be more recent than those reconstructed by the comparative method" (*Lg.* 35.495)

the reconstruction of Rajasthani by comparing the evidence from Marwari, Mewari and Harauti. The reconstructed Rajasthani as we know had three phonemes bh, b, *v* occurring both initially and finally. Marwari has preserved all the three phonemes in these positions; Mewari has made one change viz. -*bh* > -*b*; Harauti has made two changes -*bh* > -*b* and -*v* > -*b*. The comparison of Marwari and Mewari enables us to recover the older stage without difficulty. But comparison of Marwari with Harauti leads to a difficulty which the procedure available until now cannot solve. Different groupings of partially similar sets lead to an equal number of reconstructed phonemes. The principle that we should accept that grouping which leads to the smallest number of reconstructed phonemes cannot therefore be successfully applied. Allen has phonemicized Harauti data [*bh*- -*b*, *b*- -*b*, *b*- -*v*] as /bh- -b, b- -b, b- -bh/ so that -*v* is phonemicized as -*bh*. The comparison of this with the Marwari data *bh*- -*bh*, *b*- -*b*, *v*- -*v* leads to three possible combinations all giving equal number of phonemes. The point therefore is whether we can think of any method which would help us to choose one of the three alternative combinations. Ghatage's suggestion is as follows : " We should admit that reconstruction as valid which leads to the postulation of the least number of changes from the mother language into the daughter languages ". This suggestion makes explicit the principle followed by the comparatists for reconstructing the phonemes of the proto-language. On comparing the sound correspondences of the two related languages, inferences regarding the reconstruction are drawn in such a way that they involve the smallest number of phonetic changes. On comparing a correspondence *s* : *h* between two languages, although the possibility that they are the reflexes of neither *s* nor *h* but a third sound is admitted, it is not entertained because it presupposes more phonetic changes.

It seems that the Rajasthani problem can be met also in a different way. The problem has arisen due to a particular kind of phonemicization [-v] as /-bh/, and on a descriptive level it may be possible to do that. When, however, we turn to comparative reconstruction and attempt extraction of sets, a set -*v* : -*bh* deduced from Marwari and Harauti cognates should always remind the comparatist about the phonetic value of -*bh* in Harauti which is [-v]. In such cases it is suggested that while preparing the sets it would be better to restore the phonetic value to the phoneme in a particular position. It is true that allophones are not taken into consideration while attempting reconstruction. But in the cases like above an extraction of a set -*v* : -*bh* forces us to assume one change for the daughter language whereas the restoration of the allophone -*v* for -*bh* (-v : -v) eliminates this necessity. It seems therefore desirable that allophones of a phoneme need not in all cases be neglected while attempting comparative reconstruction.

As in the above instance, they should be availed of whenever they lead to economy.

Phonemic analysis, which itself is a sort of initial 'reconstruction', regards all allophones as positional variants of a phoneme. This is all right on a synchronic level. But when we come to diachronic linguistics we know that allophones of a phoneme do not always arise because they have developed as positional variants, but because sometimes a gap has occurred somewhere owing to merger. Our aim in historical linguistics is to sort this out and try to understand as far as possible the history of each phoneme. Therefore if we get a correspondence like *-v* : *-bh* where *-bh* is phonetically [-v], this should be taken to yield a set *-v/ -v* and not *-v/ -bh*. Once this is done, all unnecessary combinations due to partial similarity with *-bh* will disappear and economy will be achieved at the very outset.

Nadbitka — Extrait:

SYMBOLAE LINGUISTICAE IN HONOREM GEORGII KURYŁOWICZ

M. A. MEHENDALE

SANSKRIT *BĀḌHÁ*-

Sanskrit *bāḍhá*-, available only in the Vedic literature, means according to the lexicons 'laut, stark, fest'. Its accusative *bāḍham*, used adverbially, 'gewiss, sicherlich etc.' is freely available in the later literature. The usual etymology of *bāḍhá* is given [1] as < √ *baṁh*, *bah* 'to grow, to increase' (Dhātupāṭha 16. 32 *vṛddhau*) which is attested only in the causal form *baṁhayate* 'befestigen, stärken, augere' in the Pañcaviṁśa Br. 23.16.5: *svām eva tad devatāṁ paśubhir baṁhayante* 'their own deity thus they prosper through cattle'. (Also later Bhaṭṭi: 2.48).

The few occurrences of *bāḍhá*- in the early literature, however, do not point to the meaning assigned to this word in the lexicons. They rather show that as a participle it meant 'dug down, pressed down, buried', and as a substantive [2] 'a (dug out) channel, a bed'. The best starting point which leads us to these meanings are the occurrences of *bāḍhá* in the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda and the Śrauta Sūtras. In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā 1.3.2.1 we read: *gāyatréṇa chándasávabāḍho valagaḥ* [3] „The spell is overcome by the Gāyatrī metre" (Keith). It seems, however, that 'overcome' is a very general rendering. One can more precisely render *ávabāḍha* as 'dug down, pressed down, buried (in the ground)'. This becomes clear from the ritual in which the mantra cited above is employed. The context is of the digging of four holes (*uparava*) on which later on soma plants are ground. After the priest has dug the hole an arm-deep (*bāhumātra*) silently, he digs a little further with a formula, after which

[1] Walde-Pokorny, PW, Uhlenbeck, Mayrhofer, Wack. — Debr., *Altind. Gr.* II. 2 § 426 b δ p. 560 and § 424 b, p. 557. Also Keith, *Ait. Ār.* p. 189, f. n. 10. Keith refers to Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* § 954, Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.*, p. 58, Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* I § 40, p. 44. From the latter two books he could have as well referred to Macd. p. 10 and Wack. § 238 a β pp. 274—75.

[2] Wack. — Debr., *Altind. Gr.* II 2 § 436, p. 584. „Das substantivische Neutrum bezeichnet das durch den Vollzug des Verbalbegriffs Betroffene oder Hervorgebrachte".

[3] Kāṭhaka 2.11 and Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha 2.5 have also *traiṣṭubhena jāgatena... chándasāvabāḍho... nírasto valagó 'vabāḍho durasyúḥ*; Maitr. Saṁ 1.2.10 has *nírasto valagáḥ*.

we read in the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 11. 11. 8: *'virāḍ asī'ti bāhum upāvahṛtyedam aham taṁ valagam udvapāmī'ty udupyoparavanyante 'vabādhate 'gāyatreṇa chandasāvabāḍho valaga' iti* „Nachdem er mit der Formel: «Du bist der den Feind erschlagende Herrscher» den Arm (über dem Loch, das er ausgräbt) niedergesenkt hat, wirft er den Sand hinaus mit den Formeln: «Hier werfe ich die Zaubersubstanz hinaus...». Den Sand drückt er (mit der Faust) an dem Rande des Loches nieder [4] mit der Formel: «Durch das Gayatrīversmass ist die Zaubersubstanz hinabgedrückt»" [5] (Caland). This occurs with slight variations in the Hiraṇya. Śr. S. 7. 6. 10 ff. as follows: *'idam aham taṁ valagam udvapāmī'ti pāṁsūn udvapati / 'idam enam* adharaṁ karomī'ty *uparavabile'* vabādhate / *'nirasto valaga' iti harati / 'avabāḍho durasyur' iti yatra kharaṁ kariṣyan bhavati tasmin deśe nivapati / 'gāyatreṇa chandasāvabāḍho valaga'ity uparavabile 'bhryā nigṛhṇāti* / „'Here I dig out the charm' thus saying he throws out the earth. 'Here I press it down' thus saying he presses it down in the *uparava* hole [6]. 'The charm is expelled' thus saying he carries away (some part of the dug out earth). 'The evil (charm) is pressed down' thus saying he digs down (the earth) on that part where he is going to erect *Khara* (earthen mound). 'With the Gāyatrī metre the charm is pressed down (in the ground)' thus saying he presses it firmly with a shovel in the hole" [7].

In a different ritual which concerns the preparation of the Vedi, the officiating priest removes from the place where the Vedi is to be erected pieces of darbha grass and the earth, which is dug out by the wooden sword, and buries (*ni√vap*) them away at some distance. This he does four times. At the time of each successive *nivapana* the Āgnīdhra priest who sits there covers the preceding *nivapana* with different formulas. This is given in Āp. Śr. S. as follows: *'avabāḍhaṁ rakṣa' iti dvitīye nivapana*

[4] The meaning 'discovered' assigned to *ávabāḍha* in the lexicons is clearly wrong. The ritual action consists of two parts — digging out the earth, which stands for the digging out (*ud√vap-*) of the hidden charm, and then pressing down in the ground a part of the earth, which symbolizes the pressing down (*ava√bādh*) of the charm. Instead of *ava√bādh-*, we get *ni√vap-* (opposite of *ud√vap*) in the Vaikhā. Śr. S. 14. 7, 8.

[5] Āp. Śr. S. 11.11.9 and 11 we read: *avabāḍho durasyuḥ* 'Hinabgedrückt ist der Bösartige', *pūrveṇa pūrveṇa mantreṇa bāhum upāvahṛtyottareṇottareṇa chandasāvabādhate* 'nachdem er mit dem je vorhergehenden Spruch den Arm niedergesenkt hat, drückt er mit dem je folgenden Versmasse den Sand nieder' (Caland). Also cf. Baudh. Śr. S. 6.28, line 14; 3.27, lines 21—23 (Caland's edn.).

[6] The commentator explains *uparavabile* as *uparavabilasamīpavartisamantapradeśe 'vabādhate 'vanáto bhūtvā hastena nipīḍayati* / The place is given as *yajamānasyādhaspadaṁ* in the Baudh. Śr. S. 6.28' line 15, the Vaikhā. Śr. S. 14.7.

[7] *nigṛhṇāti* (this is in place of *avabādhate* of the Āp. Śr. S. cited above) = *dārḍhyārtham abhryā nitarāṁ gṛhṇāti saṁhantīty arthaḥ* / Commentator.

āgnīdhro 'bhigṛhṇāti / 'avabāḍho 'ghaśaṁsa' iti tṛtīye / 'avabāḍhā yātudhānā' iti caturthe (2.2.2) 'Der Āgnīdhra bedeckt das Hingestreute (rather 'dug down, buried') beim zweiten Hinstreuen (rather 'pressing, burying') mit der Formel: „Nach unten gedrängt ist das Rakṣas", beim dritten mit: „Nach unten gedrängt ist der Böswillige", beim vierten mit: „Nach unten gedrängt sind die Zauberer"'[8] (Caland).

Still in another ritual regarding the preparation of the puroḍāśa, when the husk is separated from the rice taken out for this purpose, the officiating priest puts the husk on the potsherd and pushes it below the black antelope skin. He then presses it down with the mantra 'the evil spirit is dug down, buried' (*puroḍāśakapālaṁ tuṣaiḥ pūrayitvā 'rakṣasāṁ bhāgo 'sī'ti ... adhastāt kṛṣṇājinasyopavapati / nānvīkṣate / 'avabāḍhaṁ rakṣa' ity avabādhate/*[9] Hiraṇya. 1. 5. 17).

The ritual acts described above should leave no doubt about the meaning of *ávabāḍha* 'dug down, pressed down, buried'. This follows from the fact that the mantra containing this word accompanies the action of digging and pressing down the charm etc. into the ground.

In the Ṛ̣V. 1. 106. 6 (= AV. Paipp. 4. 28. 6) we get *nībāḍha* which has the same meaning as *ávabāḍha*: *indraṁ kútso vṛtrahánaṁ śácīpátiṁ kāṭé nībāḷha ṛ́ṣir ahvad ūtáye* / „Indra, den Vṛtratöter, den Herrn der Kraft, hat der Ṛṣi Kutsa, als er in die Grube hinabgestossen[10] war, zu Hilfe gerufen" (Geldner). 'Pressed down' or even 'buried' would be better than just 'hinabgestossen'.

Bāḍhá without any prefix occurs only once in the Ṛgveda 1. 181. 7. There it appears to have been used as a substantive, meaning 'dug out

---

[8] Also Hiraṇyakeśi, with minor variations, 1.6.21. Caland (on Āp. Śr. S. 2.2.2) remarks that these three formulas are not found anywhere else except in the Āp. and the Hiraṇya. Śr. S. But they are given by the Vārāha Śr. S. 1.3.1.42 (with *sphyenotkaram apidhatte* for *abhigṛhṇāti*).

[9] Commentator: *hastenāvaṣṭabhyoptatuṣadeśaṁ bādhate*. Āp. Śr. S. mentions only the placing of the husk below the antelope skin (1.20.9), but does not give the following mantra for pressing it down.

[10] *nībāḍha* occurs in the general sense of 'overpowering, oppressing' in the Jaim. Br. (Auswahl by W. Caland, pp. 196—197): *sa ha Khaṇḍikaḥ Keśinam abhibabhūva / sa ha Keśī Khaṇḍikena nibāḍha Uccaiḥśravasam Kauvayeyaṁ jagāma* / „Khaṇḍika nun überwältigte den Keśin. Keśin, von Khaṇḍika bedrängt, begab sich zu Ucchaiḥśravasa, dem Sohn des Kuvaya". According to PW, additions to Vol. 7 (p. 1779) we get *saṁbāḷha* in the Taitt. Ār. 1.17 which, as mentioned in PW, means *saṁbaddha, dṛḍha* according to the commentator. I have not been able to find this word in the reference given. The Vaidikapadānukramakośa of Hoshiarpur also does not give it. Keith, *Ait. Ār.* p. 189, n. 10), apparently following PW, simply says, „It occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka" but does not give exact reference. The reference in PW is obviously mistaken and seems to be intended for *saṁbāḷhatama* which occurs in the *Ait. Ār.* 1.4.1. However, the commentator's explanation referred to by PW remains a moot point.

TWO NOTES ON INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY

M. A. MEAENDALE, *Poona*.

(1) Reconsideration of Hoenigswald's Rule of Internal Reconstruction.

HOENIGSWALD in his paper on Sound Change and Linguistic Structure observes: "compulsory alternation between restricted / x / and free / y / in a paradigm indicates a previous conditional sound change from / x / to / y / in the position from which it is now excluded."[1] To illustrate his point, Hoenigswald gives an instance from modern German where voiced stops do not occur in syllable-final position. This gives an alternation / d / ~ / t / in a paradigm / Bunde / but / Bunt /. Since in this position / d / is restricted in comparison to / t /, the above rule permits us to reconstruct syllable final / t / as / d / and imagine a conditioned sound change of d to t in that position in the history of modern German.

HOENIGSWALD's rule works very well in cases where for a given alternation the pertinent environments are only two as in the above case. The rule also works satisfactorily in some cases where the environments concerned are more than two. This can be illustrated with the paradigm of Sanskrit *śarad: śarad-ā* and *śarad-bhyām*, *śarat* and *śarat-su*. The restriction and freedom of occurrence of the alternating phonemes in the Sanskrit language can be shown in the following way :—

	1 Before a vowel	2 Before a voiced stop	3 Word final	4 Before an unvoiced fricative
d	V	V	X	X
t	V	X	V	V

Since in the environments which are pertinent for this alternation d is more restricted, we reconstruct it as the phoneme of the proto-stage and explain the alternation as a result of the phonetic change d > t in the environments concerned.

1. Readings in Linguistics, p. 140.

that *-ḍh-* is secondary. But the Vedic evidence suggests that *bāḍhá-* is a very old participle. If the authors of the ritual texts did really intend to offer an etymological explanation of it from the root *√bādha-*, they did so simply because that was the only root available to them which was phonetically and semantically close to *bāḍhá-*.

It is, however, possible to suggest two other etymological explanations. *bāḍhá-* 'dug out; river-bed' may be derived from IE ***√bhodh** (**bhedh**)[15] 'stechen, bes. in die Erde stechen, graben' (Walde-Pokorny II. 188). In this derivation we will have to assume an old Indic ***√badh**, **bah-** 'to dig, etc.', which on the analogy of (*ĝh>) *h* + *ta*[16] > *ḍha* (cf. *sah*: *sāḍhá*) gave rise to *bāḍhá-*. For a similar analogical form one may compare *√rudh*, *ruh* : *rūḍhá-*.

The other explanation is to derive *bāḍhá-* <*bhn̥ĝh-tó-. In Avesta we have *bązah-* 'Tiefe' and in Sanskrit *bāḍhá-* 'dug out'. On the basis of this evidence it is tempting to assume an IE root ***√bhenĝh** 'to dig' which would explain satisfactorily Skt *bāḍhá-*, both phonetically and semantically.

Poona (*India*)

---

[15] H. Krahe (Beiträge zur Namenforschung 14.181, 1963) remarks: "Wie einige dieser Wörter, so besonders lat. *fossa*, gall. **bedu-*, auch nhd. *Fluss-bett* zeigen, ist die Wz. **bhedh-* geeignet, auch Wasserläufe zu bezeichnen".

[16] H. Krahe, *op. cit.*, p. 183 remarks on the river name Beste: „Es kann sich um eine Bildung mit einem *t*-haltigen Suffix handeln, wobei die Gruppe *-d-t-* (**bed-t-*) zu *-st-* werden musste...."

TWO NOTES ON INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY

M. A. MEAENDALE, *Poona*.

●

(1) Reconsideration of Hoenigswald's Rule of Internal Reconstruction.

HOENIGSWALD in his paper on Sound Change and Linguistic Structure observes: "compulsory alternation between restricted / x / and free / y / in a paradigm indicates a previous conditional sound change from / x / to / y / in the position from which it is now excluded."[1] To illustrate his point, Hoenigswald gives an instance from modern German where voiced stops do not occur in syllable-final position. This gives an alternation / d / ~ / t / in a paradigm / Bunde / but / Bunt /. Since in this position / d / is restricted in comparison to / t /, the above rule permits us to reconstruct syllable final / t / as / d / and imagine a conditioned sound change of d to t in that position in the history of modern German.

HOENIGSWALD's rule works very well in cases where for a given alternation the pertinent environments are only two as in the above case. The rule also works satisfactorily in some cases where the environments concerned are more than two. This can be illustrated with the paradigm of Sanskrit *śarad: śarad-ā* and *śarad-bhyām*, *śarat* and *śarat-su*. The restriction and freedom of occurrence of the alternating phonemes in the Sanskrit language can be shown in the following way :—

	1 Before a vowel	2 Before a voiced stop	3 Word final	4 Before an unvoiced fricative
d	V	V	X	X
t	V	X	V	V

Since in the environments which are pertinent for this alternation d is more restricted, we reconstruct it as the phoneme of the proto-stage and explain the alternation as a result of the phonetic change d > t in the environments concerned.

1. Readings in Linguistics, p. 140.

It seems, however, that a straightaway application of the above rule without any further consideration may not help in some other cases where the alternating phonemes appear in more than two environments. This is illustrated by the Sanskrit paradigm of *marut: marut, marut-ā* and *marut-su*, but *marud-bhiḥ*. As in the above case we may chart the distribution as follows :—

	1 Word final	2 Before a vowel	3 Before an unvoiced fricative	4 Before a voiced stop
t	V	V	V	X
d	X	V	X	V

Since the phoneme d is more restricted, we shall have to reconstruct *marud* and explain the alternation as a result of the phonetic change d > t in the given environments. This will work well for the first and the third environments (word final, and before an unvoiced fricative), but not for the 2nd environment (before a vowel), because in Sanskrit a d, as well as a t, can occur in that position. Our reconstruction therefore goes wrong.

In order to get over the difficulty, we have to apply some more considerations. While looking to the distribution of the phonemes concerned we should not take into account all the environments together as done above, but only any two at a time. In the case of the above paradigm the following possibilities present themselves: (1) alternation in the word final position and before a voiced stop; (2) alternation before an unvoiced fricative and a voiced stop; (3) altern-ation before a vowel and a voiced stop. There is no alternation in any other two positions. Now, of the three alternatives stated above, the first two are not helpful because both the alternating phonemes, t and d, appear equally restricted : (1) t can occur in the word final position, but not before a voiced stop; d can occur before a voiced stop, but not in the word final position. The same is true of the second alternative. Therefore on the basis of these, both t and d have equal claims for reconstruction, and any choice between the two will be arbitrary. In the third alternative, however, only t is restricted and d is free : t can occur in one position, before a vowel, while d can occur in both, before a vowel and before a voiced stop. Now applying the rule of HOENIGSWALD, stated above, we can reconstruct t and get rid of the difficulty of having to reconstruct d. The rule therefore should be stated with the following addition :

If the environments in which the compulsorily alternating phonemes occur are more than two, it is necessary to consider only any two environments at a time to examine which of the alternating phonemes is more restricted.[2]

(2) Compulsory but irregular alternation indicates a merger.

Sanskrit paradigm for the word diś shows an alternation ś∼k∼g in four environments : *diś-ā, dik* and *dik-ṣu, dig-bhyām*. The environments involed are (1) before a vowel, (2) word final, (3) before an unvoiced fricative, and (4) before a voiced stop. Of the three alternating phonemes, ś is more restricted when any two environments are considered at a time and therefore applying the above rule we reconstruct ś. But difficulties arise when on the basis of this reconstruction we proceed to make statements about historical phonology. Actually, the following statements can be made : (1) *ś > k in the word final position; (2) *ś > k before an unvoiced fricative; (3) *ś > *k > g before a voiced stop. These statements may be correct for this paradigm and some others like those of dṛś and spṛś. But we cannot say that they hold good for the whole Sanskrit language. This is so because we have another word viś which shows a different alternation ś ∼ ṭ ∼ ḍ, e.g. *viśā, viṭ* and *viṭ-su,* and *viḍ-bhyām* in the same environments as mentioned for diś. Thus we see two parallel developments in Sanskrit paradigms: (1) *ś> k(g), and (2) *ś> ṭ(ḍ). These are then instances of compulsory but irregular alternation. Compulsory because ś in a given environment must be replaced by some other phoneme; irregular because the replacing phonemes are not the same in given environments-sometimes k(and g), sometimes ṭ (and ḍ). The conditioning factor for the difference in the development is not phonetic but morphological. We suspect, therefore, that the two treatments of ś indicate a merger of two different phonemes of still older stage.

It is thus possible to discern structural traces of two merging phonemes in paradigms. The two proto-phonemes, which subsequently merged into ś before a vowel (diś-ā and viś-ā), had already developed different allophones in the word final position and before an unvoiced fricative before merger. These allophones subsequently developed as k(g) in one case, and as ṭ(ḍ) in the other. It is customary to trace Sk. ś to a single phoneme, palatal *k̂* of the I.E. stage. The line of argument followed above, however, indicates that it should be traced to two different phonemes, say k̄1 and k̄2. One of these gave rise to the k-paradigm and the other to the ṭ-paradigm. When the two phonemes merged, they were ś as in diśā and viśā. In instances where Sk. ś occurs in a non-alternating situation, like śatam or daśa, it would be difficult for us to tell from which of the two reconstructed phonemes, *k̂*1 or k2, they are to be derived.

2. HOENINGSWALD has taken care of this situation by distinguishing between bilaterally automatic and unilaterally automatic alternations (*Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction* p. 101). He however, does not give an example from any language, which, as shown obove is offered by the paradigm of sk. *marut*.

In the light of the above discussion we may formulate an assumption that an irregular but compulsory alternation, as instanced above, leads us to suspect a merger of two different phonemes of the proto-stage. The difference in the paradigm in the attested stage is thus sought to be explained on the basis of there being two different phonemes at an earlier stage.

EVIDENCE FOR THE AFFRICATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE CLUSTER *TS* IN THE *MAITRĀYAṆĪ SAṀHITĀ*

by M. A. MEHENDALE

The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā 3.4.7 prescribes different forms of the fire-altar (*agniciti*) corresponding to the different desires entertained by the sacrificer. *E.g.* it lays down that the fire-altar should be of the form of a *śyena* bird if the sacrificer wishes to obtain heaven (*śyenacitiṁ cinvīta svargákāmaḥ*), etc. In this section we read the following passage: *droṇacitiṁ cinvītánnakāmo dróṇena vá ánnam adyaté 'nurūpeṇaivánnádyam ávarunddhe/ paścáccarur bhavaty anurūpatváya.*[1] This may be translated as: 'One who desires food should construct the fire-altar in the form of a wooden trough, for, verily, food is eaten with a trough. He thereby secures food with a suitable (form of the altar). This (form of the altar) has a *caru* towards the west for the sake of obtaining the proper form (of a trough).' Thus, according to this text, the altar having the form of a wooden trough is to be provided with a *caru* towards the west. But the usual meaning of *caru* does not seem applicable in this context. Usually the word means an oblation of rice or barley boiled with butter and milk, but this is hardly appropriate when one is prescribing the form for a fire-altar. The correct meaning of the passage is obtained when we look to the Mānava Śrauta Sūtra, which belongs to the Maitrāyaṇī śākhā, and to the Śulvasūtras. The Mānava Ś.S. 10.3.6.6 reads: *droṇacit tsarumān eṣāṁ daśabhāgo bhavet tsaruḥ* 'Of these, the trough-shaped fire-altar has a handle (*tsaru*). The handle is the tenth part (of the whole altar)'.[2] Similarly in the Āpastamba Śulva sūtra[3] 13.4 ff. we read: *droṇacitaṁ cinvītānnakāmo iti vijñāyate/ dvayāni tu khalu droṇāni caturaśrāṇi parimaṇḍalāni ca/ . . . paścāt tsarur bhavaty anurūpatyāyeti vijñāyate/ sarvasyā bhūmer daśamaṁ tsaruḥ/.* This passage, in the latter half, has an obvious reference to the Maitrāyaṇī text. It also adds that the wooden troughs are of two kinds – square and round. The commentator on the

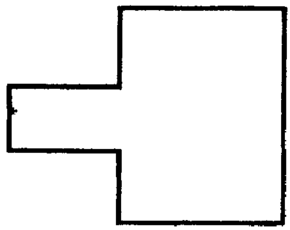
---

[1] The corresponding section (5.4.11) of the Taittirīya Saṁ. has *droṇacitaṁ cinvītánnakāmo dróṇe vá ánnaṁ bhriyate sáyony evánnam ávarundhe* 'He should pile in the form of a wooden trough who desires food; in a wooden trough food is kept; verily he wins food together with its place of birth' (Keith).

[2] A Soma vessel (*camasa*) without a handle (*atsaruka*) is referred to in the Tāṇḍya-mahābrā. 25.4.4, Āp. Śr.S.12.2.8, Kātyā. Śr.S. 24.4.42, Lāṭyā. Śr.S. 10.12.13.

[3] *ZDMG*, LV, 586, LVI, 369 f

Baudhāyana Śulva Sūtra (3.217) adds that the square ones are furnished with handles, the round ones with *oṣṭha*.[4] Accordingly, the *droṇa*-shaped altar would look like the following figure:



The word *tsaru* in the sense of 'handle' of a vessel is well attested in the śrauta literature. In the sense of 'hilt' of a sword it is common in the epics and later literature.

It is thus clear that what we read in the Maitrā. Saṁ. as *caru* really stands for *tsaru*. The passage in question prescribes, as is made clear by the later sūtras, that the trough-shaped fire-altar is to be provided with a handle so that it acquires the perfect form of a vessel (*anurūpatvāya*).

The normal sandhi between *paścāt* and *tsaruḥ* should simply have given *paścāttsaruḥ*. If instead we find *paścāccaruḥ* in the Maitrā Saṁ., this indicates that at some time in the oral transmission of the Saṁhitā text the initial consonant cluster *ts* of *tsaru* was pronounced as an affricate. It is very likely that this was a palatal affricate, since its combination with a preceding *t* resulted in *čč*. But on this point, *i.e.* whether the affricate pronunciation was originally palatal or dental, we may not be able to do anything better than speculate. What is certain, is that the text as read today points to an affricate pronunciation of the cluster *ts* in the oral transmission of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.

It is interesting to note that at another place in the Maitrā. Saṁhitā (3.8.2) where *t* and *ts* come together, the combination has given a different result. The passage runs as follows: *yátra púraṁ yúdhyeyus tád etā́bhir juhuyāt sarā́ vā̱ eṣā́ yajñásya tásmād yát kíṁca prā́cīnam agnīṣomī́yāt tád upāṁśú caranti.* 'Where they besiege a fortified place, then let him give these offerings. This, verily, is the *sarā* of the sacrifice. Therefore whatever precedes the *agnīṣomīya* offering, that is done in a low voice.' The context is that of the three *upasad* offerings which are given morning and evening on three days preceding the pressing of the Soma in a Soma sacrifice. The word *sarā́* here presents a difficulty. It is not recorded in the available lexicons. Schroeder does not note any variant for it. But in another passage in the

[4] *Pandit*, n.s. I, 626 (*tsarumanti caturasrāṇi/parimaṇḍalāny oṣṭhavanti*).

Maitrā. Saṁ. (4.6.4) which has a similar wording, we find *tsarā* in place of *sarā*. There we read: *tsarā́ vā́ eṣā́ yajñásya tásmād yát kiṁca prācīnam āgrāyaṇā́t tád upāṁśú caranti.* 'This, verily, is the *tsarā* of the sacrifice. Therefore, whatever precedes the (drawing of) the Āgrāyaṇa cup, that is done in a low voice.' The word *tsarā́* is also not recorded in the lexicons. But it seems to mean 'action done stealthily' (from the verb √*tsar*-, attested since the Ṛgveda, meaning 'to sneak, to go stealthily'), and this meaning fits well in the context, for it is said that whatever is recited during that period is done in a low voice.

It will thus be clear that *sarā́* in the Maitrā. Saṁ. 3.8.2 stands for *tsarā́*[5] as in 4.6.4. Obviously, in recitation, one of the two *t*'s was elided (*juhuyāt tsarā* > *juhuyāt sarā*), so that no sandhi *t*+*ts*>*cc* could take place. In 4.6.4 *tsarā* is preceded by the vowel *e* of the word *vṛṅkte* (*vā́g vaí sarámā, vā́cam evaíṣāṁ vṛṅkte, tsarā́* ... etc.); hence there was no occasion here for a consonantal sandhi. It may be noted that in Sanskrit the cluster *ts*, in initial position, is restricted only to the verb √*tsar*- (and its derivatives) and the word *tsáru*. In most cases *ts* occurs intervocalically, as in *abhitsaranti* (RV 8.2.6), *tatsāra* (RV 1.145.4), or is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, *yathā tsārī* (TS 6.4.11.3), *gatvā tsaran* (AV 12.3.13), etc. When in a few cases it is preceded by a consonant, even by *t*, the whole complex is well preserved in the Ṛgveda *cf. vidat tsáruḥ* (7.50.1,2,3) and *śatákratus tsarat* (8.1.11). In the Maitr. Saṁ., as was seen above, the treatment differs.

The above discussion on the affricate pronunciation of the cluster *ts* has also some bearing on the question of the pronunciation of the palatal stops of the *c* class in ancient India. W. S. Allen (*Phonetics in Ancient India*, 52) is inclined to the view that at the time of the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās the palatals were true palatal plosives and not pre-palatal affricates as is the general pronunciation in modern India. In the Prātiśākhyas they are described as articulated at the palate with the middle of the tongue (*tālau jihvāmadhyena* Taitti. Prāti. 2.36, *tālavyānāṁ madhyajihvam* Atharva Prā. 1.21, also Vāj. Prā. 1.66, 79). The date of the Prātiśākhyas has been placed by Siddheshwar Varma between 500–150 B.C.[6] The Ṛgveda Prāti. and the Taitti. Prāti. are thought to be earlier than Pāṇini, while the Vājasa. Prāti. and the Atharva. Prāti. are considered to be later.

On the other hand Wackernagel (*Aind. Gr.* I, § 119, p. 137) holds the view that the pronunciation of *c* as an affricate *tś* must be old. As evidence for this pronunciation he gives the Greek spellings of Sanskrit words which take us to about the fourth century B.C. Whitney seems to be undecided on this point. While commenting on the Atharva. Prā. 1.21, he observes: 'The ancient Sanskrit *c* and *j* can hardly have been so distinctly compound sounds as our *ch* and *j* (in *church, judge*), or they would have been analysed

[5] Here Schroeder records the reading *sarā́* from one manuscript.
[6] *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, 21.

and described as such by the phonetists. At the same time, their inability to stand as finals, the euphonic conversion of *t* and following *ś* into *ch*, the Prakritic origin of *c* and *j* from *ty* and *dy*, etc., are too powerful indications to be overlooked of their close kindred with our sounds, and deviation from strict simplicity of nature'.

It is very difficult to decide the age of the Maitrāyaṇī sandhi *t*+*ts*>*cc*. Unfortunately we do not have the complete Padapāṭha of the Maitrā. Saṁ. In view of the fact that the word *tsaru*, and not *caru*, is seen in the sūtra works cited above, which in their wording clearly refer to the Maitrā. Saṁ., the change *t*+*ts*>*cc* could have occurred only when the recitation of the *Saṁhitā* was done independently of these Sūtras and with complete disregard for the meaning.

It will be useful here to call attention to a fact of the chronology of phonetic changes. We have already seen that the cluster *ts*- is rare in initial position. In intervocalic position it is well attested in OIA. In MIA it is assimilated to -*cch*-, e.g. *vatsa*- > *vaccha*-. But when the cluster *ts* arises in composition, it is assimilated to -*ss*-,[7] *e.g. ut-sarp*- > *ussappa*- etc.

Now the sandhi of *t*+*ś* results in *cch* in OIA, but in MIA it gives *ss* as above.[8] *Cf. ut-śrita* > OIA *ucchrita*, MIA *ussiya*. This will indicate that the MIA development of -*ss*- antedates the sandhi product -*cch*- of OIA. It is possible to derive MIA *ss* from *tś*, but not from *cch*.[9]

[7] Even in such cases we find *cch*, as in *ut-sava* > *ussava* and *ucchava*.

[8] Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Sp.*, § 327, § 327 a.

[9] For the development of Marathi *s* < Pkt. (*c*)*ch*, see J. Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe*, § 103. The same treatment in some other NIA languages is noted by him in § 102.

notes and discussions

THREE NOTES

M. A. MEHENDALE

Deccan College, Poona.

(I) *Neutralization of contrast*

This term has been used to designate cases of conditioned merger. If, of the two phonemes of the earlier stage, only one can occur in a given position and not the other, then this is interpreted as a merger of the two phonemes in that particular environment. In this situation the contrast between the phonemes is looked upon as having been neutralized. Penzl in his article on "The Evidence for Phonemic Changes" puts it this way : "thus a suspension of contrast ......, in the terminology of the Prague School a 'neutralization' results in this position" (J. Whatmough Felicitation Vol. p. 195). Thus, for example, if in Marathi only š- can occur before -i, and not s- (e. g. təsā : təšī) then this conditioned merger of *s* and š is looked upon as neutralization of these two phonemes before *-i*.

It seems, however, that it is not proper to describe this situation as neutralization or suspension of contrast. It is really a case of the restriction on the occurrence of a phoneme in the phonemic pattern of a language. The term neutralization can properly be used in case there is a possibility of both the phonemes occurring in a given position - i. e. the pattern does not stop either the one or the other from occurring there — and yet this does not lead to the native speaker's considering them as different utterances. But if in a given position only one phoneme can occur, but not the other, the question of their neutralization does not arise at all. 'Neutralization' is a term better suited for describing what is otherwise known as 'free variation' of phonemes. In such cases there is always a possibility of either of the two phonemes occurring, and if in spite of this the two utterances with the two phonemes are judged to be the same, then we can justifiably say that the phonemic contrast in a given position has been neutralized. We use the term 'neutralization' here because the two phonemes, in spite of their use, do not produce different utterances. In Kāmarūpī, a dialect of Assamese, *kh* and *h* are contrasting phonemes, cf. *khā̃t* 'bed-stead' : *hā̃t* 'hand'. But in the final position in the words *rakh* and *rah* this contrast is neutralized since both of them mean 'juice'. Such examples showing free variation of phonemes may not occur often in languages; but the use of the term neutralization or suspension of contrast is properly applicable to them.

The term neutrlization, as is being currently used, is also otherwise misleading. It gives an impression that of the two phonemes, the contrast between which is said to have been neutralized in a given position, any one may occur. For example, if it is said that the contrast between the voiced and the unvoiced stops is neutralized in the word-final position, it implies that any one of the two may occur in that position. But this is not true. Actually only the unvoiced stops seem to occur in that position.

Also consider following situation : In Sanskrit, examples like *marutā*: *marud-bhiḥ* show that the eontrast ***unvoiced-voiced*** is neutralized ***before voiced stops***; and when we see examples like *śaradā* : ***śarat-su*** we see that the same contrast is neutralized ***before unvoiced stops***. These statements, therefore, in themselves will not be enough. We shall have to add that the terminal phoneme depends on the specified environment : voiced, if the following stop is voiced, unvoiced, if the following stop is unvoiced.

(II) *Analogy*

In his Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the LSA on 28 December, 1964, Hockett (1965) observes that although linguists are generally agreed that languages change due to Borrowing, Analogy, and Sound Change they are not agreed on the point whether "the attested sound shifts... reflect the workings of a MECHANISM of a linguistic change distinct from and not reducible to analogy and borrowing." Hockett's own position on the above point is that : "There is a mechanism of linguistic change, ... called SOUND CHANGE not to be confused with and not reducible to analogy and borrowing." (191)

It appears that it is easy to agree with Hockett. On the other hand, it is tempting to point out that although sound change cannot be reduced to analogy (or borrowing), it is possible to look upon ANALOGY itself as a mechanism which is similar to a kind of sound change viz. Assimilation. In assimilation two phonetically dissimilar ***sounds*** are partly or fully made similar to each other. In most cases the affecting and the affected sound occur in close proximity (***parṇa>paṇṇa***), but distant assimilation is not unknown (***ikṣu>ucchu***). Assimilation across morphemes is also known (***muṣ-nā-ti>muṣ-ṇā-ti***, ***ṛṣi-nām>ṛṣī-ṇām***). But still the change has occurred within the limits of a 'word' (***samānapada***).

In analogy what happens is that two dissimilar *forms* are made similar to each other with regard to some phonetic feature or features which, in some cases, tends to bring about uniformity in the employment of a grammatical feature. As is well known, Bloomfield gives this kind of change the form of a proportion :

dog : dogs

cow : ? : cows (in place of kine)

Thus the dissimilarity in the derivation of the plural forms 'dogs' and 'kine' has been set aside by analogy and the two forms dogs and cows are made

similar to each other as far as their plural endings are concerned. In a way then the formation '–s plural' has *assimilated* 'kine' to it.

All analogies, however, are not proportional. In Sanskrit, for example, if **ekadaśa* has given place to *ekādaśa* on the analogy of *dvādaśa* no such proportion seems to be at work. But this change in the lexical item can also be looked upon as 'assimilation'. Two forms **ekadaśa* and *dvādaśa* which were dissimilar with regard to the vowel length in the syllable preceding *–daśa* are made similar to each other by analogy. In a way, again, '*dvādaśa* 'assimilates' **ekadaśa* to give rise to *ekādaśa.*

It is true that, strictly speaking, analogy is not sound change. But this is true to some extent also of assimilation in that assimilation is not a sound change in the sense that a phonemic shift, a split, or a merger is. Both analogy and assimilation affect the phonemic shape of a morpheme but do not seem to affect the phonemic stock of a language. But whereas assimilation occurs within a 'word', analogy works across them.

(III) *Regularity of Phonetic Changes*

Bloomfield looks upon sound change as reflecting a change in the speaker's manner of articulation. He therefore is of the opinion that a sound change "affects a phoneme or a type of phonemes either universally or under certain strictly phonetic conditions, and is neither favoured nor impeded by the semantic character of the forms which happen to contain the phoneme" (1933 : 364). This view has been endorsed by Hockett (1965 : 190–191) while saying that in a statement of the following type,

Par x > Dau y (in the environment z)

the environment must be a sound or a finite combination of sounds in the parent language.

The above view has been challenged by Robert D. King (Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar p. 119 ff). He finds that there are certain types of sound change exceptions to which cannot be explained in strictly phonetic environments and hence the hypothesis regarding the regularity of phonetic changes should be modified and stated as follows : Phonological change is regular, but its environment cannot always be stated in strictly phonetic terms.

The examples which King gives to refute the Bloomfieldean view of sound change are as follows : (1) The Middle High German e [ə] in the word final unaccented position is lost in Standard Yiddish. E. g. tage > teg 'days', erde > erd 'earth'. But in some cases, especially when *e* is an adjective inflectional ending, it is not lost : di groyse shtot 'the big city', dos alte land 'the old country'. The environments, in the latter examples, are not phonetic but morphological (retention of word final *–e* as an adjective ending).

(2) The sequence [kw] from proto-Mohawk to Mohawk undergoes epenthesis : *kwístos > kewistos 'I am cold'. But when the kw sequence arises out

of the coming together of the first person marker and the plural morpheme, no epenthetic *e* occurs : yákwaks 'we several exclusive eat it'. Or, to take a different type, no epenthesis occurs in rákwas 'he picks it up'.

King himself observes that it would be possible to explain away the first irregularity by assuming a plus-juncture before the adjective ending and say that the final ə disappears in Yiddish except after plus-juncture. But he disfavours any such attempt. In his opinion that would be a gimmick and not a real solution. As for the second case, at least in respect of rákwas, he observes that the underlying form of the cluster kw in that word is / ko /. But he says that this does not help us as the rule converting / ko / to / kw / is older than the rule of epenthesis and hence even in this case kw should have given rise to kew.

Now exceptions to the statements of phonetic changes have been observed since the very start of comparative studies. Acceptance of the regularity hypothesis has compelled scholars to look closely at the exceptions and this has led to many good explanations. In the opinion of Verner, who was responsible for one such brilliant explanation, it is the task of the linguists to search for the rule for the irreguarity.

The regularity hypothesis has definitely proved its usefulness and hence it is not advisable to discard it or modify it as suggested by King. Rather, it would be better to say that in the Yiddish and Mohawk examples cited above the phonetic conditioning responsible for the exception has been lost to us. It may have been some kind of juncture, a difference in pronunciation, or stress. Some day it may be possible for us to discover it. But no attempt will be made in this direction if the chapter is considered closed by accepting the modified version of the regularity hypothesis. Verner, for example, could never have explained satisfactorily exceptions to Grimm's Law if Vedic Sanskrit with its accent was not available to him. If he had merely forms from classical Sanskrit, which does not mark accent, Skt. pitar : Gmc. fadar would have continued to remain a probem like the examples cited by King.

REFERENCE :

Bloomfield, Leonard 1933. Language, New York : Holt.
Hockett, Charles F. 1965. Sound change. Language 41. 185ff.

[*Received* 21 *February*, 1972].

NOTES ON INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION AND COMPARATIVE METHOD

M. A. MEHENDALE

(1) Reconstruction of Skt. *ś*.

IF we observe an alternation between two phonemes in a given paradigm, we have reason to believe that the alternation is the result of some phonetic change in the history of that paradigm. In favourable cases it is possible for us to recover the phonetic change and say which of the two phonemes has, in all likelihood, undergone the change. To take an example, Skt. has nom.sg. *vāk*, but instr. sg. *vāc-ā* showing an alternation between *k* and *c*. We believe that we get these two sounds in two positions, *k* in the word final position and *c* before a vowel, on account of some phonetic change. Now is it possible for us to recover the phonetic change — i.e. is it possible for us to say whether in the history of this paradigm *vāc*, *vācā* became *vāk*, *vecā* or *vāk*, *vākā* became *vāk*, *vācā* ? Or, to put the question differently, did $c > k$ in the word final position to give us nom. sg. *vāk* or did $k > c$ before *ā* to give us instr. sg. *vācā* ? Here, the rule of internal reconstruction helps us to determine that it is the *c* which became *k* in the wordfinal position giving us *vāk*. These two phonemes in this paradigm, then, are traceable to a single phoneme of the proto stage : *c* and *k* here go back to *c*.

The situation becomes a little complicated when a phoneme alternates with two different phonemes in identical positions in two paradigms. To give an example, we have in Sanskrit an alternation between *k* and *j* in the paradigm *asṛk*, *asṛj-ā*, giving *k* in the word-final position and *j* before *ā*. But in the case of another paradigm we see the alternation between $ṭ^1$ and j^2, as in *sṛṭ*, *sṛjā*. Here, in the same environments as above *j* alternates with *ṭ* and not *k*. A type of this double alternation should lead us to suspect that what we now have in Sanskrit as a single phoneme *j* is in fact a merger of two different phonemes of the earlier stage. If it was only one phoneme, it should not have led to two different alternations. We therefore conclude that the prototypes of Skt. *j* were two phonemes j^1 and j^2, whatever the phonetic values of those phonemes in the proto stage may have been. One of these two,

say j^1 developed allophones in the word final position which were similar to *k* and ultimately merged with it thus giving us *asṛk*, while j^2 in the same position developed allophones which were similar to *ṭ* and hence merged with that phoneme to give us *sṛṭ*. In the position before the vowel, both of them merged to give a simgle sound *j*, and hence we have *asṛjā* and *sṛjā*. It is customary to denote these two reconstructed sounds as IE g^w and g^1 (labio-velar and palatal).

This kind of non-unique alternation is not restricted to *j* alone in Sanskrit. The sound *ś* also shows such double alteration. For example, the *ś* of diś alternates with *k*, hence *dik*, *diśā*, but *ś* of *viś* alternates with *ṭ* in indentical environments, hence *viṭ*, *viśā*. Applying the argument of the above case of twofold alternation of *j*, we should say that Sanskrit *ś* also represents a merger of two proto-phonemes, whatever might have been the phonetic values of these reconstructed phonemes. We may represent them provisionally as k'^1 and k'^2. As in the above case, we would say that k'^1 developed allophones in the word final position which were similar to *k* and hence merged with it to give us *dik*, while k'^2 in the same position developed allophones which were similar to *ṭ* and hence merged with it to give us *viṭ*. Before vowel, however, both of them merged into an identical sound *ś* to give us *diśā* and *viśā*. However, we know that the comparativists have reconstructed only one sound to account for Sanskrit *ś*, and it is represented as *k*. It is suggested that the comparative method here should be corrected by internal reconstruction and we should assume a two-fold origin for Sanskrit *ś*.

We may now ask, do we have any traces of the two-fold origin of Sanskrit *ś* in some other language ? The answer to the question, it seems, can be in the affirmative. A Sanskrit *ś* corresponds normally to Avestan *s* (Skt. *ś*apha = Av. safa, Skt. *paśu* = Av. *pasu* etc.). But there are a few words where Skt. *ś* does not correspond to *s* in Avesta but to the dental unvoiced fricative *th'*. Thus we have Skt. $\sqrt{\textit{śam}}$ = Av. $\sqrt{\textit{tham}}$, Skt. *śūra* = Av. *thūra* (besides Av. *sūra*), Skt. $\sqrt{\textit{śi}}$ = Av. $\sqrt{\textit{thś}}$ in *aiwithyo* 'over-sleeping', and Avestan *sakhta* and *thakhta* from $\sqrt{\textit{sac}}$ for which there is no Skt. $\sqrt{\textit{śac}}$. Normally we would have set aside these few cases as residual forms which cannot be explained. But since we are led by internal reconstruction to a two-fold IE origin for Skt. *ś*, we may well say that these few aberrant cases in Avesta also point to a two-fold origin for Avestan *s* and th' viz. IE k^1 and k'^2. We conclude by saying that IE k'^1 became *s* in Avestan and thus merged

with the continuation of IE *s*, while IE k² became *th*, thus merging with Avestan *th'* which has come from a different origin (e.g. *gāthā*, *haithya*). This may be represented as :

IE	Skt.	Avestan
k'^1	ś (alternating with k)	*s*
k'^2	ś (alternating with ṭ)	*th*... ... ...

(2) Morphological correspondence, a sure indication of genetic relationship.

Languages are usually said to belong to a single family if they show some similarities. A family of languages implies genetic relationship, i.e. the different languages comprising the family are looked upon as later forms, developed in course of history, of a single, more or less homogeneous, proto language. The similarities or correspondences between languages could be seen in lexical items or in grammar. Usually languages are grouped into families if they show similarities in sound and meaning in a large number of vocabulary items. But scholars have often objected to this procedure. They point out that if Skt. *ávıs* 'sheep' corresponds to Gk. *ówis*, this is looked upon as a sign of genetic relationship. But if Skt. *pippalī* corresponds to Gk. *peperi*, this is considered as a case of borrowing and hence not indicative of genetic relationship. What is then the difference between the similarities in the Sanskrit and Greek words for sheep and pepepr ? The one is no more an item of basic vocabulary than the other. Still, most scholars are agreed that Sk. *ávis* : Gk. *owis* are cognates, while Sk. *pippari* : Gk. *peperi* are not. In the opinion of some linguists like Kretschmer (Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, 1896, p. 13) this is not correct. They feel that this similarity gives us no ground to reconstruct a work like **ovis* for IE. It could as well be a loan word from some language outside IE which spread from one language to another in the whole field of IE after the individual languages of this family separated from one another. They believe that the difference between the similarities in the word for 'sheep' and 'pepper' are only chronological - the former is a case of pre-historical borrowing while the latter is of historical borrowing, the one occurred very early in the history of Sanskrit and Greek after they separated from each other, while the other occurred rather late (Kretschmer o.c. 22, Trubetzkoy Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem 82).

This difference in the attitude of scholars of looking at words for 'sheep' and 'pepper' has led them to formulate two different hypotheses, viz. the 'assimilation hypothesis' and the 'disintegrattion hypothesis', to explain the similarities that are seen in the languages known to belong to IE family. Those who believe in the assimilation hypothesis believe that the similarities are due to borrowing from one language to another, the languages having thus become 'assimilated' to one another, while those who believe in the latter feel that the similarities are due to the fact that they had a common origin in the reconstructed IE which in course of time became 'disintegrated' into Skt, Gk, Latin etc.

Now it is well known that although similarities in words between different languages are usually taken hold of to formulate the hypothesis of genetic relationship, it is the grammatical similarities which offer more convincing evidence of this kind of relationship. And it has also been pointed out that similarities in grammatical 'irregularities', rather than in grammatical 'regularities', are even stronger in proving genetic relationship. Thieme (Die Hypothese einer einheitlichen indogermanischen Grundsprache which, incidentally, has been described as a 'must' for a student of historical linguistics) uses this very ground in pointing out convincingly that while *pippari* is a case of borrowing, *avi* is not. He refers to the morphological peculiarity of the *avi* declension. It does not form its genitive, as in the case of a large majority of *-i* stems, with *-es*, but has the form *ávyas* for which there is in Sanskrit a parallel only in one stem, viz. *aris*: *aryás*. Now the Skt : Gk. correspondence for the word for sheep is not restricted to the nom. sg. alone, but shows itself also in the unusual Gen. sg. form Sk. *ávyas*: Gk. *áwyos*. Thus Skt. and Gk. show a correspondence in the peculiar method of its inflexion, and it is this similarity in its unusual grammatical form that celeraly indicates that it is not a case of a pure lexical borrowing, but that it is a case of inheritance. The Skt. and Gk. forms unmistakably point to a common IE gen. sg. form *óyos.

Similar examples of correspondences in grammatical peculiarities pointing to common origin, and not borrowing, can be given from Sanskrit and Avesta. In Skt. the stems ending in *-ṛ* show a lengthened grade (*vṛddhi*) in the first five forms e.g. *dātā, dātārau, dātāraḥ, dātāram, dātārau.* But words ending in *-ṛ* and showing human relationship like *pitṛ* (but not naptṛ and svasṛ) show only *guṇa* forms for these cases (except the nom.s.g.), e.g. *pitarau, pitaraḥ,*

pitaram, pitarau. Now in Avesta we have exactly the same situation. The stems ending in *ṛ* have forms like *dātā, dātārem, dātāro,* but for *pitṛ* we have forms like *pitarəm, pitaro.* We can take one more example. In Sanskrit and Avesta, the cardinal numbers show gender distinction only for the first four numbers viz. *eka, dva, tri* and *catvar.* To take the forms only of the word for 'four' we have in Skt. *catvāraḥ* (m.), *catasraḥ* (f.) and *catvāri* (n.) to which Avesta corresponds for the first two with *cathwāro* (m.), *catanro*(f.). Such close resemblances in morphological peculiarities can neither be explained as due to chance or borrowing. They have their basis only in common origin. When an item is borrowed from one language to another, one does not borrow it with all its morphological peculiarities. If today a word like sputnik is borrowed from Russian, no-body borrows with it all the declined forms of that word in Russian. And we have no ground to assume that the linguistic developments which took place in historic or prehistoric times were quite different from, or even opposed to, what we find today.[1]

1. W.D. Whitney : Language and the Study of Language (1867), "So far back as we can trace the history of language, the forces which have been efficient in producing its changes, and the general outlines of their modes of operation, have been the same ; and we are justified in concluding, we are even compelled to infer, that they have been the same from the outset." (p. 253) :

ON THE VĀRTTIKA 2 ON PĀṆINI 6.1.83

By

M. A. Mehendale

In the sūtra *bhayyapravayye ca cchandasi* (6.1.83) Pāṇini lists two Vedic irregular forms viz. *bhayya* 'to be feared' (from *bhī-*) and *pravayyā* 'to be impregnated' (from *pra-vī-*). The first Vārttika on this sūtra reads as *bhayyādiprakaraṇe hradayyā*[1] *upasaṅkhyānam* and with this Kātyāyana adds one more form to the list of irregularities.[2] The meaning of the form *hradayyāḥ* (pl.) is "existing in, being in, pond' (*hrade bhavāḥ*) and since Kātyāyana uses in his Vārttika the fem. form it may be gathered that only that was known to him[3]. The example cited by Patañjali for its usage is *hradayyā āpaḥ*.

The second Vārttika on the above sūtra runs as *av śarasya ca* and from Patañjali's commentary on it we learn that it accounts for two more forms viz. *hradavyā*[4] and *śaravyā*. The meaning of *hradavyā* is the same as of *hradayyā* and the example given in the Mahābhāṣya is also similar viz. *hradavyā āpaḥ*.[5] As for *śaravyā*, Patañjali seems to give two different examples — *śaravyā vai tejanam* and *śaravyasya paśūn abhighātukaḥ syāt.*

What is the meaning of these two examples ? The commentators have not explained them. From their form they seem to be citations from some Brāhmaṇa text now lost to us. The first example does not appear to be difficult. *Tejanam* means 'the shaft of the arrow'[6] and *śaravyā̆* is well attested with the meaning 'arrow' or 'volley of arrows'.[7] Hence the citation seems to identify, as is done usually in the Brāhmaṇa texts with the particle *vaí*, the shaft of the arrow with the arrow itself. Or, if *tejanam* here stands for *sugandhitéjanam TS* 6.2.8.4 etc. (*sugándhitejanam MS* 3.8.5), which is a kind of grass, then it may be said that in the Mahābhāṣya passage this grass is identified with the arrow. The basis of identification may be sharpness.

The meaning of the second example does not become immediately clear. We find in the Brāhmaṇa texts that when for a certain ritualistic detail two alternatives are available, the Brāhmaṇa text shows its preference for the one and rejects the other. In order to ensure that the recommended practice is, in fact, followed the text sometimes goes on to threaten that if the sacrificer follows the practice not approved by the Brāhmaṇa, Rudra will be inclined to injure his cattle. But this will not happen if he follows the recommended practice. This is expressed in such words as *rúdro 'sya paśū́n abhimā́nukaḥ syāt* (if the sacrificer follows the rejected practice) and *ā́ghātuko 'sya paśupátiḥ paśū́n bhavati* (if he follows the recommended practice) MS I. 6.4.[8]

In the light of the passages cited above, it is possible to suggest that the Mahābhāṣya example *śaravyasya paśūn abhighātukaḥ*[9] *syāt* is a line from some Brāhmaṇa text warning the sacrificer that Rudra would injure his cattle if he followed some practice not approved by the text in question. It is true that the word Rudra does not occur in the text. But this is not strange since the tendency to avoid a direct mention of Rudra is discerned in the Brāhmaṇas.[10]

But there still remains a difficulty about the interpretation of the word *śaravyasya.* Since in the Brāhmaṇa passages cited above we get such expression as *asya paśūn* where *asya* refers to the sacrificer, *śaravyasya paśūn* may similarly be interpreted and *śaravya* may be taken as an adjective of the sacrificer. In that case *śaravya* cannot have the meaning of *śaravyā* ('arrow') of the first example. Now in the Nirukta sometimes the secondary derivatives with the suffix *-ya* or *-iya* are rendered with *sampādin*, e. g. *yajñiyānām = yajñasampādinām* (7.27), *somyāsaḥ = somasampādinaḥ* (11.19). Similarly *śaravya* may be interpreted as *śarasampādin* 'one who procures reed.' The Mahābhāṣya passage then would seem to say that Rudra is inclined to injure the cattle of one who procures reed (for some sacrificial purpose).

But it has to be noted that barring one occurrence in the Paipp. 9.10.8 *śaravyaṁ viṣam* we do not find any other adjectival use of this derivative from *śara.* What we really obtain is a fem. base *śaravyā̃* used as a noun. And it occurs also in connection with Rudra. Thus we get *śivā́ śaravyā̀ yā́ táva táyā no rudra mṛḍaya* TS 4.5.1.1

(with minor variants Kāṭha. 17.11, Kaṭha 27.1., Paipp. 14.2.7, 1.95.2) or *rudró vā́ eṣá yád agnís tásya tisráḥ śaravyā̀ḥ* TS 5.5.7.2. śaravyā̄ even occurs as a personified deity *ávasṛṣṭā párā pata śáravye bráhmasaṁśite* ṚV 6.75.16. Hence it is possible to suggest two emendations in the Mahābhāṣya passage and read it as *śaravyāsya* (= *śaravyā asya*) *paśūn abhighātukā syāt* '(Rudra's) arrow (or the Goddess śaravyā) is likely to injure his cattle'. The first misreading – *śaravyasya* for *śaravyāsya* – is easy to understand and the second – *abhighātukaḥ* for *abhighātukā* – could have occurred under the influence of the occurrence of quite a number of mas. nom. sg. forms of derivatives with the suffix *-uka*. This suggestion has the advantage that we get the word *asya* ' his ' to refer to the sacrificer which is found in the sentences of this type.

In the end it may be pointed out that in the third Vārttika on the sūtra Kātyāyana points out that *śaravya* can be derived also from *śaru* which has the same meaning as *śara*. In the following two Vārttikas he gives two examples to show the use of *śaru* viz. *ṛñjatī śáruḥ* which occurs in the ṚV 1.172.2 and *śaruhasta* which occurs in the usage of the people (*loke*). If derived from *śaru*, *śaravya* becomes a regular formation and it is not necessary to formulate a separate rule for it (as one has to if derived from *śara*). It is probable that for this reason the Vārttika *av śarasya ca* and those following it are not treated in the texts like the Kāśikā and the Siddhāntakaumudī.

NOTES :–

1. Actually one expects *hradayyāyā upasaṅkhyānam*. In the Kāśikā the **Vārttika** reads as *hradayyā āpa upasaṅkhyānam* and in the Siddhāntakau. as *hradayyā upasaṅkhyānam*.
2. The two words listed by Pāṇini are *kṛt* forms while those added by Kātyāyana in the first two Vārttikas on this sūtra are *taddhita* forms.
3. The word *hradayyà* is attested only once in the TS 4.5.9.1. The form available is mas. and not fem. Cf. *námo hradayyàya*. Apparently it is used as an adj. of Rudra.
4. The form *hradávya* (with the accent different from that of *hradayyà*) is attested once each in the Kāṭha. 17.15 and the Kaṭha 27.5. Here also the form is mas. and not fem. cf. *námo hradávyāya*, and is apparently used as an adj. of Rudra.
5. The two examples *hradayyā āpaḥ* and *hradavyā āpaḥ* given in the Mahābhāṣya look as if they are from daily usage. It is not clear whether Kātyāyana gives *hradayyā* and *hradavyā* as Vedic forms or those current in the *bhāṣā*.
6. Cf. the parts such as *śalya, anīka, tejana, parṇa* and *snāvan* of an arrow mentioned in the Ait. Br 13.2 (also 4.8).
7. E. g. ṚV 6.75.16, 10.87.13 ; AV 5.18.9 etc. etc.

8. Occasionally even knowledge of a sacrificial detail is similarly praised : *yó vā́ agnihotrásya vaiśva—devā́ṁvé dā́ghātuka enaṁ paśupā́tir bhávaty āghātuko'sya paśupā́tiḥ paśū́n* MS 1.8.5. It is noteworthy that in such sentences *syāt* is used when the likelihood of some untoward happening is expressed and *bhavati* when the opposite is the case.

9. The word *abhighātuka* does not seem to be otherwise attested. Expressions *abhimānuka* and *āghātuka* are more common. Pāṇini teaches the suffix *-uka* after certain roots which include *han* but not *man* (3.2.154).

10. E. g. the Ait. Br. 13.10 (=3.34) recommends to say *rudriya* instead of *rudra* cf. *prajāyemahi rudriya prajābhir iti brūyān na rudrety etasyaiva nāmnaḥ parihṛtyai.*

ANALYSIS OF MEANING

M. A. MEHENDALE

Deccan College, Poona

While studying a somewhat difficult text like the Ṛgveda one is required to look to a number of available translations and interpretations of single words and passages. While struggling through this mass of literature one discerns a tendency among Vedic philologists, that when they are confronted with difficult passages they are inclined to assume multiplicity either of words (homonymy) or of meanings (polysemy). But with the advance made in the field of Vedic interpretation it has been observed that in some very important cases these assumptions are not necessary. The glaring example in this regard is that of the Vedic word *ṛtá*. Roth, Grassmann, and Geldner all thought it to be both adjective and substantive, and in each case having more than one meaning.[1] But Lüders has now very convincingly shown that in the Ṛgveda *ṛtá* is never used as an adjective, but always a substantive, and that it has only one meaning 'truth'. This may be either just simple truth in the usual sense of the word or a magically active cosmic power (Varuṇa II 405).

It is quite true that one should not try to come out with a single meaning of a single word if that leads to strained interpretations. On the other hand it is hardly desirable to complicate the vocabulary of the Ṛgveda in order to arrive at a simple meaning of the hymns[2]. As in other sciences 'economy' may be accepted as a sound methodological principle in philology. Our working assumption should be that there is but one and the same word in the different passages and that it has only one and not multiple meanings. This assumption, of course, should be modified when absolutely necessary.

The above principle was, it seems, first formulated by A. Bergaigne[3] as a reaction to, what he calls, the German school (l'école allemande) of Vedic interpretation. This school was then chiefly represented by Roth and Grassmann and later found an important

follower in Geldner. Bergaigne's principle was to allow the words to have in all their occurrences their ordinary meaning (" à laisser aux mots leur sens ordinaire ")[4]. Renou in his Études Védiques et Pāṇinéennes I p. 3 upholds this principle when he says that it is our duty to try to restore in all passages 'the intial meaning' (" on devra tenter de restituer partout le sens initial " p. 3) or 'the primary idea' (" l'idée premiére " p. 21) of a given word. Thieme in his review[5] of Renou's book points out that the leading French Vedist unfortunately gives up this rewarding principle when, while writing on the word *ṛtá*, he observes that it demonstrates how futile it is to attempt onesided translation of the essential terms of the RV (" Le mot *ṛtá* démontre la vanité de toute traduction unilatérale des termes essentiels du RV " p. 22). Thieme comments on this statement to say that " it is vain to entertain any hope of stepping out of the circle of altogether subjective guesswork as long as we do not (as Renou ...... claims is our duty) try to restore the initial meaning everywhere. "[6]

Thieme further observes in his review that in so many cases scholars have been at a loss to find out " the initial meaning ", the " acception authentique, linguistiquement valable " as distinguished from " values which are just underlying and figurative " (des valeurs ...... simplement sous-jacentes et figuratives, Renou p. 11). Thieme suggests the following procedure : " The presumable " notion initiale ", the " central idea " for which we have to find a name in our language, has to be put to the test as to whether it is recognizable *in all the passages of the RV* where the word naming this notion occurs, and whether consequently, one single expression can be used when translating this one single word *in all the different contexts* " (emphasis mine)[7].

This is an excellent methodological rule. Of course, it cannot, by its very nature, be applied to words occurring only once, or even twice; but in cases where a given word occurs more than once or twice, and if we are fortunate enough to notice that the contexts in which it occurs are *different*, the above method deserves to be tried out; not only this, it may be asserted that it is the only proper method to be followed. And if in its application we are able to come out unscathed with only *one single* word with one single meaning, in spite of the fact that the contexts are *different*, we are very likely to be nearer the truth.

Thieme continues (p. 55): "A word is defined by its formal, grammatical features and those traits of usage that are common to all the contexts in which it appears." With regard to the nature of the "pénombre" of which Renou speaks (p. 26), Thieme observes (p. 56): "The "shadow" is a matter of the interpretation of the context...... The "shadow" must be taken care of not by the translation, but by a commentary or a commenting paraphrase attached to it." We may add to what Thieme says by pointing out that the context is not only responsible for the "shadow" of the object – here respresented by a given word–, it also helps the object to appear in better light and look clear.

A good example of the rule: "Let the context speak", was found in one of our recent group discussions. A meaning 'dung' was established for *śakán* in the context *gávāṁ goṣṭhād ékaviṁśatiṁ śakāny āhṛtya juhuyāt* (MS 4. 2. 10). The same meaning was taken for granted for *śáka*, in spite of the difference in accent, when it occurred in the MS 3. 9. 3: *takṣitó vā eṣá nagnó yáñ śákam avāsyaty ánagnam evaínam akaḥ* and the passage was taken to mean that an animal was here described throwing dung. But the difference in accent raised initial doubt whether both the words were the same or different. On examination of the context it was found that the second citation refers to the chiselled *yūpa* which was looked upon as 'naked'. When the Adhvaryu throws down a *śáka* before fixing the yūpa he makes it *anagna*. A reference to the TS showed further that the *śáka* of the MS was identical with the *śákala* 'a piece of wood, splinter' of the TS and thus had nothing to do with 'dung'.

It is on this background of Thieme's review that I propose to discuss in the following pages three words: *śíprā̆*, *vanargú*, and *ekavṛ́t*. *śíprā̆*, formally, is a simple word, *vanargú* and *ekavṛ́t* are complex – with this difference that in the case of *vanar-gú* it may be doubted whether the second member is a noun or a verb, while in the case of *eka-vṛ́t* no such doubt exists. The following discussion shows that it is possible to come out with one meaning for *śíprā* and *vanargú* but for *ekavṛ́t* we have to have more than one.

(1) *śíprā̆*

This word has been variously interpreted. About its form also there are two opinions. Grassmann and BR give only *śíprā* (f.),

while V. Henry (MSL 9.250), Geldner (on RV 1.101.10), and Debrunner (Alt. Gr. II 2 212 b N p. 329) consider the necessity of extracting a stem * *śipra* n. (cf. *śipravant*).

As regards the meaning of the word, Yāska gave a start by saying that it designates some part of the mouth when he said *śipre hanū* (jaws) *nāsike* (nostrils) *vā* Nir. 6. 17. Although this meant that Yāska himself was not sure about the meaning, and although his first alternative (*hanū*) was clearly ruled out by the occurrence of *śipre* by the side of *hánū* at least in one Rgvedic passage (*ā te hánū harivaḥ śūra śipre rúhat sómo ná párvatasya pṛṣṭhé* 5.36.2), the guess of Yāska found favour with modern scholars for a quite a long time. Geldner (op. cit.) in fact asserts that in any case it designates a part of the mouth which is active while drinking Soma. That is why *śipra* appears specially in connection with Soma (*śipra* im Du. Neutr-nach 10.96.9, im Pl. Fem.) bezeichnet jedenfalls einen Teil des Gesichts oder Mundes und zwar denjenigen, der bei dem Somatrinken vorzugsweise beteiligt ist. Darum erscheint *śipra* besonders in Verbindung mit dem Soma von dem Somadurstigen oder Somatrinkenden). Accordingly, Geldner feels that in some passages the meaning " raised nostrils which greedily take in the Soma smell " (Die gehobenen Nustern, die gierig den Somaduft einziehen) would suit well. In other passages the meaning is, ' opened lips through which the teeth could be seen ' and ' the rows of teeth themselves ' especially in connection with *hiraṇyáyīḥ* and *hiraṇyaśipra*, *háriśipra*, *hiriśiprá*. and *áyaḥśipra* (die geöffneten Lippen, bei denen die Zähne sichtbar werden und die Zahnreihen selbst). In one passage where we get *ví ṣyasva śipre*, Geldner feels better to interpret it as " the sets of teeth of the mares " (das Gebiss den Falben).

The lexicons, of course, note these meanings (with one more alternative ' cheeks ' e.g. BR – Backe, as far as the parts of the mouth are concerned.) But they also give the meaning the visors of a helmet ' (BR – Backenstück am Helm) as an additional meaning. In the footnote 3 on p. 131 of Vol. I of his translation, Geldner, however, says that the meaning helmet or visor is to be given up since the Indians in ancient times did not know anything of that type (Die Bedeutung ' Helm ' oder ' Visier ' am Helm ist aufzugeben. So etwas kannten die alten Inder nicht).

We have to take note of one more meaning which also concerns the mouth or face. Charpentier takes a clue from Geldner's earlier

translations where in a few passages he translated *śiprā* as 'beard, moustache' (Bart, Schnurrbart),[8] and suggests[9] that the word originally meant only 'hair' and from it developed partly the meaning 'beard-hair, beard, moustache' and partly 'hair on the head, false hair or wig.' (Es scheint mir ganz offenfar, dass nur mit einer ursprünglichen Bedeutung Haar, woraus teils "Barthaar, Bart, Schnurrbart", teils "Kopfhaar, Haaraufsatz" sich entwickelt hat, durchzukommen ist (p. 31).[10]

We have thus a choice: lips, jaws, sets of teeth, cheeks, nostrils, beard or moustache as parts of the mouth, and from it somehow the derived meaning helmet or visor. Apparently, scholars do not regard these two as meanings of two different words (1) *śiprā* 'lips etc.' (2) *śiprā* 'helmet'.

I for one have the feeling that it is not at all necessary for us to look to some part of the face as the meaning of *śiprā* when it occurs in the context of Soma drinking. It is clear that anyone who drinks Soma has to use his lips or move his jaws etc. and this would hardly require a specific mention. Is it, for example, necessary to say that Indra drinks Soma with open lips? And as for the jaws, or even the sets of teeth, they may have hardly any specific role to play in the drinking of Soma. In fact while commenting on the word *viśipṛiya* in the TS 1. 17. 12. 2 Sāyaṇa observes that since the Soma is well pressed, the jaws have no function to perform while drinking it (*vigatam śipriyam* (= movement of jaws *śipre = hanū*; *tatra bhavaṁ karma*) *yeṣāṁ te/ atra hanuvyāpārābhāvāt śobhanābhiṣavasaṁskṛtā*[11] *ity arthaḥ*). Moreover, it has been suggested that *śiprā* is to be interpreted as a 'part of the mouth' where Soma drinking is concerned, and as 'helmet' when a war-like activity is the context. But there is hardly a passage in the RV where *śiprā* occurs in connection with Soma drinking but where some war-like attribute or action is not referred to. To give only one example *ayáṁ yáḥ púro vibhinátty ójasā mandānáḥ śipry ándhasaḥ* 8.33.7 'this is the one who breaks the forts with force, the *śiprī* who gladdens himself with the juice'. The point is, whether, in such contexts, where drinking of Soma is mentioned, it is justified to relate *śiprā* with some part of the body and translate with Geldner "wenn er mit geöffneten Lippen sich am Saft berauscht."

The meaning of *śiprā* which refers to some part of the face thus loses any justification. On the other hand, the other meaning

'helmlet', which Geldner rejects, is the only one which suits best in certain contexts. E.g. it is said of the Maruts : *áṁseṣu va ṛṣṭáyaḥ patsú khādáyo vákṣaḥsu rukmā́ maruto ráthe śúbhaḥ / agnibhrājaso vidyúto gábhastyoḥ śiprā́ḥ śīrṣásu vítatā hiraṇyáyīḥ //* RV 5.54.11. [12]

Since the Maruts are described as carrying different things on different parts of their body, we have here quite clearly to interpret *śiprā* as something put on their heads [13] — and this is more likely to be a helmet, of whatever sort, than the *uṣṇīṣa* as conceived by Sāyaṇa.

Since the meaning 'helmet' has been made certain by the above passage, it is necessary to examine if this meaning alone suits all the occurrences of the word and also its compounds and derivatives. It is found that this is quite possible and hence the word has to be assigned only *one* meaning. Thus the words *śiprín, suśiprá* or *śiprāvān* can be well understood with this meaning, especially when we note that in many of the passages where they are used as attributes of Indra, his other war-equipment *vajra* is mentioned, or some heroic performance is stressed. As regards the fem. form *śipríṇī* I take it as referring to the *sénā*, perhaps of the Maruts, which may also be looked upon as equipped with the helmets. In the line *asmā́kaṁ śipríṇīnāṁ sómapāḥ somapā́vnām sákhe vájrint sákhīnām,* I would like to supply *śiprin* (voc.) as referring to Indra after *śipríṇīnām* '(oh helmeted Indra) of our helmeted (army)'. In the passage *vanóti śiprā́bhyāṁ sipríṇīvān,* I interpret the adj. *śipríṇīvān* as referring to Indra who has a helmeted army. This avoids the necessity of looking upon *śipríṇīvān* as consisting of one pleonastic possessive suffix (Geldner on 1.30.11).

Among the dual forms of *śiprā,* it seems to me that in the expression *ví ṣyasva śipre* (1. 101. 10) it clearly refers to the mares, yoked to Indra's chariot, who wore on the head something for decoration or for protection. The same interpretation is possible in 3.32.1 and 10.96.9. In 5.36.2 *ā́ te hánū harivaḥ śūra śipre rúhat sómo ná párvatasya pṛṣṭhé* it is not necessary to take *śipre* as a dual form. The loc. *pṛṣṭhé* allows us also to take *śipre* as loc. sg. of *śipra.* The line means 'may (the Soma drink) rise to your jaws, oh heroic one, having horses, on your helmet, as the Soma plant does on the back of the mountain.' Apparently what is implied is the golden colour of

Soma becoming visible on the jaws and the colour of the helmet also being said to be due to Soma. There is only one passage, RV 8.76.10, which would lead us to believe that *śiprā* probably consisted of two parts: *uttiṣṭhann ójasā sahá pītví śípre avepayaḥ* 'Getting up with vehemence, after having drunk (Soma), you have shaken the two parts of the helmet.'

I now find that the same view as above has been expressed long back by V. Henry in Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. 9.249-252 (1896) and Henry says that the same suggestion was earlier made by Bergaigne in the same journal 8.25, note 13 (1894). Bergaigne looks upon *śíprā* as "Les deux pièces d'une sorte de casque". He adds "Indra détache ses deux *śíprā* pour boire le soma (1.101.10; cf. 3.32.1; 8.65. 10; 10.96.9), qui monte á ces *śíprā* en meme temps qu'á ses mâchoires (5.36.2). Il reçoit l'épithète *śiprín*, dont le féminin *śipríṇī* (1.30. 11) paraît désigner une armée d'hommes qui portent les *śíprā*. Indra, avec ses deux *śíprā*, vaut [à lui seul] une pareille armée : 10.105.5."

The compounds *áyaḥśipra, híraṇyaśipra, hárīśipra* and *hiriśipra*, can be easily understood with the meaning 'helmet'. The compounds *dáśaśipra, vṛṣaśiprá* and *viśiśiprá* are proper names. The word *víśipriya* probably contains the form *śipriya* to be derived from *śíprā*. This is a difficult word.

śiprā, the name of a river, *śipra*, the name of a lake, *śiprā* mother of pearl and *śiprā* 'a basket' are of course different words.

[*śíprā* is derived from the root **śip* 'to wag' cf. *śepa* 'tail' in the Alt. Gr. II 2 687 p. 858. Henry connects it with Lat. caput (MSL 9.250).].

(2) *vanargú*

According to the lexicons, *vanargú* is attested only four times-twice in the RV and once each in the AV and the SV (*vanárgu*).

The complex expression can be analysed easily as *vanar-gu* and there is little doubt that the first member of the compound is the same as *vana-* or *vanas-* and means 'forest'. The latter member, on the other hand, can theoretically represent either the substantive *gó* 'bull', or the verb $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ 'to go' $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ 'to sing'. Accordingly there are three possibilities of translating the word :—(1) forest bull; (2) wandering in forest; (3) singing in forest.

In RV 1.145.5 and 10.4.6 Bergaigne translated the expression as 'bull of the forest' (taureau des bois).[15] RV 1.145.5 is addressed to Agni and runs as —

sá īm mṛgó ápyo vanargúr úpa tvacý upamásyām ní dhāyi /
vý abravīd vayúnā mártyebhyo 'gnír vidvā̃ ṛtacíd dhí satyáḥ //

RV 10.4.6 occurs also in a Agni hymn, and the context of the first line is that of the churning of the fire.

tanūtyájeva táskarā vanargū́ raśanābhir daśábhir abhyàdhītām /
iyám te agne návyasī manīṣā́ yukṣvā́ rátham ná śucáyadbhir áṅgaiḥ //

AV 4.36, where the word occurs in the seventh verse, is intended to drive away all evil beings. There Whitney translates it as 'savages', although with a question mark. In the Nighaṇṭu 3.24 *vanargu* appears, by the side of *taskara,* among the *stenanāmāni.* Whitney obviously has the derivation of *-gu-* from √ *gā* 'to go' in mind. The verse runs as –

ná piśācaíḥ sám śaknomi ná stenaír ná 'vanargúbhiḥ /
piśācā́s tásmān naśyanti yám ahám grā́mam āviśé //

SV 6. 4. 9 is addressed to Indra. Since the verse occurs in the Āraṇyakasaṁhitā of the SV, I was at one time inclined to interpret *vanárgu* in this verse as 'singing in the forest.'[16] The verse runs as-

hárī ta indra śmáśrūṇy utó te haritau hárī /
tám tvā stuvanti kaváyaḥ puruṣā́so vanárgavaḥ //

All the three possibilties have thus been exhausted and in fact such that the three possible meanings have been distributed over the three Saṁhitās. The question arises– is this really necessary ? Is it not possible to get on without assuming the multiplicity of meanings ?

Let us examine all the three meanings:

(1) 'singing in the forest' is clearly excluded for the RV and the AV occurrences. It can suit only the SV Passage. (2) 'wandering in a forest'[17] does, in fact, appear to suit all the four passages but the following considerations go against it :–

(1) In the RV 1.145.5 Agni is called *ápyaḥ mṛgáḥ* 'water animal' and also *vanargúḥ*. Ths parallelism shows that corresponding to *mṛgáḥ*, *-gu-* in *vanargú* is better interpreted as something concrete and 'bull'

would fit in the context very well.[18] *vanar-gú*, thus, expresses in a compound what *ápyaḥ mṛgáḥ* does in two separate words.

(2) In the RV 10.4.6 the adjective *vanargú* 'wandering in forest' used with *táskarā* would be superfluous.[19]

(3) In the AV 4.36.7, since *vanargú* occurs after *piśācá* and *stená*, it should better be interpreted as a substantive referring to a specific class of beings, harmful to villages, and not as an adjective. After *piśācá*, which refers to a class of non-substantial beings, and *stená*, which refers to human beings, it would be quite appropriate to assume that *vanargú* refers to a class of animals, 'forest-bulls'.

(4) In the SV 6·4.9 *vanárgavaḥ*, if taken as an adjective, would qualify *kaváyaḥ*. Now it is perhaps possible to think of the *kavis* going to a forest to praise Indra, may be in conformity with some kind of taboo, but is it on that account necessary to think of them as 'wandering' in the forest? On the other hand, if we look to the adjective *paruṣā́saḥ* occurring by its side and remember that in the RV 6.56.3 we come across the expression *paruṣé gávi* and in the RV 5.27.5 *paruṣā́ḥ ukṣáṇaḥ*, we will have little hesitation in interpreting *vanargávaḥ* as 'forest bulls'. The *kavis* who were offering praises to Indra are described as 'rough' or 'dust-coloured' forest bulls.[20]

It is thus quite possible to get along satisfactorily with only one meaning of *vanargú* 'forest-bull' and it is not necessary to assume two or three meanings.

In the SV, *vanárgu* is accented differently from the RV and the AV *vanargú*. But it is extremely doubtful whether it means something different on that account. Sāyaṇa's attempt to explain it as a Bahuvrihi compound – *vananīyāḥ saṁbhajanīyāḥ sevanīyā gāvo yeṣāṁ te vanargavaḥ* fails both semantically and formally (the accent in that case would have been on the first syllable *vánargavaḥ*). It is simple to assume some kind of accent shift. The available lexicons have not noted the difference in accent.

(3) *ekavṛ́t*

The word *ekavṛ́t* also is restricted to the Vedic literature and occurs there quite a few times. When the word occurs in forms other than the nom. sg., e g. *ekavṛ́tam* (acc. sg.) AV 13.4. 15, *ekavṛ́taḥ* (nom. pl.) AV 13. 4. 12, or *ekavṛtā* (instr. sg.) TS 5. 2. 3. 7, the stem *ekavṛ́t* is not in doubt. But when it occurs as *ekavṛ́t* (nom. sg.)

theoretically two possibilities present themselves : (1) nom. sg. of *ekavṛt*, and (2) nom. sg. of *ekavṛdh*. The available lexicons have accepted only the stem *ekavṛt* and assigned it the meaning 'being one, simple'. But if we examine the contexts in which the word appears, we notice that it does not quite fit in all of them. We are forced to admit more than one word and more than one meaning.

The stem *ekavṛt* with the meaning 'single' is quite in order e. g. in the Śat. Br. 3. 6. 3. 14 where it occurs in connection with the spreading of the sacrificial grass. We read : *gṛhītvā prastarám ekavṛd barhiḥ stṛṇāti* " having taken the prastara, he spreads the altar-grass in a single layer " (Eggeling). The commentator on the Kāty. Śr. S. 8.2.25 and 8.7.12 where the word occurs in a similar context also explains *ekavṛt = ekadhātu* 'having one layer,' i. e. the grass is spread only once (*ekavāram*).

But the same is not true when the word occurs again in the Śat. Br. 13. 2. 1. 5 in a different context. When the food offerings are offered to cardinal numbers like *eka, dvi, tri,* etc. the numbers are successively raised by one. The word *ekavṛt* occurs as an adjective of *svarga* while attempting to justify this procedure of raising the numbers by one. We read: *ékasmai svāhā dvābhyāṁ svāhā ...... íty anupūrváṁ juhoti / ...... ékottarā juhoti / ekavṛd vaí svargó lokáḥ.* Here we cannot accept Eggeling's translation " He performs oblations successively increasing by one, for single indeed, is heaven. " This does not bring out the relationship between *ekottaratva* of the offerings and *ekavṛt* nature of the heaven. This can be undestood properly only if we interpret *ekavṛt* as nom. sg. of *ekavṛdh* 'rising by one' (*ekena vardhate*). The numbers are raised successively by one because the *svarga loka* also, when thought of as having three or seven layers, successively rises by one.

The context thus forces us to admit one more word *ekavṛdh* 'rising by one'.

Even in the passages where the stem *ekavṛt* is quite clear, its analysis, and consequently its meaning, is not always quite certain. Although the difficulty has not been noted by the lexicons, it has been already mentioned in the Alt. Gr. II, 2 p. 43. It is mentioned there that sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the second part of the compound, *-vṛt*, is to be understood as the root noun *vṛt* from √*vṛt* 'to be, to exist' or as the root noun *-vṛ-t* from √*vṛ* 'to cover.' It is

noted that there is a difference of opinion in this regard between the authors of BR and Hertel[21] (Indoir. Qu. u, F. 6. 31). When in the AV it is said about the sun *sá eṣá éka ekavṛ́d éka evá* (13. 4. 12, 20) or *yá etám devám ekavṛ́taṁ véda* (13. 4. 15) one can be certain that in these passages *ekavṛ́t* contains the verb √*vṛt* and it means 'existing alone, single.' But when in the same hymn it is said about the gods *sárve asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhavanti* (13. 4. 21) it seems more likely that *ekavṛ́t* contains the verb √*vṛ* ("All the gods in him become covered by one" i. e. by the sun). Whitney's trying to force the root √*vṛt* here and translate the line as "All the gods in him become single" does not recommend itself.

Finally the word *ekavṛ́t* seems to contain the verb √*vṛ* also in the Maitr. S. 4 2. 13. The passage reads as: *devā́ vai sárve sahā́ntárvanto 'bhavaṁs te sárve sahá vyàjāyanta / tád ekavṛ́d aśayat sámvṛttam / tád devā́ itthám cetthám ca vyàtyacaraṁs tán mitrā́váruṇā acāyatām* "The gods, verily, all became pregnant together. They were all born together. 'That' lay collected together (concealed) in a single cover. The gods passed by and beyond 'it' in this way and that. Mitra and Varuṇa (finally) observed 'it'. [It is not clear what 'it' stands for. The gods Mitra and Varuṇa are said to have made *gau dvīpadī* from 'it'].

The available lexicons do not list *ekavṛ́dh*. That there are no other forms available of this word like acc., instr. etc. does not in itself go against observing such a vocable in at least one occurrence of *ekavṛ́t*.

We are thus required to list two words — *ekavṛ́t* and *ekavṛ́dh* — and in the former case we are required to assign two meanings (1) existing alone, single, (2) having a single cover.

This example will show that the principle of 'economy' has to be modified if the context requires it.

NOTES

1. To cite only GELDNER's Glossar one notes: "1.adj. recht, wahr, wirklich; wahrhaft, echt, zuverlässig, 2.n. das Rechte, Richtige, Wahre, Reale. (a) rechter Weg. (b) Richtigkeit, Regel: *ṛtásya pathyā́ — pathin* der rechte-, richtige-, regelmässige Weg; aber auch der Gang des heiligen Werkes, der Ritus. (c) der reguläre Gang der Welt, Weltordnung (-lauf), Kosmos; die alles regulierende Zeit. (d) die

reale Welt, Realität. (e) Norm, Gesetz, Recht; *ṛténa* mit Fug und Recht. (f) Gerechtigkeit, Rechtlichkeit, Redlichkeit. (g) Wahrheit, Aufrichtitgkeit, Wahrheitsliebe. (h) Eid. (i) der rechte Glaube, frommer Sinn, lauterer Gedanke und jede Betätigung des rechten Glaubens, frommer Brauch, rechtschaffner, heiliger Wandel, das Rechte, das rechte Tun, gutes Werk; jedes religiöse Gesetz (Gebot); insbesondere der regelmässige Gottesdienst, die richtige Opferzeit and Opferordnung, Ritus; Gebet und Opfer. (k) *ṛtásya sádas* — *sádana, sádman*. (l) die Stätte des Glaubens, Opferbaus, Opferstätte, (m) der unsichtbare Teil des Himmels (der spätere *satyaloka*)."

2. Bergaigne, La Religion Védique (MM Roth et Grassmann ne craignent pas, pour simplifier le sens des hymnes, de compliquer souvent le vocabulaire : j'essaie au contraire de rétablir la simplicité dans le vocabulaire en admettant la complexité dans les idées (Vol. I pp. iv-v).
3. Études sur le Lexique du Ṛig-Veda I.
4. Op. cit. p. 105.
5. JAOS 77.51 ff. (1957).
6. Op. cit. p. 54.
7. JAOS 77.55. Thieme hastens to add "one single expression" does not mean "one single word". But the different words must center round one single idea ....." He, for example, finds it permissible to translate Sk. *gada* as 'sickness, illness, disease'.
8. Geldner in his later translation has completely given up this meaning.
9. KZ 46. 26-35 (1914).
10. In the Alt. Gr. the word is given different meanings at different places. Thus "Wange" II 1 p. 121, 294, "Backe" p. 299; "Visier" p. 296, 297 (for this latter, correction "Schnurrbart" occurs in the Nachträge to II 1 p. 82; "Schnurrbart" II 2 p. 329, 407, 875.
11. To which Mahīdhara and Uvaṭa, who have the same explanation to offer as Sāyaṇa, add 'well purified' (*supūtāś ca*) while commenting on VS 9.4.
12. Also RV 8.7.25 : (of Maruts) *vidyúddhastā abhídyavaḥ śiprāḥ śirṣán hiraṇyáyīḥ/ śubhrā vyàñjata śriyé/*
13. But Geldner : "an den Häuptern dehnen sich die goldenen Zahnreihen(?) aus."
14. Twice *suśipra*.
15. MSL 8.482.
16. Prof. Velankar Comm. Volume, 80.
17. The available lexicons have, in fact, only this meaning on record. MW, e.g. gives : "moving about in woods, wandering in a forest or wilderness, a savage, a thief-robber Nigh."
18. Agni is often called a bull or is compared with a bull in the RV.
19. For details of interpretation see my paper on *vanargú*, Velankar Comm. Vol. pp. 77-78. Suffice to say here that I interpret *vanargū* as acc. dual and translate the line as "(The two arms) have held fast (the two churning sticks with ten fingers) as two brigands, risking

their life, two forest bulls with ten ropes". This may be compared with Geldner's translation : "Wie Zwei im Walde streifende Räuber, die ihr Leben einsetzen, haben (beide Arme) mit zehn Stricken (das Reibholz) festgebunden." This translation does not make clear what the robbers hold fast, and Geldner has to supply 'traveller' as also is done by Sāyaṇa (*pathika*), Durga (*adhvaga*), and Skanda-Maheśvara (*kaścit*).

20. For *paruṣáso*, there is a variant reading *puruṣáso*. But in that case there is the difficulty about the accent since *púruṣa* is accented on the first syllable. Moreover *puruṣásaḥ*, by the side of *kaváyaḥ*, has hardly anything significant to convey.

21. Thus in the TS and the AV *ekavṛ́t* means "einfach" according to BR (hence from √*vṛt*), but "einzig umgebend" according to Hertel (hence from √*vṛ*).

ON *ṚCĀ*

Mr. Madhav Deshpande in his Brief Communication published in *IIJ.* 17, pp. 249–250 (1975) says that in my discussion on the word *tṛcá* I have ignored the condition *chandasi* in the Vārttika *ṛci trer uttarapadādilopaś chandasi* on Pāṇ 6.1.37. But I have not. The condition is too obvious for any one to ignore.

The absence of any rule in Pāṇini's grammar to account for the form *tṛcá* in place of the expected *tryṛcá*, and the presence of a Vārttika by Kātyāyana to account for it was interpreted by me as indicating a change in the pronunciation of the word in the Vedic texts, the earlier pronunciation being *tryṛcá*, the later *tṛcá*. My argument was that since Pāṇini heard the pronunciation *tryṛcá* in and outside the Vedic texts, it offered no anomaly to him. Kātyāyana, however, heard the pronunciation *tṛcá* in the Vedic texts and hence he found it necessary to take note of it. That I have not ignored the condition *chandasi* in the Vārttika will be clear from what I have said on p. 5 of my Nirukta Notes (Series I, 1965): "... since Kātyāyana restricts the use of *tṛcá* to Chandas ..."

Whether we may assume a change in the pronunciation of the Vedic texts between the time of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana and whether the piece of evidence based on this assumption is of any value for determining the relative chronology of Pāṇini and Yāska is a different matter. What I wish to bring to the notice of the readers here is the fact that in my argument based on *tṛcá* I have not ignored the conditioning factor *chandasi* in the Vārttika.

M. A. MEHENDALE

ON PĀṆINI I. 3. 41

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

Pāṇini I. 3. 41 reads *veḥ pādaviharaṇe*, i. e., the root *kram* with the prefix *vi* takes Ātmanepada terminations if the meaning *pādaviharaṇa* is to be conveyed.

What does *pādaviharaṇa* here mean? Patañjali does not comment on this *sūtra*. The authors of the *Kāśikā* take the expression to mean 'taking a step, placing a foot-step'[1] (*pādavikṣepe*), and give examples like *suṣṭhu vikramate, sādhu vikramate* '(he) steps well'. They also observe that this placing of steps is to be understood with reference to the special gait of horses etc. (*aśvādīnāṁ gativiśeṣo vikramaṇam ucyate*) and, by implication, not with reference to the gait of human beings or the deities. It is, therefore, not surprising that we find the use of *vi-kram* in the Ātmanepada with reference to the horses in the *Śiśupālavadha* 5.9 (*paryantavartmasu vicakramire mahāśvāḥ śailasya*) and that Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds the word *vājī* to the Kāśikā-example cited above (*sādhu vikramate vājī*). Apparently, nobody has thought of any other animal except 'horse', although the authors of the *Kāśikā* have said *aśvādi*.

Since the authors of the *Kāśikā* understand *pādaviharaṇa* to mean *pādavikṣepa*, they raise the question: where is the necessity of the present *sūtra* if the root *kram*, according to the *Dhātupāṭha* (1.502), has no other meaning but *pādavikṣepa*? Their reply is that the *sūtra* is necessary because roots have many meanings. The force of their argument seems to be that if the root *kram* has various meanings, the *sūtra* restricts its use in the Ātmanepada only when the root with the prefix *vi* conveys the meaning 'placing of a step'; otherwise, as in *vikrāmati sandhiḥ* 'the joint gets loosened', it is used in the Parasmaipada.

The meaning assigned to *pādaviharaṇa* in the *Kāśikā*, however, does not agree with the attested usage. *Viharati* is well attested in the Vedic literature in the sense 'disjoin, separate'[2], e.g., *tau* (i.e. *grahau*) *punar viharataḥ* "(the two priests, viz. the Adhvaryu and the Neṣṭṛ) separate again those two (cups, viz. the one filled with *soma*, and the other filled with *surā*)" (*Śat. Br.* 5.1.2.

---

1 Also S. M. Katre: *Dictionary of Pāṇini* 2.364, 'placing of footsteps'.

2 Pāṇini himself has used the word *viharaṇa* in this sense in *āsyaviharaṇa* 'opening of the mouth, separating the jaws' in his *sūtra*: *āṅo do 'nāsyaviharaṇe* 1.3.20.

18). Not only this, *viharati* 'separates' is also attested specifically with reference to *pada* i.e. *pāda*.[3] In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (2.35=10.3) we read *prathame pade viharati*.[4] This refers to the recitation of a *ṛc* of which the first two quarters are separated from each other, i.e. they are recited with a pause between them (Sāyaṇa : *viharaṇaṁ pṛthakkaraṇam / dvayoḥ pādayor madhye vihāraṁ vicchedaṁ kṛtvā paṭhet*). This method of recitation is the opposite of the one in which the two quarters are united, i.e. they are recited without a pause between them (*samasyaty uttare pade / Ait. Br.* 2.35=10.3 on which Sāyaṇa : *tṛtīyacaturthapādayor uttarārdhagatayoḥ saṁyojanam*).

On the basis of the above evidence it is possible to say that the expression *pādaviharaṇa* in the Pāṇini-sūtra refers to this peculiar method of recitation. If the Hotṛ priest recites the stanza by separating its quarters (*padas*) one would say *hotā vikramate*.

If, on the other hand, the word *pāda* in the Pāṇini-sūtra does not refer to the quarter of a stanza, but to a (human) foot, we may compare the expression *tasmāt stry ūrū viharati* 'therefore a woman separates her thighs' in the same section of the *Ait. Br.* referred to above. Even in the *ṚV* 10.162.4 we read *yás ta ūrū vihárati* 'one who separates your thighs'. Hence, *pādaviharaṇa* in the Pāṇini-sūtra may be taken to refer to the above context, and accordingly an example for the *sūtra* could be *strī vikramate* 'a woman separates her feet.'

Lastly, if, as our commentators think, *pādaviharaṇa* really refers to the 'placing of a step' (*pādavikṣepa*), and not to the 'separation' of the *pādas* (whether in the sense of a quarter of a stanza, or a (human) foot) as suggested above, then we have the well-known examples of *vi-kram* in the Ātmanepada with reference to the three steps taken by Viṣṇu, e.g. (*idáṁ víṣṇur ví cakrame tredhā́ ní dadhe padám*[5] (*ṚV.* 1.22.17), *so'bravīd indro yāvad evāyaṁ viṣṇus trir vikramate* (*Ait. Br.* 6.15=28. 7), etc. Thus *viṣṇur vikramate* could be an example of the *sūtra* in question.

In view of the evidence given above it is not at all clear why the authors of the *Kāśikā* and the later commentators, in the first instance, did not take *pādaviharaṇa* to mean (1) 'separation of the quarters of a stanza', or (2) 'separation of the (human) feet', and, secondly, even if they took *pādaviharaṇa* to mean 'placing of a step', why they neglected (3) the famous 'three steps of Viṣṇu', and chose to restrict the 'placing of the steps' to the horses and the like.

---

3 *pādaśabdasya paryāyaḥ padaśabdaḥ napuṁsakaḥ* (Ṣaḍguruśiṣya on *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 1.3.7).

4 *Kauṣ. Br.* has *pade vigṛhṇāti*.

5 On which Sāyaṇa : *trir vikramate pādatrayaṁ prakṣipati*.

PROF. MANFRED MAYRHOFER'S NEW ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF SANSKRIT*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Prof. Mayrhofer has already earned distinction as an eminent etymologist by the publication of his *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (*A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* 1956–1976) in three impressive volumes. Mayrhofer was then conscious of the fact that his dictionary was not an end, but just a beginning in the direction of providing information on etymological questions related to Sanskrit. He had then hoped that some day someone's inspiration will be enkindled by his book to make a second attempt.[1] It is indeed gratifying to note that instead of waiting for someone else to take up the challenge, Mayrhoter himself has come forward to embark on a second venture to publish a new etymological dictionary of Sanskrit.

As compared with his earlier book, Mayrhofer has made two easily perceptible changes while giving the title of his book. He has dropped the restrictive epithet ' concise ' of his old dictionary and he has chosen to characterize the language dealt with as ' altindoarisch ' (Old Indo-Aryan) instead of ' altindisch ' (Old Indian). There is one more change he has made : he does not give to his new dictionary the alternative English title as he did to his old one. The change may appear small and not worth noting. But it gives as indication of the changes introduced by Mayrhofer inside the dictionary. In his old dictionary Mayrhofer gave, besides German translations of all head words, also their English translations for the convenience of English knowing readers. He has stopped doing this in his new dictionary since he found the practice space consuming.[2]

Mayrhofer's old dictionary was completed in 1976. His new dictionary, which is by no means just a new edition of the old one,[3] started appear-

---

* *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* I. Band and II. Band, 1986–1996. Heidelberg. Carl Winter-Universitäts Verlag, pp. 837.

1 Vorwort to *KEWA* Vol. I, pp. IX–X.

2 English translations of Sanskrit words can be of some use to English knowing readers. But their absence does not materially harm the new dictionary. A reader refers to Mayrhofer's dictionary for the *etymology* of a word, and not for its *meaning*.

3 The only factor common to both the dictionaries is the author and the language dealt with.

ing in 1986. In between he published a booklet and a small paper making public his views on an ideal and a practicable etymological dictionary of a large-corpus language. Mayrhofer was engaged on his dictionary work for nearly thirty years and was therefore justified in making known his views on the forms of etymological dictionaries.

His booklet *Zur Gestaltung des etymologischen Wörterbuches einer „Gross-Corpus-Sprache"* appeared in 1980[4] and his paper, "Überlegungen zu einem neuen etymologischen Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen," appeared in 1983.[5]

Mayrhofer's views expressed in the two publications noted above, especially in the former, are summarized below so that the user of his new dictionary may know what information to expect under each lemma.

In *Gestaltung* Mayrhofer first draws attention to the two aspects of an etymological dictionary : ' etymology – word history ' and ' etymology-origin.'[6] In an etymological dictionary of the former type, the author concerns himself with such subjects as : Changes that occur in the meaning of a word, phonetic forms of a word, stylistic and social values that might get associated with a word in the course of its history within that language. In an etymological dictionary of the other type its author has to enquire about the origin of the word, the first combinations of phonetic sequences to which a definitive meaning was assigned.

An ideal etymological dictionary is one which at once takes care of both the above aspects : word history and origin. The realisation of such an ideal, however, Mayrhofer says, depends on the favourable stars of the person concerned (" persönlischen Konstellationen ").[7] Mayrhofer, apparently, did not enjoy this good fortune. In vain did he seek, before undertaking his new project, the association of a collaborator of the stature of the late Prof. L. Renou who could look after the " word history " aspect of the

---

4 It was ready in 1979 and, in its two abridged versions, was read before learned audiences on two different occasions.

5 I am obliged to Prof. Mayrhofer for making available to me both these publications.

6 A question was once raised whether, in view of some unscientific excesses committed in the investigation of ' etymology-origin ', only the other aspect of the dictionary, viz. ' etymology—word history ' was to be looked upon as scientifically valid. The question was answered decisively by J. Untermann (*Etymologie und Wortgeschichte*, 1975, p. 10) by pointing out that etymology which in Gk. means ' instruction on the original meaning of a word ' is a justified and necessary form of investigation.

7 *Gestaltung* p. 12.

dictionary, while Mayrhofer would be left to pursue the "origin" aspect. This meant that a "Renou" would describe all the vicissitudes through which a given OIA word has passed in the course of its history within Sanskrit while Mayrhofer would tell his readers :

1. which OIA words reach back to demonstrable earlier stages — Indo-europcan or Indoiranian ;

2. which OIA words are revealed as new Indo-Aryan formations, i. e. words not inherited from earlier stages but new forms within Indo-Aryan created from its own linguistic material and with its own rules of grammar ; and

3. which OIA words are borrowings from other languages, either :

i) from MIA languages ; or

ii) from non-Aryan languages of India ; or

iii) from languages outside India.

If Mayrhofer had succeeded in getting the cooperation he was looking for, he would have presented his new dictionary on the model of *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Latin* of Meillet and Ernout in which the former, an Indoeuropeanist, dealt with the origin-source of Latin words, while the latter, a Latinist, pursued their history within Latin. Since Mayrhofer did not succeed, he has chosen to deal with only the etymology-origin aspect. This, howerer, does not mean that Mayrhofer did not attempt a philological examination of OIA words before writing his new dictionary. For, as he points out,[8] however well-founded an etymology may be, it will break down if the lexeme, for which it is given, is assigned a meaning which is not borne out by its textual occurrences. A word, though attested, with a wrong meaning is as useless as a ghost word.

One of the demands made on an etymologist by J. Untermann[9] is that every linguistic form that is registered as a lemma in a synchronous dictionary of a language must also be entered as an independent lemma in the etymological dictionary of that language. Mayrhofer's view, however, in this regard is that such a practice is not justifiable and is also space consuming. He makes this point clear with the help of an example.[10] Both Gk. and Lat.

8 *Überlegungen*, p. 148.

9 *Etymologie und Wortgeschichte*, 1975, p. 15.

10 Mayrhofer tells us that this example is found also in Manu Leumann's *Kleine Schriften*, 1959, p. 187.

have comparable verbal forms: Gk. *ágō* 'drive, lead', Lat. *agō* 'drive, lead' which fact permits us to reconstruct their IE origin **aǵ-* 'drive, lead'. We are therefore justified in giving independent entries Gk. *ágō* and Lat. *agō* in their respective etymological dictionaries. But the same cannot be said for the comparable agent nouns: Gk. *áktōr* 'leader', Lat. *āctor* 'driver, actor'. These two words, of course, have a place as independent lemmata in their respective *synchronous* dictionaries. But they have no such claim in the *etymological* dictionaries of those two languages because the two agentive forms could arise, independently of each other, in Gk. and Lat. from their respective roots and agentive suffixes. We cannot therefore be sure, as in the case of **aǵ-*, that the two forms Gk. *áktōr* and Lat. *āctor* reach back to a common IE reconstruct **eǵ-tor*.

Moreover, the requirement that every synchronous lexeme should be cited as an independent lemma in an etymological dictionary is not always practical. It can be fulfilled only in the case of a language like Gothic which has a relatively small vocabulary. Different languages have different kinds of text-traditions and hence there will always be different kinds of etymological dictionaries. Mayrhofer presents in this connection a four-fold classification of languages:

1. Informant languages,[11] i. e. languages that are used as first languages in different communities and the vocabularies of which are always available, at least passively, to a member of that community and, to a large extent, also actively.

2. Corpus languages, i. e. languages which are not witnessed as possessions of speech communities as a whole but which are recorded in their literary works, inscriptions and similar other sources. These languages can be classified into three groups;

i) Large-corpus languages: these are attested in writings to such a large extent that a high percentage of their lexicon which was once available to their speakers, i. e. the informants of that bygone period, is known to us to day. To this group belong languages like Old Indo-Aryan, Greek, Latin.

ii) Small-corpus languages; these are available in a small number of

[11] Mayrhofer avoids using the metaphorical expression "living languages" because its opposite "dead languages" is not suitable for corpus languages like Latin and Sanskrit which are still "alive" in special groups like priests, learned men, and poets, and a "dead" language can again come to life as in the case of Hebrew in modern Israel, while a natural event like "death" is irreversible.

texts; but they yield material which is large enough to give us a fairly adequate insight into their structures and basic voabularies. However, we have always to bear in mind that what we possess today is only a fragment of its once large vocabulary. To this group belong languages like Gothic and Old Persian.

iii) Rest languages: These cannot in all cases be clearly distinguished from the preceding group. These languages are preserved in small number of inscriptions, glosses, indirect reposts, etc. They are understandable and classifiable if they happen to belong to a language family which is well attested. To this group belong languages like Thracian, Lydian and Phrygian which belong to IE family of languages.

There are hardly any problems concerning the form of an etymological dictionary of a real 'rest' language. The normal type is a complete lexicon along with an index of all references; an edition of its handed down texts followed by the most clear statements on the origin of the demonstrable part of its lexicon. As a model, Mayrhofer names the *Lydische Wörterbuch* of Rober-to Gusmani (Heidelberg, 1964).

As regards the etymologieal dictionaries of the small-corpus languages the model presented by S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache* (3rd edn., Leiden, 1939), has been praised by competent authorities. Instead of enumerating its merits once again Mayrhofer draws attention to its defect, for that would immediately make clear what is and what is not dispensable while writing the dictionary of a large-corpus language. Mayrhofer points out that it is certainly important to know that the Gothic word for 'mother' (*aithei*) is of obscure origin.[12] It is centainly not of Germanic origin (cf. Germ. *Mutter*); and the Germanic word on its part is of IE origin (Cf. Lat. *māter* etc.). This negative information Feist could have given just in two words: 'Germ. Mutter' and, as a representative of IE, 'Lat. *māter*. Instead, Feist has used up twelve lines for citing three words from Germanic languages and fifteen words from IE languages other than Germanic.

One may at this point cosider the question; how should one arrange the lexemes in an etymological dictionary? The conventional alphabetical arrangement has been ridiculed by some as a 'telephone-type.' Mayrhofer does not subscribe to this ridicule for, according to him, the old 'telephone-

12 Mayrhofer informs us that this example was cited earlier by E. Hermann, "Zwei Vorschläge" etc. (*IF*. 56. 1983, p. 193). Hermann expressed concern that if this practice was not given up, an etymological dictionary would succumb to elephantiasis.

type' arrangement has proved over the years as extremely convenient for getting quick information. Those who do not favour the alphabetical arrangement propose, instead, three kinds of classificatory groupings : (1) grouping the lexemes according to their origin ; (2) grouping them subject-wise (nach Sachgruppen) ; and (3) grouping them according to their chronology.

For the first type of grouping (origin-wise), Heinrich Hübschmann's *Armenische Etymology* (1897) is recommended as a model. Mayrhofer admires the virtues of this dictionary but points out that it is impossible to imitate fully this model while presenting the lexemes of any other corpus language. The peculiar situation of Old Armenian has enabled the author of its dictionary to classify words according to their origin : Persian, Greek, Syrian and pure Armenian. Even in the case of Armenian, Hübschmann is aware that his well-thought out classification may have to be corrected here and there in view of future research in IE and, especially, in Iranian. ' In the case of other languages, particularly in Old Indo-Aryan, such a classification would be impracticable. It would be impractical even to approach Hübschmann's type by adding a supplement in which the lemmata are grouped according to origin. The information to be obtained by the reader from such a supplement viz. that words like *pitár*, *śatá*, *áśva* are old inherited words is so well known that its mention once again will be waste of space. This is also true of such commonplace information that a late Sanskrit word like *bhaṭṭa* (Sk. *bhartár*), which is of Prakrit origin, is a loan from popular speeches. And one who thinks that he can group the rest of the Sanskrit vocabulary into a Dravidian or a Muṇḍa block has no idea of the complexity of the problems involved in arriving at such decisions.

As regards the second type of classification (subject-wise), Mayrhofer points out that even if an etymologist does not accept it and chooses to present his lemmata alphabetically, he has to study the subjectwise aspect of his vocabulary beforehand and take into account synonyms, almost synonyms and meaning areas in the language dealt with by him. The only question is whether it is advisable to present the dictionary itself subject-wise or present the dictionary first alphabetically and then give the subject-wise ordering in a supplement. For the present at any rate Mayrhofer would like to await the application of the subject-wise type first, as an experiment, to a dictionary of a small-corpus language like Gothic.

As regards the third type of classification (chronology-wise), Mayrhofer has already opted for it. He presents the lemmata in his new dictonary in two broad chronological divisions : ' older language ' and ' later language '. In the former division, which he has now completed, he includes words

which may be called 'Vedic' in the widest sense of the term, and also words which appear for the first time in the works of old gammarians like Pāṇini and Patañjali. Such words which do not appear before the epics and the law books[13] have been assigned place in the second division. Mayrhofer points out that such a chronological division is, in a way, justified since almost one hundred percent of the OIA words of the first division (older language) have IE or Indoiranian explanations. Words of foreign origin or even those which reveal the stamp of MIA phonology are an exception in the first divison. On the other hand, suggestions to derive words of the second division from IE roots are recognized as possibilities only in a few cases.[14] Those, however, who do not subscribe to such chronological divisions and still cling to the slogan 'Old Indian is Old Indian' adduce in support the evidence of the word *pard-* which, though it belongs to the later language, is of IE origin. They are, however, now faced with the fact that the word *pard-* is, in fact, attested in a Vedic text (*TS*. 7. 5. 1. 2) and hence can claim to belong to the older language.[15]

One last question of principle dealt with by Mayrhofer is : how much should the author of an etymological dictionary cite from the secondary literature, how many earlier etymological explanations does he have to refer to? Since such explanations are too many, quite obviously one has to make a choice. Aleksander Brückner makes this painful task quite simple for himself. He says that in his Polish dictionary he cites only that explanation which in his opinion is correct, probable, or possible, and passes over the rest in silence. He neither mentions them nor argues against them. Mayrhofer strongly objects to this attitude, not so much because it smacks of self-righteousness and arrogance, but because he is convinced that our linguistic

13 In his *Überlegungen* (2. 2. 3, p. 150) Mayrhofer had thought of including words which are first attested in older law books like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya in the first division. He has since changed his mind and decided to place all law books in 'later language'.

14 By arranging the lemmata chronologically, which arrrangement incidentally throws light on the two types of the origin of the words, Mayrhofer comes a step closer to satisfying the demand that the lemmata be arranged origin-wise.

15 Mayrhofer's view that it is absolutely necessary to divide OIA lexicon into two chronological parts of an etymological dictionary has some justification no doubt. But in comparing the view of those who wish to combine the two divisions — old and late — into one dictionary with an hypothetical etymological dictionary of Old Greek mixing up in one book also middle and new Greek is going too far. The comparison would be apt only if those who wish to give the etymological dictionary of OIA as one book had also thought of combining with it the etymological dictionaries of MIA and NIA.

science is of dialectic nature. It is therefore not desirable to shut the door completely on all available secondary literature.

Finally, as regards the question of the form of a *practicable* etymological dictionary, Mayrhofer says that the best way to approach this question is to know first the form of an *ideal* etymological dictionary of a large-corpus language. This ideal makes the following demands :

1. The author of the dictionary has to transform all independent words of the traditionally handed down texts into etymological lemmata.

2. These lemmata are to be referred to their ultimate constituent elements in accordance with the rules of the grammar of that language ; and, if the word is an inherited one, then in accordance with the rules of the grammar of the older stage of that language ; and, finally, if the word is a loan word, then according to the rules of that source language.

3. The author of an ideal etymological dictionarty has to enquire about not only how his lemmata have arisen, but also where they have gone, i. e., e. g. whether OIA words have survived in later Indo-Aryan languages or whether Latin words in Romance languages. This information is accompanied by the citation of comparable forms from related languages, especially closely related languages.

4. The reader of the dictionary has to be supplied with information on all etymological explanations that have been previously offered.

5. In case the language does not already have a dictionary dealing with word-histories, or if no such dictionary has been promised for it, information about the fate of the lemmata within the documented history of the language shall follow the above information on the origin of the words and their comparison with related languages.

The *ideal* etymological dictionary thus will be both etymological and word-historical at the same time. It will be a thesaurus augmented by the information on the rules of derivation, linguistic comparison and history of etymological explanations. That will be a wonderful achievement no doubt, but its execution has to face two formidable hurdles. Such a dictionary will run into several volumes, may be fifty,[16] which will unbearably tax the

[16] As an actual example, Mayrhofer mentions W. von Wartburg's *Fransösiches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.*

capacity of any publisher or any buyer. In addition, it presumes that the author of such a dictionary shall have a life of say 250 years which he will live with full intellectual freshness. So long as these practical and biological hurdles are not overcome we must look for limitations which will enable us to accomplish a practicable etymological dictionary which is optimal and belongs to this world.

1. The first limitation will be that a *practicable* etymological dictionary of a large-corpus language will not enter all synchronous lexical items as its independent lemmata. It will be enough to cite word families under each concerned word — and herein too selected derivatives as give unexpected evidence for word formations or semantic and phonetic histories. An etymological dictionary of an abundantly attested language cannot be a substitute for its descriptive lexicon and a book teaching its word formation.

2. The next limitation pertains to giving information on comparable linguistic forms. In this regard, utmost economy is necessary and possible because such information is repeatedly given in other books. Mayrhofer says that no etymologist can be urged to write a book to help a Robinson, who has with him only this book on his island, to write with its help a doctorate thesis in linguistics. In the case of OIA, information whether a given word has become extinct or whether it survives in NIA languages can be supplied by just referring the reader to R. L. Turner's *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London, 1966). Next, with regard to information that a word like Skt. *mātár* is of IE origin it is not necessary to document all IE parallels. It will be enough to say : " IE, cf. Lat. *māter* etc.", and then give a reference to any one of the many books which list all IE " mother " parallels.

3. A special problem that Mayrhofer had to face in his new dictionary was how much information he might consider adequate to inform his reader that a given lexeme was of Indoiranian origin. In the case of OIA words this information is important. It would have been very convenient for this purpose if he could avail himself of a single book as he could do for Indian by referring the reader to Turner's dictionary. In its absence, Mayrhofer decided to cite a single Iranian parallel to indicate Indoiranian origin of an OIA lexeme and give, in addition, for each such case, the source of the most detailed available secondary literature.

4. As for the information on the earlier etymological explanations of the words dealt with, Mayrhofer has already clearly stated that he is not at all

in favour of withholding such information from the readers. What is required is brevity. In view of the very large number of early explanations one should, as far as possible, only indicate earlier collections where detailed etymological explanations can be easily found. Mayrhofer points out that many modern etymological dictionaries are lucky in having predecessors which contain detailed information on secondary literature. But when he wrote his *KEWA* he did not enjoy such benefit. The only complete etymological dictionary then available was that of C. C. Uhlenbeck's *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam, 1898/9), and even this did not make mention of secondary literature. All the other attempts made in this direction remained unfinished. The situation has, since, changed. The one reason that encouraged Mayrhofer to take on himself the difficult task of writing a new dictionary was that he was now in a position to cite for bibliographical references, besides other reference works, his own *KEWA*.

Mayrhofer has thus made it abundantly clear that the etymological dictionary that he is presenting is not an 'ideal' one but a 'practicable' one which he can think of completing in the foreseeable future. His new dictionary, which he anticipates to run into three volumes,[17] gives, wherever possible, under each lemma the follwing information:

1. Single words or word-families appear at the beginning of each entry. Not only isolated words are given an independent lemmata, but also derivatives whose formation or semantics is of special interest or whose relationship is not certain appear independently. Hence, although *áṁsatra-* and *áṁsiya-* are given under *áṁsa-* 'shoulder', *aṁsadhrī-* and *aṁsalá-* are recorded as independent lemmata. Similarly, although *agratás* and *agriyá-* are listed under *ágra-* 'tip', *agrimá-* appears as an independent entry. Primary derivatives are listed under verbal roots from which they are derived. Thus *ajá-*, *°ájana-*, *ajirá-*, *ájma-*, *ájman-* are all listed under *AJ*[18] 'drive, move

---

[17] Of these the first two volumes dealing with older Sanskrit have already: appeared (see above f. n. *. To date, first four fascicules of Vol. III giving words of later Sanskrit (*aṁhati-* to *piñcha-*) have also appeared (1997 – 1998).

[18] Mayrhofer prints verbal roots in capital letters. He gives them in their full grade form as *AY* (not *I* 'to go', *TAR* (not *TṜ̄*) 'to cross, overcome', *BHED* (not *BHID*) 'to split' etc. He gives the traditional forms, set up by Saṇskrit grammarians, as dummy entries with a reference to their corresponding full grade form entries (e. g. *I* see *AY* etc.). The nouns also appear in their full grade froms as *bhrā́tar-* (not *bhrā́tṛ-*), *bṛhánt-* (not *bṛhat-*), *mahā́nt-* (not *mahat-*). In this case, Mayrhofer does not record the weak grade forms as dummy entries. In case of the stems in *-i-* and *-u-*, however, he makes an exception and gives *giri-* (not *giray-*), *gurú-* (not *gurav-*).

forward, throw' and do not occur as different lemmata. Even a word like *ā-yatana* 'fixed place' appears not as an independent entry, but under *YAT*.[19]

2. In the case of each word, whether it occurs as a head-word or is listed under it, it is stated in which text or text category the word first appears and whether or not it is attested beyond it. Thus *aṁhatí-* RV, *ádbhuta-* RV +, *dáśa* RV +, *daśín-* listed under *daśá*, BR +.

3. The next information pertains to the extent to which the OIA words have been inherited by modern Indian languages. As remarked above, in general, a reference to Turner is found sufficient for this purpose.

4. The next information is about the origin of a given lexeme.[20] If a word is not a borrowing from any of the non-Sanskritic languages,[21] it is important to know whether, in the first instance, it is of Indoiranian origin. As noted above, in principle, it was enough to cite a sure parallel from a single Iranian language to prove Indoiranian origin. Mayrhofer next informs the reader whether the word further goes back to the IE period. He shows the IE origin by inserting, wherever possible, a reconstruct. There is no better way, according to him, to indicate that the author has been quite clear about the phonological and inflexional processes involved in tracing the lexeme back to its original form, as also about the root structure and word formation of a comparison. As for citing IE parallels Mayrhofer felt that it was enough to document three or four attestations out of twelve IE languages. In addition, he gives reference to one of the many works where the reader can get full information on comparable forms.[22]

Mayrhofer assures his readers that in presenting the individual words of his new dictionary he has kept in mind the duty of an etymologist and

---

19 It would have been better to record *āyatana* and similar words as dummy entries.

20 In the new dictionary too, as in the old one, one comes across labellings like 'etymologisch unklar' (*aṁsalá-*), 'nicht befriedigend gedeutet' (*akudhryàk*), 'nicht überzeugend gedeutet (*ákūpāra-*) or even 'nach Form, Bedeutung und Herkunft unsicher' (*aṁsadhrī-*). Such labellings do not mean, as Bartholomae in his criticism of Uhlenbeck's dictionary thought (*IF* 12. Anz. 23), that such words defy explanations right from the start. Rather, they are indicative of a challenge to future research.

21 Mayrhofer includes among these MIA languages also.

22 For this purpose Mayrhofer has consulted a very wide range of secondary literature. This becomes clear from the very large number of bibliographical abbreviations given at the beginning of fascicule 10 of Vol. I (pp. XVI-LVIII) and fascicule 20 of Vol. II (pp. IX-XXIX).

taken into account the entire vocabulary, i. e. he has already studied the semantic areas of words, their synonyms, antonyms, homonyms and homeonyms. But since he was dealing with a large-corpus language like OIA, it was not feasible for him to present the dictionary itself into corresponding sections. It is therefore highly encouraging to know that Mayrhofer proposes to publish, after the completion of the third volume, a supplement on the " meaning areas " (*Bedenturgsfelder*) found in OIA.

Mayrhofer is thus all set to earn a unique distinction. - He will be the first etymologist to have to his credit, not one, but two completed etymological dictionaries of a large-corpus language with a supplement on " meaning areas ". One can only wish him god speed !

(V) Mahābhārata

MAHĀBHĀRATA STUDIES I

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

(1) *ākumāram*

While writing on *ākumāraṁ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ* in the *ABORI* 58–59, pp. 727 ff. (1978), Acharya Shri V. P. Limaye rightly draws attention to the fact that *ākumāram* in the above expression cannot mean 'upto children'[1] but that *kumāra* must refer to some place-name ('upto Kumāra country'). Shri Limaye therefore suggests to emend the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* and read *ākumāri* in place of *ākumāram* so that the expression could convey that Pāṇini's fame had spread as far as the southern-most tip of India, presently known as Kanyākumārī. Shri Limaye himself, however, makes it clear that no variant has been recorded in the *Mahābhāṣya* editions for *ākumāram*.

Now it is perhaps possible to say that the use of the expression *ākumāram* itself was the usual way, at least in the epic times, for conveying the sense of long distances. This becomes clear from the following few passages in the *Mahābhārata* :

(1) Duryodhana, on his return from the Rājasūya sacrifice, became very dejected for various reasons. Some of these are listed in the following stanza :

पार्थान् सुमनसो दृष्ट्वा पार्थिवांश्च वशानुगान् ।
कृत्स्नं चापि हितं लोकमाकुमारं कुरूद्वह ॥ 2. 43. 14.

Duryodhana began to become pale because, firstly, he saw the Pāṇḍavas well-pleased, secondly, the kings, assembled there, were obedient to the Pāṇḍavas, and, thirdly, the whole world was well-disposed towards them. In order to convey the very wide extent of the world (*lokam*), which in the present context would mean the Bhāratavarṣa, the author has used the expression *ākumāram* which must mean 'as far as the Kumāra (country)'. It

---

[1] Incidentally it may be noted that in the traditional explanation of this expression the meaning of *kumāra* 'child' (*bāla*) is expressly stated very late in the commentary *Ratnaprakāśa* (*yad bālān api sambadhnāti*) on p. 349 of the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa-Vyākhyānāni*, part IV, ed. by M. S. Narasimhacharya, Pondichery, 1977. (I am thankful to Dr. G. B. Palsule for this information.) It cannot be stated definitely that this meaning was intended by Patañjali. Even in the wording of *Pradīpa* (*kumārān api yaśaḥ prāptam*) or of *Uddyota* (*kumārarūpā maryādā*), the word *kumāra* could refer to some place-name.

is most unlikely that *ākumāram* here means 'down to the children'[2] because Duryodhana could have impossibly noticed children in the gathering that had come together for the Rājasūya and hence could say that even children were well-disposed to the Pāṇḍavas. Moreover Duryodhana is not particularly likely to be jealous of the Pāṇḍavas on seeing even children favourable to them, but certainly on noticing that the people upto the (very distant) land of Kumāra were so disposed towards the Pāṇḍavas.[3]

(2) अद्यैव तद्विदितं पार्थिवानां
भविष्यति आकुमारं च सूत ।
निमग्नो वा समरे भीमसेन
एकः कुरून् वा समरे विजेता ॥ 8. 54.18.

Bhīmasena tells his charioteer Viśoka that that very day the kings would know that either he himself had gone down in the confrontation, or he alone had conquered the Kurus. He says that the kings coming from 'as far as the Kumāra (country)' would come to know that fact.

In this context it is hard to believe that Bhīmasena declared that the fact would be known by the kings on the battle-field and by the young princes at home *that very day*. What happened on the battle-field would be known on that very day only to the kings who had gathered there from far and wide. The expression *ākumāram*, therefore, has to be interpreted as referring to some distant place and not to a child.[4]

(3) When Bhīma points out to Yudhiṣṭhira how difficult it is going to be for the Pāṇḍavas to remain unknown during the period of the *ajñātavāsa*, about himself he says :

मां चापि राजञ्जानन्ति आकुमारमिमाः प्रजाः ।
अज्ञातचर्यां पश्यामि मेरोरिव निगूहनम् ॥ 3. 36. 27.

In this connection too *ākumāram* has to be understood as indicative of wide geographical area. There is no point in saying that even children knew Bhīma and hence it would be difficult for him to remain unknown; it would be more to the point if he were to say that since he was known far and wide, however far he might go from Hastināpura, people would recognize him.[5]

The above passages from the *Mahābhārata*[6] make it clear that the word *kumāra* in the expression *ākumāram* in them should be understood to

---

[2] As translated by van Buitenen.

[3] *ākumāram* in *māṁ vā lokāḥ kīrtayanty ākumāram* (8.54. 19) is also to be understood as 'upto the Kumāra (country).' P. C. Roy, however, translates 'beginning with the feats of my earliest years'.

[4] But P. C. Roy translates 'including the very children'

[5] van Buitenen, however, 'down to the kids'.

[6] Also cf. 11. 9. 8; 8. 30. 12 (very peculiar is the expression *ākumāraḥ smarāmy aham* where *ākumāra-* is an adjective).

refer to some place-name far from Hastināpura. About its exact identification we may not be certain now. It may refer to the Kumāra-viṣaya in the east whose king Śreṇimant was conquered by Bhīmasena (*Mbh.* 2. 27. 1) and which lay near Cedi and the Kosala countries[7]; or it may refer to the Kumāra-tīrtha (in the south ?) referred to in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 3. 13. 86[8].

All this is not said to assert that *ākumarām* cannot mean 'up to the children.' In suitable contexts it can very well do so. In the *Mahābhārata* itself where *ākumāram* is used with reference to *nagara* or *pura* it means 'upto the children'. E. g. आकुमारं नरव्याघ्र तत्पुरं वै समन्ततः। आर्तनादं महच्चक्रे 9. 1. 16; also 1. 118. 30.

(2) A Few Cases of Internal Incongruity in the Sabhāparvan.

(i) Enumeration of the Gandharvas in the Indrasabhā.

In the Sabhāparvan, Nārada, at the request of Yudhiṣṭhira, describes for him the Halls (*sabhā*) of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Brahman (Adhyāyas 7–11). When this description is over, Yudhiṣṭhira in stanzas 43–48 of Adhyāya 11 recounts the special features of all the five *sabhās* as described to him by Nārada. When he comes to the Indrasabhā he says : "Oh sage, you have *enumerated* for the *sabhā* of Śatakratu the gods, the Gandharvas *in brief*, and the different great seers."[9] When we compare the information contained in this stanza with the contents of the constituted text of Adhyāya 7 which describes the Indrasabhā, we find that the gods and the various sages are, indeed, enumerated, but as for the Gandharvas there is only a *general* reference to them,[10] along with the Apsarās, and they have not been enumerated even briefly. A *general* reference to the Gandharvas (and the Apsarās) is found in the descriptions of all the *sabhās*[11] and therefore it cannot be looked upon as a special feature of the Indrasabhā. On the other hand, it is for the Kuberasabhā that the Apsarās[12] and the Gandharvas[13] are *enumerated* in details. This can thus be a special

7 Among those people who brought tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya are listed the *Kundamānāḥ*. For this reading adopted in the critical edition (2. 48. 13) there is a variant *Kumārāś ca*. Since the word occurs with Kāśmīrāḥ, the Kumāras, mentioned here, could be from the north-west.

8 कौमारं च सरः पुण्यं नागभोगाभिरक्षितम्। कुमारतीर्थे स्नात्वा तु त्रिदिवं याति मानवः ॥

9 *śatakratusabhāyāṁ tu devāḥ saṁkīrtitā mune / uddeśataś ca gandharvā vividhāś ca maharṣayaḥ //* 2. 11. 47. Devabodha glosses *uddeśaḥ saṁkṣepaḥ*. van Buitenen, however, 'distinctly'.

10 *tathaivāpsaraso rājan gandharvāś ca manoramāḥ ... ramayanti sma nṛpate devarājaṁ śatakratum* 2. 7. 21.

11 2. 8. 35 (of Yama), 2. 9. 23 (of Varuṇa), 2. 11. 19, 36 (of Brahman).

12 2. 10. 10–11; also *111, *112.

13 2. 10. 14–17. Stanza 14 mentions two classes of Gandharvas – those that are named 'Kiṁnara' and those that are named 'Nara'. The listing that follows seems to enumerate the Gandharvas of the 'Kiṁnara' type. It is likely that this listing concluded somewhere and then followed another list viz. that of the Yakṣas (cf. st. 18).

feature of the *sabhā* of Kubera, and Yudhiṣṭhira, while mentioning the special features of the *sabhā* of Kubera, does make a reference to it.[14] Yudhiṣṭhira's saying that Nārada had briefly enumerated the Gandharvas for the Indrasabhā is thus not in harmony with the text that has been admitted into the critical edition.

But if one looks to the passages marked with the asterisk relegated to the foot-notes one finds that the north-eastern group (except the Nepālī version) has, indeed, a *brief* listing of the Gandharvas :- *viśvāvasuś citrasenaḥ sumanas taruṇas tathā* *86.[15] The southern recension too has a listing of the Gandharvas : *viśvāvasuś citrasenaḥ pravatas tumbarus tathā* *87.[16] Since the listing is not found in *all* the versions, the editor of the Sabhāparvan has not admitted it into the constituted text; but since the stanza placed in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira which says that Nārada had made a brief listing of the Gandharvas for the Indrasabhā is found in *all* the versions it has been admitted into the critically constituted text. This has led to an internal incongruity which must form the subject of higher criticism.

There could be two ways of setting aside the incongruity : (1) First, we may assume that the listing of the Gandharvas for the Indrasabhā was not there in the ur-text considered to be at the basis of all the versions and hence a reference to its brief listing in the third quarter of the stanza put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira was also not there. When, at a later stage, the listing was added in the southern and the north-eastern (except the Nepālī version) recensions, the third quarter of the stanza of Yudhiṣṭhira was also suitably modified in order to indicate this listing.[17] Later, only this stanza of Yudhiṣṭhira in its modified form, that is as it now appears in the critical edition, got into the north-western recension and the Nepālī version due to contamination. Whosoever was responsible for this contamination remained ignorant of the resulting incongruity. (2) Or, we have to assume that a short listing of the Gandharvas for the Indrasabhā did occur in the ur-text and, consequently, a reference to it in the third quarter of Yudhiṣṭhira's stanza, as we now find it, was also there. Later, this brief listing for the Indrasabhā was dropped in the North-western recension and the Nepālī version, probably because the enumeration of the Gandharvas (and the Apsarās) was thought fit for the *sabhā* of Kubera, and not of Indra. But it was overlooked that the dropping of this brief listing of the Gandharvas

---

14 *tathā dhanapateḥ ... gandharvāpsarasaś caiva* (*kathitāḥ*) 2. 11. 45.

15 Of course with some variant readings.

16 *87 also contains a list of the Apsarās.

17 How this third quarter looked like in the ur-text before it was modified is hard to say.

from the Indrasabhā would lead to an internal incongruity and hence the third quarter of 2. 11. 47 was allowed to stand as it is.[18]

(ii) Bṛhadratha's retirement to the forest.

Kṛṣṇa, while narrating to Yudhiṣṭhira about Bṛhadratha, the father of Jarāsaṁdha, has the following to report : Bṛhadratha went with his two wives to meet the sage Caṇḍakauśika who once happened to take his residence on the outskirts of the king's capital. The king satisfied the sage with gifts of choice things. The sage thereupon asked the king to choose a boon. The king, who was feeling despondent due to lack of progeny, said to the sage : " Revered Sir, *having left the kingdom* I have already started for the penance grove. What do I, an unfortunate person, need a boon for ? What is the use of the kingdom to me who am without a progeny ? "[19]

This stanza is incongruous with what we read of the story before. Earlier there is no mention of the king's *having left* the kingdom (*rājyam utsṛjya*).[20] We have been certainly told that the king had become old,[21] but in the constituted text we are not told that he had abdicated the kingdom.

Once again we notice that this incongruity disappears if we admit into the constituted text the portion relegated to the footnote (numbered 178) and which is found only in the Southern recension. It reads as : *sa bhāryābhyāṁ saha tadā nirvedam agamad bhṛśam / rājyam cāpi parityajya tapovanam athāśrayat / vāryamāṇaḥ prakṛtibhir nṛpabhaktyā viśām pate /*

It is in this portion that we are told of the king's abdication against the wishes of his subjects.

We have again with us two possibilities : (1) Either we assume that the account of Bṛhadratha's abdication was there in the ur-text and hence also the stanza 2.16.26 which refers to it, and that this account was later dropped in the entire northern recension for some reason.[22] The stanza 26, however, could not be dropped because it is related to the following stanza (2.16.27) which begins with *etac chrutvā*, and hence it must be preceded by

---

18 Only the Kaśmīrī version has made a clumsy attempt to remove the incongruity by replacing *uddeśatas tu* by *vidyādharas tu*. The Devanagarī group allied to the Kaśmīrī version has not followed suit apparently because Vidyādharas too are not listed for the Indrasabhā.

19 *bhagavan rājyam utsṛjya prasthitasya tapovanam /*
kiṁ varenālpabhāgyasya kiṁ rājyenāprajasya me // 2. 16. 26

20 van Buitenen seems to try to get over the incongruity by translating *rājyam utsṛjya* as ' who will give up his kingdom ', but that is hardly possible.

21 *tasya yauvanam atyagāt* 2. 16. 20.

22 Could it be that the account of abdication was dropped because it was considered improper for a king to abdicate without appointing a suitable heir to the kingdom or making some other arrangement for the proper administration ? Cf. how Jarāsaṁdha orders Sahadeva's anointment before he accepts the challenge posed to him by Kṛṣṇa.

a stanza (2.16.26) which contains the king's reply. It was therefore allowed to stand without modification in spite of the resulting incongruity.

That the ur-text contained an account of the king's abdication as we find it in the Southern recension, but later dropped from the Northern one, is shown by the fact that in the constituted text we have further a stanza in which the sage asks the king ' to return ' (to his kingdom) besides telling him ' to go '.[23] This *nivartana* must have a reference to the sage's asking the king to retrace his step of abdication and not just to his going back to the city from where he had come out to meet the sage.

(2) Or else, we have to suppose that the abdication account was absent in the ur-text and that it was added later in the Southern recension alone with stanza 26 which makes a reference to it. Subsequently only this stanza in its present form got into the Northern recension due to contamination, but not the account of the abdication itself.

It will be seen that in both the above examples of internal incongruity the explanation based on later ' addition ', is cumbrous and that in both cases we can give some ground to support the ' omission ' theory. Hence we have to choose the explanation based on later omissions.

It is true that, generally speaking, when we are confronted with passages that are not found in all the recensions it is safe to assume that here we stand face to face with passages *added later* in the versions which have them, and not with the passages which are *omitted later* from the versions which do not have them. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar observes : " There is then the question of the " additional " passages, that is, passages found in only one of the rival recensions. There is only one rational way of dealing with these ' additional ' passages : they must be carefully segregated from the rest of the text, and examined individually. The onus of proving the *originality* of these " additional " passages will naturally rest on him who alleges the *originality* : the documents speak naturally against them, but their evidence is not by any means conclusive "[24] (ital. mine).

In the case of the two internal incongruities noticed above it has been stated why we have to go against the normal practice and presume that the additional passages are the " original " ones, that is, we have to speak in favour of their later omissions, and not additions. It is at least possible to speak about the omission of certain stanzas in some versions, but it is obvious that we cannot speak of the addition of some stanzas in *all* the versions. For, that amounts to admitting that they were there in the original text itself.

---

[23] *gaccha rājan kṛtārtho' si nivarta manujādhipa* 2. 16. 39.

[24] *ABORI* XVI. 91 (1934–35).

NEMESIS AND SOME MAHĀBHĀRATA EPISODES*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (214–225) tells us about the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest. Once, when Kṛṣṇa was spending a few days with the Pāṇḍavas at Khāṇḍavaprastha, he and Arjuna asked for Dharmarāja's permission to go to the river Yamunā to spend there a day. While they were there Agni, in the form of a Brāhmaṇa, approached them and expressed his desire to burn the neighbouring Khāṇḍava forest. He requested them for help in fulfilling his desire. As Takṣaka Nāga, the friend of Indra, lived in that forest, the latter had foiled Agni's earlier attempts to burn down the forest. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna asked Agni to supply them with the weapons necessary to achieve this end and when that was done, Agni started to burn the forest. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna vigilantly guarded the outskirts of the forest and brutally killed all the Dānavas and other beings, as well as the beasts and the birds, that tried to flee for their lives from the forest. Those seeking escape were helplessly crying and weeping, but to no avail. Indra, as before, tried to extinguish the fire with the help of rain, but Arjuna had fully covered the forest with his arrows so that not even a drop of rain could reach the burning forest. Indra started to battle with Arjuna, but was told by the celestial voice that since his friend Takṣaka was safe in Kurukṣetra he should desist from further fighting. Indra, therefore, left the scene and the forest burned without any hindrance. It was burning for six days. Thousands lost their lives either through the fire or at the hands of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. The denizens of the forest are so listed in the epic :

dānavā rākṣasā nāgās tarakṣvṛkṣavanaukasaḥ /
dvipāḥ prabhinnāḥ śārdūlāḥ siṁhāḥ kesariṇas tathā //
mṛgāś ca mahiṣāś caiva śataśaḥ pakṣiṇas tathā /
samudvignā visasṛpus tathānyā bhūtajātayaḥ // (1. 219. 1–2).

Almost all of them died in the holocaust. Only seven remained alive : (1) Nāga Takṣaka ; (2) his son Aśvasena ; (3) Asura Maya : (4–7) four young birds (Śārṅgas). The first, because he was not present in the Khāṇḍava, the rest, because they could, or were allowed to, escape.

* This is an English version of the authors's original article in Marathi published in the *Navabharat*, November 1982.

...35

Dr. Mrs. Iravati KARVE was perhaps the first to call attention[1] to this cruel slaughter of the denizens of the Khāṇḍava forest. She has tried to explain the slaughter in two ways : (1) The birds and beasts killed were not really birds and beasts but were human beings with certain birds and beasts for their totems (*devakas*). The forest was burnt down for farming, and it was necessary to see that none of the natives living in the forest survived to claim the ownership of the land. Hence every one had to be killed.[2] (2) In her second explanation, Mrs. KARVE suggests that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna did not feel any scruples in killing the residents of the forest since they looked upon them as aliens. The rules implicitly adopted by the Kṣatriyas for fairness in war – such as prohibition of killing one who has no weapons, who is running away for life, who is crying for help[3] – need be observed only within one's in-group, i. e. while fighting with those who were looked upon as 'one's own', and not with the aliens. But this explanation, as noted by Mrs. KARVE herself, is not satisfactory since the Nāgas at any rate could not be looked upon as aliens by those born in the house of the Kurus. Mrs. KARVE, then, asks a question, but fails to come up with a clear answer : Did Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna feel that the people and the animals living in the forest were fit to be burned down or butchered by powerful weapons? It is time the answer 'yes', however unpalatable, is explicitely stated. Instead of trying to save living beings from fire, these two heroes did everything to throw them back into it. The author of the Mahābhārata is outspoken in his description. He records that Arjuna laughed smugly when he saw pieces of birds, cut down by his arrows, fell into the fire (1. 217. 11). This was an extremely cruel act. It is strange that none of the women who went to the river-side with Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna objected to what the two were doing. Even Yudhiṣṭhira, who permitted Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to spend a day at Yamunā, did not ask them on return why they stayed away for six days, and if he knew what had happened, as he must have, ask the two an explanation. The question about the justness of this act has apparently never been raised in our history.

One wonders whether the persons responsible for such heinous acts escaped without punishment. We have been tirelessly told in our moral exhortations that

1. In the chapter on Mayasabhā in her book Yugānta (in Marāṭhī) pp. 128ff.

2. Mrs. KARVE has not made it clear why she disfavours this explanation. We may think of a few grounds to reject this theory. (1) First, the forest was so large it took six days to burn down. Hence it was not impossible to preserve a part of it and burn the rest for agriculture ; (2) Aśvasena, the only Nāga who escaped, never came forward to claim his land ; (3) It does not appear that the area surrounding the Khāṇḍavaprastha was so thickly populated that it was necessary to burn down a big forest for making land available for agriculture ; (4) Finally, if the forest was burnt for using it as a farm-land why did the author of the Mahābhārata not say it so plainly ?

3. These are, e. g., made explicit in Mbh. 6. 1. 26 ff.

one has to suffer the fruits of one's bad conduct. Did this law of retribution remain suspended in the case of these two powerful persons? No, it does not seem so. The events in the Mahābhārata show that the Pāṇḍavas had to suffer for the misdeeds of Arjuna connived at by them – they suffered almost the same way, perhaps, even more cruelly. We cannot possibly overlook the connection between the events — the one narrated above and those to be narrated below.

* * *

Duryodhana fell on the battle-field when he was struck down by Bhīma. He was no more able to stand on his feet. From the point of view of the Pāṇḍavas the war had ended. Yudhiṣṭhira felt that he was now the ruler of the earth.

All the warriors on the side of the Pāṇḍavas went to Duryodhana's camp and looted it. All of them then decided to spend the night in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas; but Kṛṣṇa suggested that he, together with the Pāṇḍavas and Sātyaki, stay away as they had to perform some auspicious ceremony. The Mahābhārata does not tell us what this ceremony was, and how it was performed. It makes only a casual reference to it in the following words:

athābravīn mahārāja vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ /
asmābhir maṅgalārthāya vastavyaṁ śibirād bahiḥ //
tathety uktvā ca te sarve pāṇḍavāḥ sātyakis tathā /
vāsudevena sahitā maṅgalārthaṁ yayur bahiḥ // (9.61.35–36).

Although Kṛṣṇa suggested that the Pāṇḍavas should stay away for the performance of an auspicious ceremony, it is quite clear that this was only a pretext. He was aware that Aśvatthāman was up to some evil design. He told this clearly to Dhṛtarāṣṭra when he was deputed by the Pāṇḍavas to console Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī.[4] He said:

āpṛcche tvāṁ kuruśreṣṭha mā ca śoke manaḥ kṛthāḥ /
drauṇeḥ pāpo 'sty abhiprāyas tenāhaṁ sahasotthitaḥ /
pāṇḍavānāṁ vadhe rātrau buddhis tena pradarśitā // (9.62.68).

When Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa, and Kṛtavarman meet Duryodhana lying wounded on the battle-field, Aśvatthāman, in a fit of anger, vows to kill the Pāñcālas. At the instance of Duryodhana, Kṛpa consecrates Aśvatthāman as the commander of Duryodhana's forces, which means that from the point of view of the Kauravas the war had not ended. While Aśvatthāman anxiously ponders

4. One only does not know why he did not caution the Pāṇḍavas against the possible danger to their lives.

over how to fulfil his vow, the way is shown to him by an owl who kills the crows in their nests at night. Aśvatthāman then decides to kill the Pāṇḍavas and the Pāñcālas at night while they are asleep in their camp. Aśvatthāman enters the camp of the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman stand guard at the gate of the camp. Aśvatthāman is now on his killing-spree, his first victim being Dhṛṣṭadyumna. He then starts killing others who are unarmed and not properly prepared for a fight. In the darkness, he finds out his victims by their cries for help. Those that try to escape from him are taken care of at the gate by Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman. Their victims too are unarmed and unprepared and are, in fact, seeking for mercy with folded hands. But all this is of no avail. No one escapes them. All the principal warriors on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and the Pāñcālas, including the sons of Draupadī, are slain; no one who slept in the camp that night remained alive to see the light of the day next morning.

When Aśvatthāman finally leaves the camp it is quiet, exactly as it was when he entered it the previous night – albeit with a difference.

The only ones who remain alive on the side of the Pāṇḍavas are those who were not in the camp (Kṛṣṇa, Sātyaki, and the five Pāṇḍavas), and, in addition, the charioteer of Dhṛṣṭadyumna who, apparently, had a miraculous escape.

This charioteer relates to Yudhiṣṭhira about thr cruel killings in the camp. One just cannot imagine the condition of the Pāṇḍavas on hearing this ghastly news.

This incident in the camp runs parallel to the incident in the Khāṇḍava forest. It is hardly necessary to comment on them. The similarities between the two stare us in the face.

(1) Agni alone entered the Khāṇḍava forest and burnt the living beings that came his way; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna stood outside and killed those who tried to escape.

Aśvatthāman alone entered the camp of the Pāṇḍavas and killed those he could lay his hands on; Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman stood out and killed those who tried to escape from Aśvatthāman.

(2) Agni does not seem to have told Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to kill the beings running out to save lives; his only request to the two heroes was that they should foil Indra's attempt to extinguish the fire.

Aśvatthāman also has not told his companions to kill those who might try to run away from the camp. In fact he boasts that no one will escape him. He may have, however, expected Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman to stop any one who tried to enter the camp to help those inside it.

(3) Only six beings escaped alive from the holocaust – Aśvasena, Maya, and the four young ones of Śārṅga ; and one more, the Nāga Takṣaka, remained alive as he was not present in the forest – a total of seven.

Only one could escape alive from the holocaust at the camp ; and seven others – Kṛṣṇa, Sātyaki, and the five Pāṇḍavas – remained alive as they were not present in the camp – a total of eight.

(4) The Khāṇḍava forest enjoyed the protection of Indra ; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna defeated his attempt to extinguish the fire.

God Śaṅkara, in the form of a gigantic being, protected the camp of the Pāṇḍavas ; Aśvatthāman himself praised Śaṅkara and obtained entry into the camp.

(5) Kṛṣṇa receives from Agni the famous Sudarśana disc, and Arjuna the famous Gāṇḍīva bow and two inexhaustible quivers.

Śaṅkara himself enters the body of Aśvatthāman to confer on him super-human strength and also presents him an excellent sword.

(6) The author of the Mahābhārata says that when the fire began to burn the forest it appeared as if the age had come to an end (*yugānta* 1. 216. 32)

The author says that one had exactly similar feelings when killing took place in the camp (10. 8. 137).

(7) A Celestial Voice which dissuaded Indra from continuing his fight with Arjuna also indicated that the destruction of the Khāṇḍava forest was 'predestined' (*diṣṭam* 1. 219. 18).

God Śaṅkara tells Aśvatthāman that the Pāñcālas have been humbled by Kāla and can no longer remain alive (*abhibhūtās tu kālena* 10. 7. 63).

These similarities between the incidents related to the forest-fire and the camp-killings are so striking that they lead one to suspect that there is some relation between the two. The author of the Mahābhārata, presumably, indicates this relationship by comparing Aśvatthāman, about to enter the camp of the Pāṇḍavas with the fire burning down a forest of dried up trees (*kakṣam dīpta ivānalaḥ* 10. 3. 28). The Pāṇḍavas fought the Kauravas with a view to regaining the kingdom that was theirs and incidentally, fulfil the vows they had taken on various occasions. The joy and the satisfaction which they may have felt at the fall of Duryodhana turned out to be too short-lived. Yudhiṣṭhira's sense of total frustration is reflected in his words : " although we conquered the enemies, it is

we who are defeated" (10.10.9). The author of the epic observes on the catastrophic episode as: "undoubtedly the destined course of events cannot be changed" (10.8.143).[5]

Every reader of the Mahābhārata is moved by the destruction in the camp. That is as it should be. But no one seems to have any tears to shed for those numberless victims from the Khāṇḍava forest who were either burnt down or killed by the weapons for no fault at all. Aśvatthāman is rightly criticised for his cruelty, but it can be said that he wanted to wreak vengeance for the killing of his father. But the acts of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna can in no way be motivated, let alone justified. But no one apparently has found fault with them, either in the epic or elsewhere in the course of the history. Shall we say that the people, since the time of the Mahābhārata, gained in antiquity but not in moral sensibility?

But whether one has asked or not Kṛṣṇa or Arjuna for explanation of their action, the law of retribution had run its regular course. The Khāṇḍava forest was mercilessly burnt down and those responsible for it invited on themselves punishment. Arjuna laughed when he cut down the birds and let them fall into the raging fire; with incomparable grief he heard the killing of those near and dear to him.

* * *

In burning down the Khāṇḍava forest Agni was helped by Kṛṣṇa. The Mahābhārata tells us that this mighty personage of the epic did not escape the working of the law of *karman*.

The third unfortunate incident is narrated in the Mausala Parvan of the epic. It took place outside Dvārakā, near Prabhāsa. Thet incident may not be called cruel but it was certainly tragic.

Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and many Yādavas, accompanied by their wives and children, went for pilgrimage to the sea-shore. Under the influence of intoxicant drinks they began to abuse one another. This took a serious turn leading to a massacre. It is significant to note that the mutual recrimination began with a reference to the incident that took place in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas described above. Sātyaki first reproved Kṛtavarman for killing the persons who were asleep.[6] And the killing which started at this charge stopped only when all the Yādavas assembled on the sea-shore, including Sātyaki, Pradyumna, and

5. *asaṁśayaṁ hi kālasya paryāyo duratikramaḥ*

6. As a matter of fact, this blame should go to Aśvatthāman. But one has to remember that Sātyaki was under the influence of wine while blaming Kṛtavarman.

Aniruddha, were slain. The Yādavas were so far intoxricated and furious that while killing one another the father did not spare the son, nor the son the father. Like the animals who died in the Khāṇḍava forest, or the heroes who were butchered in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas, the Yādavas too were goaded to this fate by Time (*kālaparyāyacoditāḥ* 16. 4. 29).

No one from outside Dvārakā had come to carry out the killings. There was therefore no question of any one trying to flee (16. 4. 41).

Only two Yādavas remained alive – Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Balarāma met with his end when a Nāga (cobra) left his body and entered the occan. Kṛṣṇa's life came to an end when a hunter, mistaking him to be a deer, struck him on the sole of his foot with an arrow.

The river Yamunā stood witness to the conflagration in the Khāṇḍava, the ocean to the destruction of the Yādavas. Kṛṣṇa had to helplessly suffer the sight of annihilation. It is highly ironical that Kṛṣṇa, who was responsible for killing the animals of the Khāṇḍava, was himself mistaken to be a deer and killed. His last wish to end his life while practising penance remained unfulfilled.

The Yādavas had to suffer yet another ignominy. As desired by Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna left with the remaining Yādavas and the women-folk for Hastināpura. On way, they were attacked by the Ābhīras. Arjuna could not protect those in his the charge. The Ābhīras kidnapped the Yādava women, and what was worse, some women even lusted and willingly went with them (16. 6. 17).

The Mahābhārata says that the Yādavas were destroyed due to the curse of a sage. It also is on record that Gāndhārī had cursed Kṛṣṇa to that effect. But one gets the feeling that Kṛṣṇa, very much like Arjuna, invited on himself the punishment as an act of retribution. The Yādavas are described as *devadaṇḍanipīḍitāḥ* (16. 2. 5).

It this way, one supposes, that one ought to interpret the three harrowing episodes in the Mahābhārata.

DRAUPADĪ'S QUESTION*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE §

In the *Mahābhārata* the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas—or rather Śakuni and Yudhiṣṭhira—play the game of dice twice. Towards the end of the first game, Yudhiṣṭhira first stakes his brothers, then himself, and finally Draupadī, and loses all the games. In the game of the dice that takes place between Nala and Puṣkara, the latter suggests to Nala to stake his wife Damayantī,[1], but he does not oblige. Yudhiṣṭhira too could have rejected Śakuni's suggestion to stake Draupadī, but he does not, stakes and loses her, and puts her at the mercy of the Kauravas.

After Yudhiṣṭhira loses Draupadī's stake, many things happen in the Assembly Hall. And all that takes place ends, according to the *Mahābhārata* version available today, as follows: at a particular instant a jackal suddenly began to howl in the Agnihotra hall of Dhṛtarāṣṭra ; he was joined by donkeys and some other ferocious birds. Hearing these ill omens Vidura and Gāndhārī got frightened. They approached Dhṛtarāṣṭra and made him understand the forebodings. Instantly Dhṛtarāṣṭra took Duryodhana to task for having summoned Draupadī to the Assembly Hall, and offered Draupadī a boon of her choice. Draupadī asked, first the freedom from bondage for Yudhiṣṭhira, and, when a second boon was offered her, the freedom of the rest of the four Pāṇḍavas. Dhṛtarāṣṭra offered her a third boon ; but Draupadī politely declined it saying that only two boons were meet for a Kṣatriya woman (*dvau tu kṣatrastriyā varau* 2.63.35).

Reading this account one is inclined to believe that all that was happening in the Assembly Hall came to a halt and the Pāṇḍavas got their freedom due to the howlings of the jackals and the donkeys. Here are a couple of expressions of this belief :

(1) Writing on the *Mahābhārata* in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Prof. M. Winternitz gives a brief account of the main narrative of the

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. No. 35, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 179-194

* Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society, Bombay, December 16, 1985. This is an English version of the author's original article in Marathi published in the Navabhārat, August, 1985.

§ Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

1. Mbh. 3.58.3.

epic. When he comes to the end of the incidents in the Assembly, he writes: "Whilst still further speeches are being exchanged, the loud cry of a jackal and other sounds of ill omen are heard in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's house. Terrified by these, the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra at last feels himself called upon to intervene." (p. 345). This means that the jackals and the donkeys were responsible for the intervention of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.[1]

(2) Shri Anand Sadhale in his book 'हा जय नावाचा इतिहास आहे' says at one place: "At this stage Fate, in the form of a donkey, came to the rescue of Draupadī.... One does not know how long this humiliation would have gone on, but just at that moment a donkey began to bray which foreboded evil .... Dhṛtarāṣṭra lost all courage due to those evil signs. He immediately restrained his sons to avoid the evil"[2] (p. 63).

The general belief thus is that the sounds uttered by certain animals foreboding calamity were responsible for putting a stop to Draupadī's humiliation and for freeing the Pāṇḍavas from bondage. This belief is not of recent origin. It is to be met with in the older poetic epitomes of the *Mahābhārata*, Here are a couple of examples:

(1) The *Bhāratamañjarī*: Kṣemendra wrote this poem in the first half of the eleventh century. Kṣemendra's description of the game of dice follows the one in the *Mahābhārata*. When Bhīma uttered his terrible vow to break the thigh of Duryodhana the jackals began to howl and flames of fire, covered with smoke, arose (2.435-437). Noticing these ill omens Vidura and Gāndhārī immediately held consultations with Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Soon Dhṛtarāṣṭra showered his favours on Yudhiṣṭhira and the latter started to go home from Hāstinapura. Kṣemendra does not expressly mention the boons conferred on Draupadī by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, but his description leaves no one in doubt that in his view it was the ill omens which gave a turn to the events happending in the Assembly Hall.

(2) The *Bālabhārata*: Amaracandra's *Bālabhārata* belongs to the thirteenth century. He too narrates that there were ill omens immediately after Bhīma's vow (2.5.61). Then Dhṛtarāṣṭra upbraided his eldest son and offered boons to Draupadī.

Since the order of the events in the Assembly Hall as reported in the *Mahābhārata* itself shows that the boons were granted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Draupadī

1 Similarly F. Edgerton: "At last evil omens forced Dhṛtarāṣṭra to intervene". *The Sabhāparvan*, Poona, 1944, p. xxvi.

२ "अशा प्रसंगी दैव अेका गाढवाच्या रूपानें द्रौपदीच्या साहाय्यास धावून आलें...ही विटंबना आणखी कुठवर चालती न कळे. पण तेवढयांत अेका गाढवानें अशुभसूचक अशा आवाजांत रेकावयास सुरुवात केली. ... धृतराष्ट्राचा धीर त्या अशुभ शकुनानें अेकदम खचला. अशुभाचें निराकरण करण्यासाठीं म्हणून धृतराष्ट्रानें आपल्या पुत्रांना अेकदम आवरिलें."

immediately after the occurrence of the ill omens, there is little wonder a similar narration is found in the poetic compositions based on the *Mahābhārata*. Moreover, we find a second allusion in the *Mahābhārata* to these ill omens after the game of dice was over. It is reported this way :

After the first game of dice was over, the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas had a second round, and the defeated Pāṇḍavas left Hāstināpura for a twelve year's exile. In the capital, Dhṛtarāṣṭra began to feel nervous. Seeing his plight Saṁjaya said to him : "In spite of the protests of Bhīṣma and the others, Duryodhana forced Draupadī to come to the Assembly Hall. (You did not stop him then). You yourself have brought about this calamity. (Why do you feel nervous now ?) " Dhṛtarāṣṭra replied: "When the moment of disaster arrives, one is off one's guard. That is what happened to me. The children behaved stupidly and dragged Draupadī to the Hall. Duryodhana and Karṇa reviled her.[1] Then there were many bad omens. On the advice of Vidura I offered boons to Draupadī " (2.72.1-25).

Thus by repeating the mention of the occurrence of bad omens the *Mahābhārata* has provided for calling Dhṛtarāṣṭra himself to witness, should someone doubt that the events in the *Sabhā* took a dramatic turn on account of the cries of jackals and asses. The Pune edition of the *Mahābhārata* has admitted into the critical text the stanzas of bad omens at both the places in the *Sabhāparvan*. Nevertheless we have to look upon them as interpolations. For, if we do not, we have to assume that the basic question raised by Draupadī regarding her social status remained unresolved to the end. Apparently everybody seems to be convinced about this. Here are a few examples of this conviction :

(1) Prof. N. R. Phatak, in the first Volume of the new edition[2] of the Chiplunkar Mandali's Marathi translation of the *Mahābhārata*, observes : "The significant question which Draupadī had raised at this extremely critical moment could not be answered satisfactorily by any one. Therefore Dhṛtarāṣṭra managed somehow to get out of the fix by offering boons to Draupadī. " (p. 8)[3]

(2) An English translation of the *Sabhāparvan* by J.A.B. van Buitenen has recently been published.[4] He says in his introductory remarks : " 'Had Yudhiṣṭhira staked and lost himself', she asks, 'before he staked me' ? If so, he had lost his freedom and, as a slave of the Kauravas, no longer owned her to stake. There is much argument, but it remains inconclusive. " (p. 30).

---

1 In actual fact Duryodhana is not on record to have reviled Draupadī in the Hall.

2 Surekha Prakashan, Bombay, 1967.

3 " या विक्षलण आणीबाणीच्या वेळीं द्रौपदीनें जो एक मार्मिक प्रश्न विचारला त्याला समाधानकारक उत्तर कोणीच देवूं शकेना, यामुळें धृतराष्ट्रानें हा पेच कसाबसा द्रौपदीस वर देवून सोडविला "

4 The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, Vol. 2, 1975.

Prof. Phatak and Prof. Buitenen are thus in no doubt about the inconclusive nature of the debate. Who then gave the turn to the course of events ? According to Prof. Phatak this happened 'some how'. And Prof. Buitenen says : "In the end Dhṛtarāṣṭra rules that the last play was undecisive and that the game as a whole had been neither lost nor won. So Pāṇḍavas depart free and still rich men." (p. 30). Prof. Buitenen avoids making any reference to the ill omens and the boons granted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and says that Dhṛtarāṣṭra decided on his own that the game was neither lost nor won. I, for one do not know where in the *Sabhāparvan* or anywhere else Prof. Buitenen finds basis to make such statements.[1]

I, on the other hand, feel that we have definite evidence to say that Draupadī's question did not remain unresolved and hence we can assert that the impasse created in the *Sabhā* did not end with the howlings of the jackals and the asses, nor 'somehow' as Prof. Phatak wants us to believe. We can say that the peculiar situation which developed in the *Sabhā* ended because Draupadī's question was decisively answered. To understand this it is necessary carefully to look at the whole incident — the circumstances in which Draupadī's question arose, the persons who were supposed to answer it, the persons who actually did try to answer it, and the answer which finally settled the issue.

The narration in the *Sabhāparvan* runs as follows :

(1) When Śakuni wins the last game in which Draupadī is staked, Duryodhana assumes that she has become the slave and asks Vidura to bring her over to the Kauravas. When Duryodhana first tells Vidura "*Draupadīm ānayasva*" (2. 59. 1) he certainly does not mean "bring Draupadī to the Assembly Hall". He only wants her to be led to the Kaurava apartments to attend to the duties of the menial servants.

But, in the opinion of Vidura, Draupadī had not become a slave, hence he does not oblige.

(2) Duryodhana then entrusts the job to his messenger Prātikāmin. Prātikāmin tells Draupadī : "Duryodhana has won you in the game of dice. Hence I have come to take you to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's house to do the household jobs" (2. 60. 4).

This message conveyed to Draupadī clearly shows that Duryodhana, to begin with, had no mind to get Draupadī to the Assembly Hall, but wanted her to be taken to the house of the Kauravas.

1. More recently A. Hiltebeitel writing in a paper on "Draupadī's Garments" (IIJ 22.97, 1980) observes about the fate of this question as follows : "The question remains moot through the entire episode. To the wisest counsellers it is irresolvable, and it drives Yudhiṣṭhira to silence."

Draupadī, highly surprised to listen to what Prātikāmin had said, asks : " What do you say ? What prince will stake his wife ? Did the king lose his mind while playing, or did he not have anything left to stake ?" (2. 60. 5)

Prātikāmin replies : " When nothing was left with Yudhiṣṭhira, he staked you. First he staked his brothers, then himself, finally you. " (2. 60. 6).

Even after this clear reply, Draupadī says : " Go, messenger, to the Assembly Hall and ask the gambler (Yudhiṣṭhira) : ' Did you first lose yourself or me ? ' " (2. 60. 7).

It may appear at first sight strange that even when Prātikāmin had told Draupadī the order in which Yudhiṣṭhira had staked the Pāṇḍavas and his wife she asks him to go back to the Hall and ask the same question to Yudhiṣṭhira. But it is really not so. Draupadī had known the ordering of the stakes. And although the primary meaning of her question relates to the ordering, what she really demands to know is : If Yudhiṣṭhira had lost himself first, did he have the right to stake his wife ? If not, how has she become a slave ?

This is the first expression of what we generally refer to as ' Draupadī's Question '. She had first put the question to Yudhiṣṭhira—" Whom did you lose first, you or me ? " The real import of this question becomes clear from the way in which Prātikāmin conveys it to Yudhiṣṭhira.

(3) Prātikāmin returns to the Hall to convey to Yudhiṣṭhira the question posed by Draupadī. He tells him : " Draupadī has asked you to answer the following question : ' As whose master hast thou lost us ? Whom did you lose first, yourself or me ? ' " (2. 60. 8).

Yudhiṣṭhira does not reply. If it was a matter of just the ordering, there was no reason for him to keep quiet. The order of the stakes was clear, and it was known to one and all. The real point at issue was : Did Yudhiṣṭhira, who had already become a slave of the Kauravas, have the right to stake Draupadī ?

When Duryodhana first asked Prātikāmin to take Draupadī to the quarters of the Kauravas he had assumed, as probably everyone in the Assembly did, that Draupadī had lost her status as a free woman. But now, for the first time, he realizes that Draupadī does not agree to this position. She disputes the contention that she has become a slave. Duryodhana does not brush aside her viewpoint as irrelevant. He accepts that with Draupadī's question quite a new situation had arisen. He tacitly admits that her question is justified. If Draupadī has any doubt about her status as a slave, it is better, Duryodhana suggests, she came to the Assembly to get her question answered. If it is decided that she has, in fact, lost her freedom she could be sent to do the menial work.

It is Prātikāmin's lot again to take the message to Draupadī.[1]

(4) Now we expect the author of the epic to tell us what Draupadī had to say on the message brought by Prātikāmin, and also that Prātikāmin had to return to the *Sabhā* without Draupadī. But instead of being presented with these details we are confronted with a stanza which says that Duryodhana having observed the faces of the members sitting in the Hall was happy and said something to Prātikāmin (2.66.16 *tatas teṣām mukhaṃ ālokya rājā Duryodhanaḥ sūtam uvāca hṛṣṭaḥ*). But we really do not know why Duryodhana should take a look at the faces of the kings sitting there, why he should feel so happy about it, and when did Prātikāmin return to the Hall to be addressed by Duryodhana. There is no doubt that there is a gap in the narration, and we have to assume a few events in order to understand the above stanza. What we need to assume would be something as follows :

When Prātikāmin comes to Draupadī a second time in order to tell her that Yudhiṣṭhira does not answer her question and that Duryodhana therefore has asked Draupadī to go to the Assembly, she must have said : " I am not prepared to go to the Assembly. If Yudhiṣṭhira does not answer my question, put it to the Kauravas sitting in the Hall, and tell me what they have to say." Draupadī must have shifted the responsibility of answering her question from Yudhiṣṭhira to the Kauravas.

Prātikāmin then must have returned to the Hall to tell the Kauravas that Draupadī is not prepared to come to the Assembly, and expects them to answer her question. But when none of them openes his mouth to give a reply Duryodhana must have felt happy, for he can now ask Draupadī to come to the Hall and, instead of having the messenger go to and fro, get her question answered directly by the Kauravas (2.60.16).

Only if we make a little insertion like this. it is possible for us to understand why Duryodhana feels happy looking at the faces of the Kauravas in the Assembly.

(5) When Prātikāmin is entrusted with this errand a third time, he hesitates. The *Mahābhārata* tells us that he hesitated because he was afraid of Draupadī's anger (2.60.17). It is likely that he was upbraided by Draupadī when he went to her a second time. Hence instead of doing what Duryodhan wants him to do, he stays in the Hall asking the members, " What shall I tell Draupadī ?"

(6) Duryodhana misunderstands Prātikāmin's hesitation. He feels that Prātikāmin is afraid of Bhīma. So he asks Duḥśāsana to carry out the errand.

---

1 At this stage there occur two stanzas (2.60.14-15) in the *Mahābhārata* which are extremely inconsistent with the narration. We may neglect them for the purpose of this paper.

Duḥśāsana was as if waiting for this opportunity. He immediately rushes to the quarters where Draupadī stays, and instead of simply conveying to her Duryodhana's message, he starts speaking indecently to her. He says: "Draupadī, we have won you. Come to the Hall and, throwing decorum to the winds, have a look at Duryodhana, *kurūn bhajasva* (2. 60. 20)". Draupadī realizes there is no point in arguing with this man, so she hastens to the quarters where the women folk of the Kauravas lived. But Duḥsāsana restrains her by holding her flowing hair in his hand, and taking no note of her pitiful requests, ruthlessly drags her to the Assembly. Although she has made the issue of the assumption that she is a slave and although Duryodhana has admitted it, Duḥsāsana insults her by calling her time and again '*dāsī*'.

(7) Draupadi is now facing the elders in the Assembly. Duryodhana has got her there so that she may directly put her question to the Assembly and know her fate. But even before she formally puts the question to the elders, Bhīṣma assumes she has already done so, and begins his reply :

"Draupadī, I am unable to give a decisive answer to your question since the law is subtle. On the one hand, the rules of the game of dice say that one who has been deprived of all his property in the game is not entitled to stake any other property not belonging to him. Since Yudhiṣṭhira has lost himself first, Draupadī no longer belongs to him, hence he cannot stake her. On the other hand, a wife is always dependent on her husband, hence he can stake her. Since I am caught on the horns of the dilemma I cannot decide your case. Moreover, Yudhiṣṭhira did not say that there was any deception in the play. (If he did, we could cancel the game and nullify its effect.")

(8) Draupadī might have pinned high hopes on Bhīṣma. But when he disappoints her, she puts her question to the other Kauravas present in the Assembly.

When no one opens his mouth, Vikarṇa, Duryodhana's younger brother, exhorts the assembly members to give their impartial judgement. When his persistent pleas fall on deaf ears, he declares : "Whether you speak out or not, I am now going to say what in my opinion is just. And I declare that Draupadī has not been won (*manye na vijitām imām* 2.61.24). My opinion is based on the following grounds :

(1) Ground No. 1 : (i) Four addictions are listed as peculiar to a king, and gambling is one of them[1] ;

(ii) When one is under the influence of an addiction, one takes to an unlawful course ;

(iii) When Yudhiṣṭhira staked Draupadī he had lost control of himself ;

---

1 The other three being drinking, women, and hunting.

(iv) Therefore one may not grant recognition to what Yudhiṣṭhira has done under the influence of his addiction.

(2) Ground No. 2 : (i) It was not Yudhiṣṭhira's own idea to stake Draupadī ; that was Śakuni's suggestion ;

(ii) Even if Yudhiṣṭhira accepted this suggestion he was not entitled to stake Draupadī since he was not her only husband[1] ;

(iii) And even if, for argument's sake, one accepts his right, he could not exercise it since he had already staked himself first and lost ;

(iv) Hence Draupadī has not become a slave of the Kauravas ".

Only Vikarṇa among the Kauravas has pleaded Draupadī's case so cogently. He supports his plea both on general considerations and the particular one—the former being that the society is not bound to recognize the acts of a man who is under the influence of an addiction, and the latter being that a gambler who has lost himself first has no right to stake his wife later. Hence Vikarṇa's conclusion is that Draupadī is a free woman.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us that Karṇa replied to Vikarṇa.[2] But that is not important. What is important is that Duryodhana takes no note of Vikarṇa's view.

(10) Vidura now asks the members in the assembly to reply to Draupadī's question. That was their responsibility, he tells them.

However, no one speaks. Draupadī then reminds the members of the traditional law according to which no law abiding (*dhrmyā*) wife is forced to go to the Assembly to get her question answered (2.62.9). What Draupadī is driving at is that as long as her question—whether she has become a slave or not —is not decided she must be treated as a free woman. It was unlawful to force her to the Assembly and make her suffer indignities. It was therefore necessary first to take decision on her social status. She would abide by the ruling given by the Assembly.[3] Even then the members of the Assembly remain silent.

---

1 As, for example, Arjuna was of Subhadrā or Bhīma of Hiḍimbā.

2 Hiltebeitel thinks that Vikarṇa's view is based on three reasons, not two as said above. He also feels that Karṇa in his reply to Vikarṇa offers " a point for point rebuttal " (IIJ 22.98. 1980). It is difficult for me to agree to this. To me Karṇa's reply (2.61.31-36) seems so far removed from Vikarṇa's argument that I feel that the former must belong to some other version of the *Mahābhārata* in which Yudhiṣṭhira loses his belongings, brothers, himself, and his wife not piecemeal, but in a single game in which he staked his '*sarvasva*'.

3 At this stage Bhīṣma once again declares his inability to decide the issue. But that was not necessary.

(11) The proceedings thus appear to have come to a deadlock. Draupadī first puts her question to Yudhiṣṭhira. When he does not answer, she puts it to the Assembly. Now even the Assembly members do not speak. What is to be done ?

At this juncture Duryodhana comes forward and daringly gives a turn to the course of the events. He tells Draupadī : the Assembly members give no reply to you. Let us therefore suppose that you have addressed your question to the rest of the Pāṇḍavas—Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. If they declare that Yudhiṣṭhira was no lord of yours when he staked you, you will be a free woman. If Yudhiṣṭhira so feels, let him answer the question even now. All the Kauravas share your grief (*sarve hīme Kauraveyāḥ sabhāyāṁ duḥkhāntare vartmānās tavaiva* 2.62.27).

All the kings present in the assembly praise Duryodhana and waive their garments to show their approval of what Duryodhana had announced. Then they all turn their necks in the direction of the Pāṇḍavas to listen to what they have to say.

(12) When the noise made by the kings subsides Bhīma begins to speak. He says : " If Yudhiṣṭhira had not been our master, we would not have tolerated all this (insult). But Yudhiṣṭhira is the master of our meritorious acts, our austerities and lives. If he considers himself won then we too have also been won in dice. " (2. 62. 32-33).

Bhīma's reply is irrelevant. The real issue is whether Yudhiṣṭhira, after losing himself, has the right to stake Draupadī, whether in that condition he is any longer her master. This point has not been answered by Bhīma. He says that if Yudhiṣṭhira considers himself a slave, the rest of the Pāṇḍavas are slaves too. But no one has raised the question about the status of the Pāṇḍavas. That they were reduced to the state of slaves is well established because when Yudhiṣṭhira staked them, he had not lost himself. But Bhīma seems to say that it was not even necessary actually to stake the Pāṇḍavas; if Yudhiṣṭhira for any reason feels himself ' lost ', the Pāṇḍavas are lost too. Bhīma's reply is totally neglected in the assembly, and it deserved to be.

(13) Bhīma is followed by Karṇa. Actually he has no right to speak now. If at all he wanted to say something he should have done so when Draupadī had put her question to all the members in the Assembly. He does not speak then. Now Duryodhana has put the question specifically to the Pāṇḍavas, and it is they who have to answer, not Karṇa. But he intervenes and, like Vikarṇa[1], argues his case on the basis of certain grounds. He says :

1 Karṇa earlier refutes Vikarṇa's view and now puts forth his own view. Whether the opposition reflected in their names (Karṇa and Vikarṇa) is deliberate or accidental is hard to say.

(1) There are three categories of persons who are not supposed to own any property (*adhana*). They are : slaves, pupils, and women.[1]

(2) Accordingly a slave has no wealth of his own which he may use as a stake. But a slave's wife is his ' property '.

(3) Hence Yudhiṣṭhira, although a slave of the Kuravas, has Draupadī, his wife, as ' property ' which he can stake (2. 63. 1).

What Karṇa is driving at is that although, generally speaking, a slave has no property (and hence cannot participate in a game of dice), if he is married he has his wife as ' property ' which he may stake. Hence Yudhiṣṭhira is within his rights to stake Draupadī. This he did and lost the game. Hence Draupadī was a slave of the Kauravas.

Duryodhana just listens, as everybody else does, to what Karṇa has to say. But Duryodhana's decision now no longer rests on what Karṇa or, for that matter, any one else in the *sabhā* says. He has already declared that the ball was in the court of the Pāṇḍavas and that he would abide by their decision.

(14) Duryodhana, therefore, completely neglects Karṇa's reply although the reply was favourable to him. He once more invites the Pāṇḍavas to express their opinion.[2] He says : " I shall abide by the decision given by Bhīma, Arjuna, or the twins. Let the Pāṇḍavas say that Yudhiṣṭhira was no longer the lord of Draupadī when he staked her and I shall release Draupadī from the bondage " (2. 63. 20).

A very critical moment had arrived in Draupadī's life. Her fate—was she to spend the rest of her life as a slave of the Kauravas doing their menial jobs, or was she to lead the life as an independent, honourable woman ?—this question was in the balance. Duryodhana invited the Pāṇḍavas to decide the issue. Arjuna did not lose the golden opportunity.

(15) No sooner did Duryodhana end his speech, Arjuna began his. He said : " When the game of dice began Yudhiṣṭhira was our master. But once he has lost himself, whose master can he be ? Kauravas, you take note of this. " (*īśo rājā pūrvam āsīd glahe naḥ Kuntīputro dharmarājo mahātmā / īśas tv ayaṁ kasya parājitātmā taj janīdhvaṁ Kuravaḥ sarva eva //* 2. 63. 21).

Arjuna's reply is quite clear. " Whose master is defeated Yudhiṣṭhira ? " Of course, of none—not even of Draupadī.

---

1 According to Mbh 1. 77. 22, they are a wife, a slave and a son.

2 Before this, Vidura once again (2. 63. 18) expresses his opinion although nobody has asked him to do so. According to him Yudhiṣṭhira, once he had lost himself, had no right to stake Draupadī. This he has already told once before (2. 59. 4).

This reply of Arjuna resolves the deadlock in the Assembly. One of the Pāṇḍavas has clearly declared that when Yudhiṣṭhira staked Draupadī he was no longer her lord, (and hence he had no right to stake her). Even if he lost that stake, Draupadī had not become the slave of the Kauravas. After Arjuna's clear reply, it was unnecessary to ask any one else, nor to discuss any further the legality of the matter.

As already announced by Duryodhana, the Kauravas accept Arjuna's verdict. Without a moment's delay, Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks highly of Draupadī as the lawfully-wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas and his own very special daughter-in-law. Until that moment Draupadī was addressed as a '*dāsī*' and was humiliated. Against this background the good words spoken by Dhṛtarāṣṭra are particularly striking. Dhṛtarāṣṭra does not stop at merely speaking a few good words to please Draupadī. He offers her a boon. He, as an elderly Kaurava, is perfectly within his rights to do so, and Draupadī, on her part, fully deserves to receive the boon after having been humiliated for some time for no fault of her own. Draupadī asks relief of Yudhiṣṭhira from bondage, and when Dhṛtarāṣṭra offers her another boon, she asks for the relief of the rest of the Pāṇḍavas. All the Pāṇḍavas had become slaves of the Kauravas and it was necessary to secure their freedom. Draupadī does not ask for her own freedom because that is no longer necessary. After the reply of Arjuna it is accepted that she has not become a slave. If she is not a slave, why ask for her freedom? Hence when Dhṛtarāṣṭra offers Draupadī a third boon she politely declines it saying that only two boons are considered proper for a Kṣatriya woman.

When one carefully observes this sequence of events which occurred in the Assembly Hall one realizes that the turn which the events took was entirely due to the reply given by Arjuna. If that were not the case, and if the turn was given by the bad omens, we will have to assume that the basic question—whether or not Draupadī had become a slave—remained unresolved. In that situation Dhṛtarāṣṭra's honouring her as a lawfully-wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas and his own special daughter-in-law would be inappropriate. Moreover, in that case it would be necessary for Draupadī to ask her own freedom from slavery, since that question had remained undecided. But since nothing of the sort happens it is clear that nothing in the Assembly had happened due to the bad omens. What happened was due to the decisive reply given by Arjuna, and to the fact that this verdict was accepted by the Kauravas.

But the version of the *Mahābhārata* available today makes a mention of the bad omens immediately after Arjuna's reply. It is also said that Vidura and Gāndhārī, apprehensive of the ill omens, approached Dhṛtarāṣṭra and requested him to intervene. Naturally it has been assumed that Dhṛtarāṣṭra took the matteres in his hand because of the occurrence of the bad omens. Nobody has ever sensed that what happened was due to Arjuna's reply. The importance of

the stanza put in Arjuna's mouth has been overlooked[1] and the stanza has been incorrectly interpreted. The latter half of Arjuna's stanza runs as: *iśas tvayaṁ kasya parājitātmā taj jānīdhvaṁ Kuravaḥ sarva eva* (2.63.21) This was translated long ago by P. C. Roy as follows: " But having lost himself, let all the Kauravas *judge* whose master he could be after that ". And more recently (1975) Prof. van Buitenen translates it as: "But whose master is he who has lost himself ? That you should *decide*, ye Kurus assembled ". (italics mine in both translations).

Both the translators have rendered *jānīdhvam* with 'judge' or 'decide' which is not correct. It would mean that Arjuna once again passed on the responsibility of answering Draupadī's question to the Kauravas. But Arjuna, a slave, has no right to do that. Duryodhana alone, as the victor in the game of dice, has the right to decide who should answer Draupadī's question.

The linguistic usage in the *Mahābhārata* will show that it is wrong to translate *jānīdhvam* with 'judge' or 'decide'. After Draupadī raised the question about her social status, whenever there is an occasion in the *Mahābhārata* asking someone to *decide* her question, we find the use of the expression *praśnaṁ brū*, the verb *brū* being used with or without a prefix. When Bhīṣma, for instance, says that he is unable to answer the question decisively one way or the other, he says : " *tasmān na te praśnam imaṁ bravīmi* (2.60.42). Draupadī requests the members of the Assembly : *vibrūta me praśnam imaṁ yathāvat* (2.60.45). While reminding the Assembly-members that it was their responsibility to decide the question Vidura says : *na ca vibrūta (? tha) taṁ praśnaṁ sabhyā dharmo 'tra pīḍyate* (2 61.52)[2]. When Duryodhana wants Yudhiṣṭhira to decide the issue, he says : *praśnaṁ prabrūhi kṛṣṇāṁ tvam ajitāṁ yadi manyase* (2.63.9)[3]. Sometimes we find the expression *vākyaṁ vi-brū* in place of *praśnaṁ vi-brū*. Vikarṇa, for instance, says : *yājñasenyā yad uktaṁ tad vākyaṁ vibrūta pārthivāḥ* (2.61.12) ; or, occasionally, we find *praśnaṁ vi vac*[4] in place of *praśnaṁ vi-brū*. Bhīṣma tells Draupadī : *na dharmasaukṣmyāt subhage vivaktuṁ śaknomi te praśnam imaṁ yathāvat* (2.60.40 ; 2.61.55).

From the above passages it becomes clear that the epic usage for conveying the meaning 'to decide the issue, to reply to a question' was *praśnaṁ (vi)brū-*.

---

1 F. Edgerton (op. cit.) even goes to the extent of saying that none of the Pāṇḍavas ventured an opinion when Duryodhana asked them to decide the issue !

2 Similarly 2.60.42 ; 2.61.50, 54, 55, 56, 66, 67 ; 2.61.14 ; 2.62.27.

3 Also 2.61.19.

4 The root *vic-*, in place of *vac-*, or noun derived from it is found in 2.61.12 ; 2.62.16.

Hence the renderings in the above English translations of *jānīdhvam as if it was vibrūta*, are wrong. Arjuna wants the Kauravas to realize (*jaāīdhvam*) that Yudhiṣṭhira, in the circumstances, could not be the master of any one ; Arjuna is most certainly not asking them to decide the unsettled issue.

Some Marathi translations of the above passage are as follow: The translation of the Chiplunkar Mandali may be rendered into English as: " Arjuna said: " Kauravas, it is clear that this Dharmrāja, son of Kuntī, was within his rights to stake us before he lost himself. But once he lost himself, whose master could he be ? You too all know this. Hence it is needless for me to say that Draupadī has not been won. "[1]

This is not the translation of the stanza, but its paraphrase. However it is not wrong like the English translations. It states correetly what Arjuna wants to convey: " Draupadī has not been won. "

The other Marathi translation in the one from the *Mahābhārata* edited by Shri C. V. Vaidya[2]. It runs as follows: " First, when he staked, the noble-minded Dharmarāja, the son of Kuntī, was our master. When he himself was won (in the game of dice), whose master was he ? Ye all Kauravas: You realize this.[3] "

In my opinion this translation is correct. But the translator has failed to recognize its importance and derive the necessary conclusion. In his concluding remarks (*samālocana*) at the end of the volume (p. 25) Shri Vaidya observes : " After Yudhiṣṭhira staked himself and lost, he became the slave of the Kauravas. Then, at the suggestion of Śakuni he staked Draupadī. Śakuni won the game and hence Draupadī became the slave of Duryodhana ".[4] This means that in the opinion of Shri Vaidya whether Draupadī had become the slave or not is not in dispute at all. Although she made an issue of it, Draupadī was, in Shri Vaidya's opinion, a slave. In that case Duryodhana's open invitation to the Pāṇḍavas to answer Draupadī's question and Arjuna's reply become meaningless. There is an entry on ' Arjuna ' in the index supplied by Shri Vaidya at the end

---

1 अर्जुन म्हणाला : --हे कौरवहो, हा कुंतीपुत्र धर्मराज, आपण हरण्यापूर्वी आम्हांला पणाला लावावयास समर्थ होता हे उघड आहे, परंतु स्वताचा देहच हरवून बसल्यानंतर मग तो कोणाचा मालक असणार ? हें सारे तुम्हांलाहि माहित आहेच. तेव्हां द्रौपदी जिंकली गेली नाही, हें मी आणखी तें काय सांगणार ? (पृ. ५:७)

2 Published by Damodar Savalaram and Co., Part 3 (1933).

3 अर्जुन म्हणाला : —" पूर्वी जेव्हां आम्हांला पणाला लाविले तेव्हां कुंतीपुत्र महात्मा धर्मराज. आमचा स्वामी होता. तो स्वतः (द्यूतामध्यें) जिंकला गेल्यावर मग कोणाचा स्वामी ? सर्व कौरवांनो ! हे लक्षांत घ्या. " (p. 3ι6)

4 " युधिष्ठिराने स्वतांस पणास लावून दास झाल्यावर शकुनीच्या सूचनेवरुन द्रौपदीस पणास लाविलें व तोहि पण शकुनीनें जिंकल्यानें द्रौपदी दुर्योधनाची दासी झाली. "

of the volume. Under this head we find mention of many other things done by Arjuna, but there is no reference to his reply.

As a matter of fact this reply of Arjuna is so important that it should find a place in any entry, big or small, on Arjuna. Just as by hitting the bull's eye at the time of Draupadī's self-choice he won her, similarly at the critical moment in her life he gave the decisive reply and saved her from utter humiliation. What importance attaches to the correct shot of the arrow, the same, or even more, attaches to this straight-forward reply. When Duryodhana invited the Pāṇḍavas to give a reply he must have been sure that none of the Pāṇḍavas will dare say, " defeated Yudhiṣṭhira was no longer the master of Draupadī ". If we look to the way Bhīma made his reply, Duryodhana's confidence was perfectly justified.

But Duryodhana kept his word although Arjuna's reply was not what he had expected it to be. He did not set aside the verdict given by Arjuna, nor did he object to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's giving boons to Draupadī. If he had objected, the Pāṇḍavas would not have been free from bondage, although Draupadī was admitted to be a free woman. But Duryodhana does nothing of the sort and accepts the result of his bold offer. Someone in the line of the epic transmission did not want this fairness on Duryodhana's part to be observed by the posterity. Perhaps, he also did not want the posterity to know that a woman fought for her right and won. He quietly introduced the incident of the bad omens immediately after the reply of Arjuna and successfully switched off the attention of the listners (and, later, of the readers) from the stanza containing the reply. The interpolator has had no doubt tremendous success in creating the impression that the proceedings in the Assembly after the first game of dice end the way they do because of the ill omens. Our minds are so much obsessed by the fear of bad omens that we never thought that there was anything wrong in assuming that the events in the Assembly took a different turn due to the fear of bad omens. But if we are really to believe this incident of bad omens, one shudders to think of the indignities that would have been heaped on Draupadī in case the jackals and the asses moving around—one fails to know what business these animals had in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's *Agnihotraśālā* — had not raised their voice at a very critical moment in her life. She had suffered enough in the Assembly of a famous royal dynasty. She was addressed as a 'slave' (*dāsī*)[1], abused as a 'harlot' (*bandhakī*)[2]. She was continuously dragged at her hair causing her unbearable pain.[3] If at this juncture the above-named animals had not risen to the occasion,

1 2. 60. 27, 37.

2 2. 61. 35.

3 The *Mahābhārata* tells us that the Assembly witnessed two very degrading incidents which one would be ashamed to repeat. I do not mention them since in my opinion they are unauthentic.

the Pāṇḍavas would have remained life-long slaves of the Kauravas and Draupadī would have swept all her life the floors of the Kaurava houses. The *Mahābhārata* would have ended there.

But we know that it does not. The events in the *Mahābhārata* continue. Who is responsible for this continuation ? Who has the credit ? We do not give this credit to some eminent ascetic, nor to the virtues of a faithful wife, nor to Śrīkṛṣṇa, the incarnation of a god. We choose to give it to a jackal and an ass, who must have been blissfully ignorant of what was going on around them. The Indian tradition has touched a very low level in allowing the stanzas about the bad omens to remain where they are for so long. We are unaware of the fact that in doing so we have tarnished the fair image of an eminent person like Śrī Vyāsa.

If anything were to happen in the *Mahābhārata* just because of bad omens, one may ask—why did the same thing not happen when the Pāṇḍavas started on their exile after losing the game of dice a second time ? Then too the ill omens occurred, many more than on the previous occasion. The animals and birds like vultures, jackals and crows, of course, shrieked; besides, the lightnings flashed, the earth shook, Rāhu unseasonally swallowed the sun, and meteors shattered after making a round of the town the wrong way (2. 71. 25-28). Vidura did draw Dhṛtarāṣṭra's attention to these omens. But Dhṛtarāṣṭra did not get cold feet and ask the Pāṇḍavas not to proceed on exile and return to the capital. The reason is obvious. Either the ill omens did not occur at all, what appears in the text of the *Mahābhārata* is a figment of some interpolator's imagination. Or, even if they did, Dhṛtarāṣta was not so timid as to get panicky and do something he would not have otherwise done.

The main purpose of this paper is to make clear that it is wrong to assume that the discussion in the Assembly over Draupadī's question remained inconclusive and that the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī regained their freedom simply due to the accidental occurrence of bad omens. The events in the Assembly end the way they do because Arjuna gave a decisive reply to Draupadī's question and, consequently, Dhṛtarāṣṭra gave two boons to Draupadī.

It may now be permitted to refer to a few points incidental to the main topic. The first is : why did Yudhiṣṭhira not reply to Draupadī's question. One reason could be that he felt the same difficulty as was felt by Bhīṣma and hence he did not reply. Or, he was convinced that he had a right to stake Draupadī even after he had lost himself, but he dare not say so openly in order to save Draupadī from the indignities which would have followed. Or, he knew he had no right to stake her but admitting that would have meant that he had done wrong when he staked something on which he had no right. He did not have enough courage to do that.

The second point is with reference to Vikarṇa's reply. Before Arjuna gave his decisive reply, five persons — Vidura, Bhīṣma, Vikarṇa, Karṇa and Bhīma—had replied or attempted reply Draupadī's question. Of these the replies of Vidura, Bhīṣma, Karṇa, and Bhīma were paid no attention to — and this on good or plausible grounds : Vidura's reply went unheeded probably because he was *dāsīputra* and also because he was known for his partiality towards the Pāṇḍavas ; of Bhīṣma, because he could not decide the question one way or the other ; of Karṇa, because he spoke out of turn ; and of Bhīma, because the reply was irrelevant. But this cannot be said of Vikarṇa's reply. He, as a Kaurava, replied when the question was addressed to the Kauravas ; his reply was straight to Draupadī's question ; it was unambiguous, and was based on certain grounds which he detailed in so many words. And yet Duryodhana completely disregarded it ! To say that Duryodhana neglected it because Vikarṇa was younger to him,[1] or because the reply was not favourable to him is not convincing. It is likely that Vikarṇa's reply had no effect on the outcome in the assembly because he did not find any Kaurava to support him. But more than this it is not possible to say at this stage.

And the third point that needs consideration is the way Bhīṣma deported himself throughout the Assembly sitting. One cannot but say that his attitude towards Draupadī's question was unbecoming of him ; and since Draupadī was not only insulted with abuses, she was also a victim of molestation, his attitude must be judged unpardonable.

When asked a question, one may reply to it if one knew the answer. If not, is it necessary to say in so many words : 'I am not in a position to answer the question' ? Assuming that there are occasions when this becomes imperative, was it necessary for Bhīṣma to do so twice ? Moreover, on the second occasion he shifts the responsibility of answering the question to Yudhiṣṭhira and feels himself free. Did he not know that Yudhiṣṭhira, when asked by Draupadī and by Duryodhana to answer the question, had not done so ? Hence the attitude of Bhīṣma towards Draupadī's question seems quite improper.

If Bhīṣma on his part felt that the question raised by Draupadī was insolvable, should he then not have given the benefit of doubt to Draupadī ? He was face-to-face with an impudent Duḥśāsana constantly tugging at the hair of Draupadī. The moment Bhīṣma saw this, he should have told Duḥśāsana that he was in the Assembly of civilized Kṣatriyas and not in the den of hooligans. He ought to have commanded Duḥśāsana to leave Draupadī alone. The Grand Sire of the Kauravas did not rise to the occasion and hence his behaviour becomes unpardonable.

1 Vikarṇa was considered to be one of the four important (*pradhāna*) Kauravas 1.90.62.

THE FLORA IN THE ĀRAṆYAKAPARVAN OF THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE

In continuation of "A Cultural Index to the Mahābhārata : Tentative Specimen Fascicule" (*ABORI* 66. 117-152, 1985) is being published here the information on the plants and trees available in the Āraṇyakaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. It will form, according to the scheme of classification given in the above 'Specimen', entry No. 4. 5. 8 : 'plants and trees'. The details given here under each head will naturally be augmented when more information will be available from the rest of the *parvans*. In the mean time the present entry will serve the purpose of giving the reader an idea of the kind of information he will get on this subject from the *Mahābhārata*.

4. 5. 8 Plants and trees

akṣa — 'nut trees', on the banks of the Sarasvatī river 3. 174. 23.

ajātaka — trees, on the Gandhamādana mountain 3. 155. 40.

atasīpuṣpa — 'cornflower' (B)[1], for comparing the colour of the skin of the divine child seen by Mārkaṇḍeya 3. 186. 86.

ambuja — 'lotuses', yellow (*harita*) in colour in the pond on the Kailāsa mountain 3. 151. 3.

ariṣṭa — 'soapberry trees' (B), growing in the forest 3. 61. 3.

arka — trees, their flowers used for worshipping the five *Gaṇas* (who sprang from Śiva's semen) by those who desire wealth and freedom from diseases 3. 220. 14.

arjuna — trees, growing in the forest 3. 61. 3; in bloom at the end of the summer in the Dvaitavana 3. 25. 17.

alābu — 'bottle-gourd', from its seeds 60000 sons of king Sagara born 3. 104. 18.

aśoka — tree, called *taruśreṣṭha* 3. 61. 97; seen by Damayantī in full bloom in the forest, shining with its chaplets it looked like king of Dramiḍa 3. 61. 98; pun on the word - *yathā viśokā gaccheyam aśokanaga*

[1] B = J. A. B. van Buitenen's translation.

tat kuru / satyanāmā bhavāśoka mama śokavināśanāt // 3. 61. 102 (also 3. 61. 99); growing on mountain 3. 61. 38; on mountain Gandhamādana 3. 155. 44; Śveta mountain full of their woods 3. 220. 23; found in the hermitage of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga 3. 111. 16; *aśoka*-grove (*vanikā*) in Laṅkā where Sītā was held captive by Rāvaṇa 3. 264. 41; 3. 265. 3; 3. 273. 27.

aśvattha — 'fig trees', growing in the forest 3. 61. 3; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; was to be embraced by Satyavatī's mother to get a son 3. 115. 23.

āmalaka — 'myrobalan trees', growing in the forest 3. 61. 4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; its ripe fruit offered by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111. 12.

āmra — 'mango trees,' growing in the forest 3. 61. 4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40; in bloom at the end of summer in the Dvaitavana 3. 25. 17; mango groves on the river Narmadā in Avantī 3. 87. 2.

āmravetasa — 'mango-cane' (B), growing on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

āmrātaka — 'hog-plum', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40.

iṅguda — trees, growing in the forest 3. 61. 3; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 43; grow on the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23; its ripe fruit offered by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111. 12.

indīvara — 'blue lotus', found on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 43.

iṣīkā — 'reed', thrown by Rāma at the crow 3. 266. 67.

utpala — 'blue lotus', in the lakes and rivers on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49, 67; on the Mālyavant mt., its fragrance smelt by Rāma 3. 266. 3; in the lake Pampā 3. 264. 1; in a simile (lotuses shattered in a fight between the elephants) 3. 12. 48.

udumbara — trees, growing in the forest 3. 61. 4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; was to be embraced by Satyavatī to get a son 3. 115. 23.

oṣadhi — 'plants' (general), when the sun enters the earth and takes the form of a field, the moon (lit. the lord of the plants) produces the plants with heavenly heat turned water and her rays; described as 'having six flavours (*ṣaḍrasāḥ*),[1] 'sacrificial' (*medhyāḥ*); they form the food of the living beings 3. 3. 7–8.

kaṇṭaka — 'thorn', 3. 282. 5; *nihatakaṇṭaka*- (free from opponents), a mode of expression 3. 294. 11.

---

[1] B. 'of the six flowers' (a misprint ?)

kadamba — trees, grow in the forest 3. 61. 4, in the Dvaitavana, in bloom at the end of the summer 3. 25. 17; Śveta mt. full of their groves 3. 220. 24; at the entrance of sage Tṛṇabindu's hermitage in the Kāmyaka forest 3.249.1; Lohitāyanī, a nurse (*dhātrī*) of Skanda, is worshipped on *kadamba* tree 3. 219. 39.

kadalī — 'banana tree', a grove (*ṣaṇḍa*) of them, tall like palm trees, extending over many *yojanas* on the peaks of the Gandhamādana mt. (*kadalīskandhān bahutālasamucchrayān*) 3. 146. 42, 44; a grove of golden *kadalīs* on the bank of a lake on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 146. 53; Hanūmān sleeps in the midst of banana grove 3. 146. 60; the grove called *vana* 3. 146. 63, 64; Bhīma meets Hanūmān in the *kadalīṣaṇḍa* 3. 149. 4; *kadalī* used for comparisons (falling down of a shaking *kaladī*) 3. 144. 4, 3. 275. 14; used in a mode of expression (bear fruit and get destroyed) *yathā ... kadalī phalanty abhāvāya na bhūtaye tmanaḥ* 3. 252. 9 (cf. *nala* and *veṇu*).

kapittha — trees, growing on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42.

kamala — 'lotus flowers', growing in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49; lake Pampā full of them 3. 264. 1; used in comparisons (*kamalāyatākṣī* 3. 249. 6; *kamalekṣaṇā* 3. 292. 23; *kamalapatrākṣa* 3. 275. 3; *kamalagarbhābha* 3. 293. 10; *vidhvastaparṇakamalā ... padminī* 3. 65. 14).

karañja — tree, where the mother of the trees lives; people desirous of having progeny worship her on this tree 3. 219. 34.

karabha — 'vermilion' (B), for comparison (*karabhāruṇagātra*) 3. 268. 25.

karavīra — 'oleander tree', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 43; Śveta mt. full of their woods 3. 220. 23; a lake in the Dvaitavana surrounded by them 3. 296. 43.

karīra — 'bamboo shoots'[3], grow on the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23.

karūṣaka — see *parūṣaka*.

karṇikāra — 'jasmine' (B), in bloom in the Dvaitavana at the end of the summer 3. 25. 17; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45, looked like the mountain's ear-ornaments 3. 155. 58.

kalpavṛkṣa — mythical wish-yielding tree, 3. 265. 5.

kahlāra — 'white lilies', in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49.

kāñcanadruma — ? the guise (*veṣa*) of a Kirāta compared with a *kāñcanadruma* 3. 40. 2.

---

3 'thorns' (B).

kāliyaka — ' turmeric trees ', in the regions near Himavat 3. 175. 10.

kāśmarī — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42.

kiṁśuka — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 3; on mountain 3.61.38; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; dānavas with their gold ornaments etc. looked like *kiṁśuka* trees 3. 103. 11; Vālin and Sugrīva in fight, covered with blood, compared with *kiṁśuka* in bloom 3. 264. 32.

kuṭaja — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45.

kunda — ' jasmine flower ', used as a standard of comparison for whiteness 3. 119. 4.

kumuda — ' night lotus ' (B), appear in rivers and ponds in autumn 3. 179. 13; in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49; on the Mālyavant mt., its fragrance smelt by Rāma 3. 266. 3.

kurabaka — ' red amaranth ', on the Gandhamādana mt., when in bloom look like the arrows of Kāma 3. 155. 58.

kuśa — pointed (sacred) grass, 3. 282. 5; used for spreading the earth (*saṁstara*) when Rāma sits for *upavāsa* 3.267.32; Dyumatsena used a seat (*bṛsī*) made of it 3. 279. 4; Duryodhana puts on *kuśa* garments when he sits for *prāya* 3, 239. 17; Draupadī, living in the forest, has an *uttarīya* made of it 3. 250. 1; used for Rāma's *abhiṣeka* 3. 263. 30.

ketaka — ' jasmine (? B) trees ', a lake in the Dvaitavana sorrounded by them 3. 296. 43; grow on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 44, 45.

kokanada — ' red water-lily flowers ', in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49.

kovidāra — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46.

kṣīrin — ' milky trees ', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42.

kṣaudra — ' campaka trees ' (B) on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

khadira — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 4; grow on the banks of the Sarasvatī river 3. 174. 23; used for making spikes (*śaṅku*) inserted in the moats round Laṅkā 3. 268. 3.

kharjūra — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 5; grow on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

candana — ' sandalwood trees ', in the forest 3. 61. 3.

campaka — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 44.

caityadruma — ' *aśvattha* tree ', growing in the cremation ground, used for comparison 3. 265. 5 (terrible in appearance though decorated).

japā — ' the China rose ', Śveta mt. full of their woods 3. 220. 23.

jambū — 'rose apple trees', in the forest 3.61.4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42.

jīra — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40.

tamāla – trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46.

tarala — 'thorn apple trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46.

tāmarasa — 'day lotus', in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 51.

tāla — 'fan-palm', in the forest 3. 61. 5; in bloom at the end of the summer in the Dvaitavana 3. 25. 17; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; used as a weapon by the monkeys 3. 260. 12; 3. 264. 30; 3. 267. 18; for comparison (heads falling on battlefield compared with palm fruit falling from the stems) 3. 99. 5; as a standard of tallness 3. 297. 20; occurs in a maxim (*śoṣayiṣyāmi gātrāṇi vyālī tālagatā yathā**) 3. 264. 50; Tālajaṅgha, name of an *asura* 3. 287. 17.

tinduka — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 3; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40; called *mahāphala* 3. 155. 43.

tilaka — trees, in the hermitage of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga 3. 111. 16; on the Gandhamādana mt. they look like the forehead marks on the long tracks of the forest 3. 155. 59.

tilakāṇḍa — 'joint of sesame', occurs in a simile (cutting off an arm like cutting off a sesame joint) 3.263.33 (*bhujaḥ...nikṛttas tilakāṇḍavat*).

tuṅga — trees, (*kāṣṭhaviśeṣa* – Nīla.) in the regions near Himavat 3. 175. 10.

darbha — grass, spread on the ground while sitting down for *prāya* 3. 239. 16.

dāḍima — 'pomegranate trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40.

devadāru — 'pine trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; in the regions near Himavat 3. 175. 10; produced from his bones by Agni while entering the earth 3. 212. 13.

dhanvana — fruit, offered by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111. 12.

dhava — trees, in the forest 3. 61. 3.

naḍa — 'reed', occurs in mode of expression (*yathā ... naḍo vā phalanty abhāvāya*) 3. 252. 9 (cf. *kadalī* and *veṇu*).

nalina — 'lotus', a lake with these flowers on the Vaiḍūryaśikhara mt. 3.87.5.

nalinī — 'lotus creeper', in the lake in the Dvaitavana 3. 296. 43; 'lotus pond' of Kubera, on the Gandhamādana mt. guarded by the *rākṣasas* 3. 142. 24; 3. 151. 1; a 'lotus-pond', called Pampā 3. 264. 1;

* significance not known.

occurs in a mode of expression (molestation of a woman considered like a jackal jumping into a lotus pond) 3. 253. 19.

nārikela — ' cocoa-nut trees ', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40.

nīpa — trees, blooming towards the end of summer in the Dvaitavana 3. 25. 17; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41; on the banks of the river Sarasvatī 3. 179. 14.

nīvāra — ' wild rice ', growing along the banks of Sarasvatī river 3. 179. 14.

nyagrodha — ' banyan tree ', has cool shade 3. 295. 15 ; growing in the forest 3. 61. 5; seen by Mārkaṇḍeya while floating on the water at the time of the *yugānta* 5. 186. 81.

padma — ' lotus ', a lake fragrant with them 3. 62. 2; found in the lakes and rivers on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 51, 53 (*padmaṣaṇḍa*), 67; seen by Bhīma on the Gandhamādana mt. 3.150.19, 23, 25 (golden); lakes with lotus flowers on the Mālyavant mt. 3. 155. 33; Rāma smells their fragrance on this mt. 3. 266. 3; seals (*mudrāḥ*) marked with lotus and lotuses marked with *triśūla* found at the Piṇḍāraka tīrtha 3. 80. 83–84; a lotus-like birth-mark 3. 66. 5; colour of lotus for comparison 3. 81. 170; 3. 82. 52; 3. 155. 77; 3. 292. 19 (*tāmra*), and also its width (*āyata*) 3. 292. 19; (see *padmapalāśa*); lotuses are crushed in fights between elephants 3. 12. 48.

padmakośa — ' bud of a lotus ', for comparing palms of a hand 3. 13. 109.

padmapalāśa — ' lotus of leaf ', for comparing eyes 3. 65. 11; 3. 277. 27.

padmasaugandhika — a special kind of very fragrant golden lotus with beryl stems and of many colours found in the lakes on mt. Kailāsa 3. 151. 5–6; also found in the lakes in heaven 3. 164. 46; (see *saugandhika-*).

padminī — ' lotus lake ', on mt. Himvant 3. 107. 9; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 150. 23; used in comparison (*vyākulām iva padminīm*) 3. 65. 14.

panasa — ' bread-fruit tree ', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

parūṣaka[6] — ' kind of fruit ', offered by Ṛśyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111.12.

palāśaṣaṇḍa — ' cluster of *palāśa* tress ', form a land mark where the roads in a forest bifurcate 3. 281. 107.

pāṭala — ' Bignonia trees ', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45.

pāṭali — ' Bignonia trees ', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 62.

[6] v. l. *karūṣaka*.

pādapa — trees (not named), with blue and radiant colour in the Dvaita forest 3. 296. 41 (see *vṛkṣa*).

pārāvata — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

pārijāta — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; on the Śveta mt. 3. 220. 23.

pippala — trees, growing around a lake in the Dvaitavana 3. 296. 43.

pīlu — trees, grow on the banks of the river Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23.

puṇḍarīka — 'white lotus', appear in rivers in autumn 3. 179. 13; in the lakes on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 49; for comparison (of an eye) 3. 264. 49.

punnāga — trees, on a mountain 3. 61. 38; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45.

puṣkara — 'lotus flower', at the Śaśayāna *tīrtha* the flowers have the form of a rabbit (?) (*śaśarūpapraticchanāḥ*) 3. 80. 120; gold-coloured *pūṣkaras* in the pond near the residence of Kubera on the Kailāsa mt. 3. 151. 3.

puṣkariṇī — 'lotus lake' near the residence of Kubera on the Kailāsa mt. (3. 151. 5; 3. 152. 18. 21) and those in the heaven (3. 164. 46) full of *saugandhika* flowers.

priyaṅgu — trees, grow along the river Narmadā in the Avanti country 3.87.2.

priyāla — trees, in forset 3. 61. 5; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; its fruit offered by Ṛśyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111. 12.

plakṣa — 'fig tree', the river Sarasvatī flows from it 3. 82. 5; they grow along its banks 3. 174. 23; in forest 3. 61. 4; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; (Plakṣāvataraṇa *tīrtha* on the river Yamunā 3. 129. 13).

bakula — trees, on mountain summits 3. 61. 38; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 44, 46, 62 (*bakulāni*).

badarī — 'jujube trees', in forset 3. 61. 5; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; on banks of the river Sarasvatī 3.174.23; a large *badarī* tree, beyond the Uttara Kurus, near mt. Kailāsa, where the *āśrama* of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is situated 3. 145. 10, 17-19.

bibhītaka — trees, in forest 3. 61. 5; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; bearing fruit 3. 70. 6; Kali enters it 3. 70. 34; hence becomes inauspicious (*apraśasta*) 3. 70. 36.

bilva — 'wood-apple' trees, in forest 3. 61. 5; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; on the banks of the river Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23.

bījapūraka - 'citron trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 40.

bhallātaka — 'marking-nut trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; cashew-nut fruit offered by Ṛśyaśṛṅga to the courtezan 3. 111. 12.

madhuvana — 'forest of honey(-yielding ?) trees', near Kiṣkindhā, guarded by Vālin and then by Sugrīva 3. 266. 26.

madhūka — 'arrac trees' in bloom at the end of summer 3. 25. 17.

mandāra — 'coral trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45.

māṣa — beans, rākṣasas compared with their heaps 3. 268. 34.

muñja — grass, 3. 12. 49 (for comparison, *muñjavaj jarjarībhūtāḥ pādapāḥ*).

muru — plant, snares made of *muru* (*mauravāḥ pāśāḥ*)[6] destroyed by Kṛṣṇa and the road to the town Prāgjyotiṣa cleared up 3. 13. 26.

mūla — roots. (Damayantī lived on roots 3. 62. 26).

mṛṇālī — lotus plant,[7] (for comparison) 3. 65. 12, 15.

moca — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

yavasa — grass, growing in the pond 3. 62. 3.

rājīva — 'blue lotus', for comparison (eyes) 3. 277. 23.

rauhītaka — trees, growing along the bank of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23.

likuca — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 41.

lodhra — trees, growing in forest 3. 61. 4.

vaṭa — 'banyan trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42; a *vaṭa* tree on the Gayaśiras mt., known as *Akṣayyakaraṇa*, where food given to the manes never gets exhausted 3. 85. 8.

vānīra — 'a sort of cane', grows in large numbers on the river Narmadā in Avanti 3. 87. 2.

(*vṛkṣa*) — 'trees', unnamed, having flowers which looked like gold or forest-fire, which were red or dark like collyrium, and were like beryl found on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 61; the mt. also had shady trees (unnamed) blossoming and giving fruit in all the seasons 3. 143. 3; (see *pādapa*).

veṇu — 'bamboo', growing in forest 3. 61. 3; occurs in a mode of expression (invites its own destruction) 3. 252. 9 (cf. *kadalī* and *nala*); for comparison (sound produced while striking one's arms in a fight compared with the bursting of a bamboo) 3. 12. 58.

vetasa — 'cane', growing in river 3. 61. 107; near a lake in the Dvaitavana

---

6 According to B. Mauravas and Pāśas are names of tribes.

7 B. 'lotus stalk', 'lotus'.

3. 296. 43; on the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23; a mythical fragrant *vetasa* tree of a thousand branches from whose root flow rivers of honey and water 3. 184. 23.

vetra — 'large reed', in forest 3. 61. 4.

śatapatra — 'lotus', for comparing eyes (*āyata*) 3. 65. 20.

śamī — trees, on the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23; its cuttings (*śamīlava-*) used for the *abhiṣeka* of Rāma 3. 263. 30.

śara — 'reed', Śveta mt. covered with it (*śarastamba*) 3. 214. 10; colour of monkeys compared with it (whiteness, *śaragaura* -) 3. 268. 27.

śāka — 'teak trees', growing in forest 3. 61. 4.

śāla — trees, growing in forest 3. 61. 3; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46, 62; in bloom at the end of summer in the Dvaitavana 3. 25. 17; used as a weapon during fights by Vālin and Sugrīva 3. 264. 30; by Sugrīva 3. 271. 7-9; by Aṅgada 3. 272. 17; by monkeys 3. 260. 12; 3. 267. 18; Dyumatsena sitting under it 3. 279. 4; used for comparison (tallness) 3. 36. 24; 3. 263. 25 (*śālaskandha-*); 3. 297. 66.

śāli — 'rice', *vānaras* compared with shoots of *śāli* 3. 268. 27; *śālibhavana-* 'rice field', army of monkeys compared with it 3. 267. 18.

śālmali — 'silk-cotton tree', growing in forest 3. 61. 3 (*saśālmalaiḥ*); on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46; globular growth (*aṣṭhīlā*) round a *śālmali* tree not indicative of its growth 3. 133. 9.

śiṁśapa — 'sissoo trees' (B), on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 46.

śirīṣa — trees, on the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23; colour of monkeys like its flowers 3. 267. 10; 3. 268. 27.

santānaka — trees, on the Śveta mt. 3. 220. 23.

saptaparṇa — trees, on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 45.

sarja — trees, in bloom at the end of the summer 3. 25. 17; found in the hermitage of Ṛśyaśṛṅga 3. 111. 16; powder (*pāṁsu*) made from *sarjarasa* used as impediment to make the ditch round Laṅkā difficult to cross 3. 268. 4.

sahakāra — 'mango trees', on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 60 (look like arrows of the God of Love).

sindhuvāra — trees, around a lake in the Dvaitavana 3. 296. 43; full of golden flowers, on the Gandhamādana mt., they look like the lance (*tomara*) of the God of Love 3. 155. 57.

soma — pressed on the bank of the Payoṣṇī river 3. 120. 30.

saugandhika — 'heavenly lotus', of one thousand petals, has heavenly fragrance, lustrous, brought to Pāṇḍavas on the Himavat mt. by a north-easternly breeze 3. 146. 6-8; 3. 152. 2; 3. 150. 18; given by Draupadī to Bhīma 3. 153. 13; a forest (*vana*) of these flowers on the Gandhamādana mt., way to which was shown by Hanūmat to Bhīma 3. 149. 22; the *puṣkariṇī* was in a river 3. 150. 27; 3. 152. 22; (a *saugandhikavana* (*tīrtha* ?) mentioned in 3. 82. 3).

snuha — 'spurge', along the banks of Sarasvatī 3. 174. 23.

haricandana — 'yellow sandal', in the regions near the Himavat mt. 3. 175. 10.

harītaka — 'yellow Myrobalan trees', in forest 3. 61. 5; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 42.

THE FAUNA IN THE ĀRAṆYAKAPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

This paper is in continuation of the one on "The Flora in the Āraṇyakaparvan of the Mahābhārata" published in the ABORI LXVII (1986), 233-242. As mentioned there these entries can be looked upon as specimens of the "Cultural Index to the Mahābhārata". According to the scheme of classification accepted for the "Cultural Index", the information given here will belong to section 4. 7 : "Animals, birds, serpents etc.".[1]

The following list does not include words for animals, birds etc. if they occur as names – or as parts of names – of persons, like Baka 3. 12. 22 etc., Baka Dālbhya 3. 27. 5, Kuñjara 3. 249. 10, Śuka 3. 32. 11, Śyenajit 3. 190. 73, Bṛhadaśva 3. 193. 4, Vṛkodara 3. 12. 27 etc.; of mountains, like Ṛṣabha 3. 83. 19, Ṛṣabhakūṭa 3. 109. 7, Ṛkṣavant 3. 58. 20, etc.; of towns, like Nāgapura 3. 90. 22, 180. 34, Vāraṇasāhvaya 3. 293. 14, etc.; of tīrthas, like Ṛṣabha 3. 83. 10, Ekahaṁsa 3. 81. 16, Nāgatīrtha 3. 82. 27-29, Dhenukātīrtha 3. 82. 16, Aśvatīrtha 3. 93. 3. It also does not include words for animals etc. if they occur in epithets like *vṛṣadhvaja* 3. 81. 62, etc. or *vṛṣabhadhvaja* (of Śiva) 3. 80. 125, etc., *suparṇaketu* (of Kṛṣṇa) 3. 173. 15; or in expressions showing excellence like *narakuñjara* 3. 266. 15, *vānarapuṁgava* 3. 270. 7, etc., *rākṣasapuṁgava* 3. 264. 43, *puruṣarṣabha* 3. 262. 7, etc., *puruṣavyāghra* 3. 248. 4, etc., *kuruśārdūla* 3. 83. 97, etc., *puruṣaśārdūla* 3. 296. 22, etc., *puruṣasiṁha* 3. 272. 23.

ajagara- 'boa', of huge form took hold of Damayantī 3. 60. 20, of Bhīma 3. 175. 1, 16, its description – of colourful skin, yellow in colour – 12-15, called *pṛdāku* 16, *bhujaga* 19, *bhujaṁga* 12, it had four fangs 14; Nahuṣa cursed to be a boa 3. 178. 45; described as *grāha* 3. 60. 20, 21, 22. See *grāha-*.

ajā- (in *ajaiḍakam*) 'goat', people will milk goats in Kali age (since cows will not be available) 3. 188. 21; *ajina-* 'goat-skin' used for wearing by those who live in forest 3. 226. 19, 20; 227. 9. Cf. *eḍakā-*.

1. Entries on proper names like Vālin, Sugrīva, Karkoṭaka etc. will not be found here. They will go under section 1. 5 (names of animals, birds, serpents etc.).

anaḍvah– 'bull', used for drawing a plough 3. 184. 10.

aśva– 'horse', yoked to chariot 3. 255. 24 (*vāha*), 25; well-bred (*ājāneya*) horses of Bhīma's chariot 3. 254. 10; bay horses (*haryaśva*) draw Indra's chariot 3. 274. 12, 13; red horses (*śoṇāśva*) yoked to the chariot of Sauvīraka princes 3. 249. 9; Nala to look after the horses of Ṛtuparṇa and train them, he becomes *aśvādhyakṣa* 3. 64. 6; king Ṛtuparṇa has an *aśvaśālā* 3. 69. 10; also king Bhīma has one 3. 71. 6; horses from Sindhu country known for swiftness 3. 69. 12 (stanzas 11–12 mention their other characteristics like wide nostrils, broad jaws; they have *āvartas* ('curl' B.[1] *śuddhān daśabhir āvartaiḥ*); kneel on ground before taking a start and need to be pacified by the driver 3. 69. 18, 19; form one of the constituents of the army 3. 236. 7; form part of a caravan 3. 62. 9; horse set free at *aśvamedha* 3. 105. 9; Satyavān, as a child, made horses of clay and drew paintings 3. 278. 13; *aśvahṛdaya* or (*aśva*)*vidyā* 'science of horses' known to Nala 3. 69. 27; 70. 24, 26, he gave it to Ṛtuparṇa 3. 76. 18. Cf. *haya-*, *vājin-*.

āśīviṣa– 'serpent', jars with serpents kept in the moats (?) around Laṅkā to make it unassailable 3. 268. 4; an angered serpent used for comparison 3. 222. 34; 261. 17; arrows compared with serpents 3. 273. 20; in mode of expression (inviting calamity by offering provocation) 3. 134. 3; 261. 49. Cf. *ajagara-*, *uraga-*, *sarpa-*.

ukṣan– 'bull', offered as alternative food to the hawk by king Uśīnara 3. 131. 17. Cf. *govṛṣa-*.

upacakra– 'duck', produced sweet sounds on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 76.

uraga– 'serpent', Damayantī sees fierce serpents in the forest 3. 61. 7; swallows Damayantī and gets killed by a hunter 3. 60. 26; five-hooded serpents for comparing the arms of kings (*ākāravantaḥ suślakṣṇāḥ*) 3. 54. 6, arms of Arjuna 3. 79. 19, clenched fist of Bhīma 3. 154. 56; those living in lakes snatched by eagles 3. 253. 5; mythical 'serpents' listed with *asura* and *rakṣas* 3. 105. 21 (they cry aloud when earth is dug up); with Gandharva and *rakṣas* 3. 157. 20 (Arjuna halted their advance at Khāṇḍava); with Kiṁnaras and *rakṣas* 3. 213. 23; *mahoragāḥ*, mentioned with Kiṁnaras, different from *pannagāḥ* (they wait on Śiva at Gokarṇa) 3. 83. 23; go with Agastya to witness the drinking up of the ocean 3. 102. 20; present at Saugandhika forest 3. 82. 4; *mahoragas* and *uragas* mentioned separately (visit Gandhamādana on *parvan* days)

1. B = J. A. B. van Buitenen's translation.

3. 156. 18; Draupadī thought to be daughter of their king (*uragarāja*) 3. 249. 3; stepping on it is inviting danger 3. 252. 8. Cf. *ajagara-*, *āśīviṣa-*, *sarpa-*.

ulūka- 'owl', they appear, along with other creatures, at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 45; one called Prākārakarṇa lived on Himavant 3. 191. 4.

uṣṭra- 'camel', as part of a caravan 3. 62. 9; *uṣṭrikā-* 'vessels like camel-bellies' (?) 3. 16. 7.

ṛkṣa- 'bear', infest forests 3. 61. 2, 123; 260. 13; found on mountain 3. 61. 37; move in herds (*yūthaśaḥ*) 3. 61. 8; some live at will (*yathecchaka-nivāsāḥ*) 3. 260. 13; chased by Kauravas in Dvaitavana 3. 229. 10; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42; bears devoted to Sugrīva 3. 266. 6; in the army of Rāma 3. 274. 4; black and having marks[1] on faces (*mukhapuṇḍra*) 3. 267. 8; called *kālamukha* 3. 276. 11; 3. 274. 4; honoured by Rāma, they return home 3. 275. 55; their king Jāmbavant 3. 264. 23; 268. 24; gods and other celestials beget progeny on female bears to help Viṣṇu 3. 260. 7 (*ṛkṣī*), 11 (*ṛkṣavarastrī*).

ṛkṣavarastrī-, *ṛkṣī-*, see *ṛkṣa-*.

ṛśya- 'white-footed antelope', offered at breakfast (*prātarāśa*) 3. 251. 12.

ṛṣabha- 'bull', appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43.

eḍakā- (in *ajaiḍakam*) 'ewe', in Kali age people will milk them (since cows will not be available) 3. 188. 21. Cf. *ajā-*.

aiṇeya- (= *eṇa-*) 'black antelope', offered at breakfast 3. 251. 12.

kaṅka- 'heron', feasts on flesh and blood on the battle-field 3. 255. 31.

kacchapa- 'tortoise', in the ocean 3. 166. 3; called Akūpāra lived in the lake Indradyumnasaras 3. 191. 14. Cf. *kūrma-*.

kadamba- 'grey-winged goose' (B.) in the lakes on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 50 161. 5 (*kādamba-*).

kapi- 'monkey', appear as helpers of Rāma 3. 267. 1, 51; 268. 31; 270. 5, 10, 13; 271. 1; 273. 3; Hanūmān so called (having a long tail) 3. 149. 5; Sugrīva so called 3. 271. 8; *kapīśvara-*, Vālin 3. 264. 20, 25, Sugrīva 3. 266. 5; 271. 13; 273. 4; *kapikuñjara-*, Sugrīva 3. 271. 7; *kapiśārdūla-*, Hanūmant 3. 270. 7. Cf. *plavaga-*, *vānara-*, *śākhāmṛga-*, *hari-*.

1. *tilaka* – Nī(lakaṇṭha)

kapilā– 'brown cow', their gift often mentioned in establishing equivalence of *puṇya* acquired by visiting holy places 3. 80. 76; 81. 38; 82. 8, 29, her hoof-prints along with those of her calf seen even today on a moutain (near Dhenukātīrtha ?) 3. 82. 77. Cf. *go-*.

kapota– 'dove', Agni assumes the form of a dove to test king Uśīnara 3. 130. 19; king weighed with this dove 3. 131. 25; dove appears before the king as Agni 3. 131. 28; *kāpotī vṛtti* subsisting like a dove on collected grain (*alpasaṁgraharūpam* Nī.) 3. 246. 4, 5.

karabha– 'young elephant' ('camel' Nī.) ? 3. 264. 45 (the hair of *rākṣasīs* compared to).

kareṇu– 'female elephant', sported with male companions in the waters of a lake near the *āśrama* of Dadhīca 3. 98. 15; seen in great number in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 19; on Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 77; occurs in a figure of speech 3. 262. 37.

karkaṭakī– 'female crab', in a mode of expression (inviting calamity on oneself) 3. 252. 9.

kalahaṁsa– 'goose', flock the river Gaṅgā on Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155, 85.

kāka– 'crow', Rāma threw *iṣīkā* at the crow 3. 266. 67.

kākola– 'raven', feasted on flesh and blood of those dead in war 3. 255. 31.

kānanakokila– 'forest cuckoo', produced sweet sounds in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 18. Cf. *kokila-*.

kāraṇḍava– 'duck', singing in the Himalayan rivers 3. 39. 18; 175. 9; 150. 26 (matta-); in the lakes on Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 50; 161. 5; in the lotus lakes near Kubera's residence 3. 151. 6; in the lake Pampā 3. 263. 40.

kīṭa– 'worm', a cave full of worms 3. 266. 38.

kukkuṭa– 'cock', a red cock given to Skanda by god Fire ornamented his banner 3. 218. 32; of great size, red-crested, held by Kumāra 3. 214 24, 23, a ***sādhana*** (?) of Kumāra 3. 215. 10 (*kukkuṭasya ca sādhanaṁ cakre mahāmuniḥ*).[1]

kuñjara– 'elephant', in forest 3. 61. 123; four-tusked, lotus-coloured shake the lake-waters 3. 155. 77. Cf. *gaja-*, *nāga-*, *mātaṅga-*, *vāraṇa-*, *hastin-*.

---

1. 'and the great hermit sang the efficacy of the cock' B.

kurara– 'osprey', river full of their sounds 3. 61. 108; in the lakes on Gandhamādana mt. 3. 155. 50.

kurarī– 'female osprey', woman in distress compared with them 3. 128. 4; 170. 56; sound produced by them 3. 60. 19.

kūrma– 'tortoise', in rivers 3. 61. 108; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 46; a demon (*asura*) assumes the form of a tortoise 3. 82. 10. Cf. *kacchapa*-.

kṛṣṇamṛga– 'black antelope', killed by the Pāṇḍavas and offered to Brāhmaṇas 3. 47. 7.

kokila– 'cuckoo', on Himavant mountain 3. 107. 8; 175. 7; the *āśrama* of Dadhīca full of their notes (*puṁskokila*) 3. 98. 13. Cf. *kānanakokila*-.

kroṣṭuka– 'jackal', figures in a simile (indicative of its lowness) 3. 262. 28. Cf. *kroṣṭṛ*-.

kroṣṭṛ– 'jackal', figures in a simile (indicative of lowness) 3. 248. 17. Cf. *kroṣṭuka*-.

krauñca– 'curlew', making sounds near the rivers of Himalayan region 3. 39. 18; 61. 108; seen in large numbers in autumn 3. 179. 10.

khadyota– 'fire-fly', in a simile 3. 122. 19.

khara– 'donkey', as part of a caravan 3. 62. 9; yoked to Rāvaṇa's chariot (in a dream seen by Avindhya) 3. 264. 64.

gaja– 'elephant' (see *diśāgaja*-), Duryodhana and others trapped them in Dvaitavana 3. 229. 11; many elephants on Himalayas 3. 155. 13, 35, 63; Subāhu's kingdom on Himalayas had many elephants 3. 141. 24; in Jayadratha's following 3. 252. 12; used for defending cities 3. 268. 6; in wars, mounted by warriors (*gajāroha*) 3. 255. 7, (*gajayodhin*) 3. 255. 11, ornamented with rings 255. 22, one sent to kill Nakula 3. 55. 20, *gajayānavid*– 'one who knew movements of elephants in war 255. 18; his *viṣāṇa* 'tusk' (also cf. *diśāgaja*) and *bhuja* 'trunk' mentioned 3. 255. 21, *kara* 'trunk' 3. 255. 20, for comparing Duryodhana's thigh 3. 11. 28; for comparing gait of woman 3. 290. 14, of a man 3. 61. 51 (*gajendravikramaḥ*); they appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43. Cf. *kuñjara*-, *nāga*-, *mātaṅga*-, *vāraṇa*-, *hastin*-.

garuḍa– appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 44; figures in describing sounds of chariots 3. 230. 17.

garuḍī– form taken by Svāhā 3. 214. 9; 215. 3.

gavaya– 'gayal', offered for breakfast 3. 251. 12; chased by Kauravas in Dvaitavana 3. 229. 10.

gṛdhra– 'vulture', feast on blood and flesh on battlefield 3. 48. 33; 255, 31; go to mount Meru through a hole in the Krauñca mountain created by Kumāra 3. 214. 31; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 44; Jaṭāyu so called 3. 258. 2; 262. 41; 263. 3, 5, 15, 19, 20; 266. 45; *gṛdhrapati*- 3. 263. 1, 6, 17; uses nails, wings (referred to as *bhuja*) and beak as weapons 3. 263. 4, 5; its feathers attached to arrows, hence called *gārdhravāsas*- 3. 34. 83.

[1]*go*– 'cow' considered best among the moving ones (? *pratiṣṭhamānānāṁ varāḥ*);[1] food (i. e. source of food?) 3. 297. 61; considered visible form of gods 3. 196. 4; part of a caravan 3. 62. 9; will yield less milk at the end of Kali-age 3. 186. 37; offered to a guest 3. 279. 6; used as measure to establish equivalence of *puṇya* 3. 81, 40, 78, 79; 82. 67, 68; occurs in a *subhāṣita* (perishing in mire) 3. 36. 7. Cf. *kapilā*-,

[2]*go*– 'bull',[2] appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42. Cf. *ukṣan*-, *ṛṣabha*-, *vṛṣa*-,

gopuccha– 'cow-tailed', a kind of monkey 3. 266. 6; 275. 55; = *golāṅgūla*- 3. 267. 4.

godhā– 'a kind of lizard', its skin used for making the arm-guard (*baddhagodhāṅgulitra*-) 3. 18. 3; 38. 16; 143. 1; 262. 19; 267. 17.

gomāyu– 'jackal', moving in herds (*yūthaśaḥ*) in forest 3. 61. 8; in great number (*bala*) invade Rāma's *āśrama* 3. 263. 22; described as eaters of the remnants of offerings (*vighasāśa*) in a simile 3. 34. 3; feast on blood and flesh on the battle-field 3. 255. 31; 48. 33; uttering sounds on a person's left considered a bad omen 3. 253. 7. Cf. *śālāvṛka*-, *sṛgāla*-.

govṛṣa– 'bull', 3. 31. 25; tied by a nose-rope appears in a simile 3. 31. 25. Cf. *ukṣan*-, *ṛṣabha*-, [2]*go*-, *vṛṣa*-,

grāha– 'shark', river full of them 3. 61. 108; ocean full of them 3. 101. 9, 102. 22. See *ajagara*-.

cakora– 'partridge', uttering sweet sounds in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 18; on Himavant 3. 107. 8 (*asitāpāṅga*); 175. 7; on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 73. Cf. *tittira*-.

1. B. 'the best of the standing', Ni. *pratiṣṭhālipsūnām*.
2. B. 'cattle'.

cakravāka– a river filled with their sounds 3. 61. 108; in the regions near Himavant 3. 175. 7; in the rivers and lakes on Gandhamādana 3. 150. 26; 155. 50.

**camara*– 'Yak', chowrie (*cāmara*) made from their bushy tails mentioned 3. 240. 42.

chāga– 'goat', Vātāpi turned into a goat 3. 94. 8; the sixth head of Skanda is of a goat 3. 217. 12 (Viśākha called *chāgamukha* 3. 217. 3 or *chāgavaktra* 3. 217. 11).

jalakukkuṭa– 'water fowl'[1], on Himavant 3. 107. 7, the in lakes on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 50.[2]

jīvaka– 'insect' (B.), Dadhīca's *āśrama* full of their sounds 3. 98. 13.

jīvajīvaka– 'pheasant', on Himavant 3. 107. 8, 175. 7; on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 74 (described as *raktapītāruṇāḥ* 'red, yellow and ruddy').

jhaṣa– 'large fish' (dolphin' B.), found in river 3. 61. 108; in ocean 3. 99. 17; in southern ocean 3. 266. 44; large fish with elephant's faces (*gajavaktra*) appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 45. Cf. *timi*-.

jhillikā– 'cricket', forest full of their sounds 3. 61. 1.

tarakṣu– 'wolf' chased by Duryodhana and others in Dvaitavana 3. 229. 10; killed by Bhīma on Gandhamādana 3. 146. 48.

tittiri– 'partridge', for comparison, horses speckled (*kalmāṣa*) like *tittiri* birds 3. 79. 24. Cf. *cakora*–.

timi– 'fabulous-sized fish', found in southern ocean 3. 266. 44; the *makara* on Pradyumna's banner called *sarvatimipramāthī* 3. 18. 7. Cf. *jhaṣa*-, *timiṅgila*–.

timiṅgila– 'fabulous-sized fish' (lit. 'swallower of *timi*') seen by Arjuna in ocean 3. 166. 3. Cf. *jhaṣa*-, *timi*-.

timitimiṅgila– seen by Arjuna in ocean 3. 166. 3.

daṁśa- 'stinging insect', become excited (*matta*) in rainy season 3. 179. 4; region around the *āśrama* of Nara and Nārāyaṇa free from them 3. 145. 20, one not restrained (*aniyata*) meets them on Gandhamādana 3. 142. 27. Cf. *maśaka*-.

1. 'moor cock' B.
2. 'water cockerel' B.

daṁṣṭrin– 'tusked animal', they cannot harm Nala 3. 63. 17.

dardura– 'frog', full of pride (*darpita*) jump about in rainy season 3. 179. 8.

dātyūha– 'gallinule',[1] produce sweet sounds in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 18; on Himavant 3. 107. 7.

diśāgaja– 'quarter-elephant', mythical, they scratch the trees on Himavant with their tusks 3. 107. 10; (see *gaja*-).

dvija– 'bird', many kinds of them in forest 3. 61. 6. Cf. *pakṣin*-, *patrin*-, *vayas*-.

dvipa– 'elephant', see *mahādvipa*-.

dvīpin– 'leopard', in forests 3. 61. 2, 123.

nakra– 'crocodile', in ocean 3. 101. 9; 266. 44 (southern ocean); moats round Laṅkā filled with crocodiles 3. 268. 3. Cf. *makara*-.

[1]*nāga*– 'elephant', in the army of Jayadratha 3. 249. 11; huge like mountain summits move at the foot of Himalayas mentioned in a mode of expression) 3. 252. 5; measure of strength 3. 260. 13; 297. 68; *padmin*– a spotted elephant (*mahānāga*- occurs in a mode of expression) 3. 262. 37; *nāgas* (elephants? snakes?) will make harsh sounds at the *yugānta* 3. 188. 81; Mārkaṇḍeya saw them in the belly of the Child 3. 186. 106. Cf. *kuñjara*-, *gaja*-, *mātaṅga*-, *vāraṇa*-, *hastin*-.

[2]*nāga*– 'snake', Karkoṭaka called *nāga* (speaks to Nala, 3. 63. 4 ff.; 64. 1), *nāgarāja*- 3. 70. 32 (Kali burning with the heat of its poison); *nāgarājan*- 3. 63. 3; 75. 17, —mythical, present at Prayāga 3. 83. 67; at Kubera's residence on mt. Kailāsa in very large number 3. 140. 11; their world (*nāgaloka*) referred to 3. 80. 119; 81. 12; situated, below the earth, Saṁvartaka Fire burns it 3. 186. 62. Cf. *ajagara*-, *āśīviṣa*-, *uraga*-, *pannaga*-, *bhogin*-, *sarpa*-.

nirghātavāyasa–, see *vāyasa*-.

nyaṅku– 'deer', at breakfast 3. 251. 12.

pakṣin– 'bird'– two kinds *sthalaja*- and *jalaja*- 3. 12. 10; *jalecara*- (referring to a crane) 3. 297. 18; figure in a simile (*jagṛhuḥ śārdūlam iva pakṣiṇaḥ*) 3. 268. 18. Cf. *dvija*-, *patrin*-, *vayas*-.

pataṅga– 'moth', attracted by a flame jumps on it 3. 2. 65.

1. 'moor hen' B.

patrin- 'bird', not identified but said to be of red, yellow and ruddy colour 3. 155. 73, 74. Cf. *dvija-*, *pakṣin-*, *vayas-*.

padmin-, see *nāga-*.

pannaga- 'serpent', Karkoṭaka, a *pannaga* speaks to Nala 3. 63. 7; they appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42; seen in large number *yūthaśaḥ*) by Damayantī in forest 3. 61. 8; — mythical (mentioned along with gods and demons) 3. 170. 7; visit Brahmakṣetra (Kurukṣetra) 3. 81. 4; wait on Śiva at Gokarṇa 3. 83. 24; will glorify Rāma as long as the earth lasts 3. 275. 48; no *pannagas* in Kṛtayuga, Hanūmant tells Bhīma 3. 147. 12; figure in a simile 3. 221. 45. Cf. [2]*nāga-*, *ajagara-*, *āśīviṣa-*, *uraga-*, *bhogin-*, *sarpa-*.

paśu- 'animal', seven *grāmya*, seven *vanya* 3. 134. 13.

pipīlika- 'ant', crawling on an anthill 3. 122. 3.

pipīlkā- 'ant', bites Jantu 3. 127. 6.

pīṭhasarpa- 'boa', in a simile (idleness) 3. 26. 21 (Nī. *ajagara-*).

puṁskokila- 'male cuckoo', singing in the sorroundings of Himālaya 3. 39. 18; in forests near the *āśrama* of Nara-Nārāyaṇa 3. 146. 3, 20; excited they move around in rainy season 3. 179. 8; for comparing voice (*vāṇī*) 3. 112. 7.

putrapriya- 'love-their-youngs' (B.), on mountain Himālaya 3. 107. 8.

pṛṣata- 'spotted deer', offered at breakfast 3. 251. 12.

plava- 'acquatic bird', in the lakes on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 50.

plavaga- 'monkey' 3. 266. 25, *plavagarṣabha* (Aṅgada and others) 3. 266 27, 29 (Hanūmant), *plavagaśreṣṭha* (Sugrīva) 3. 266. 26, *plavagasattama* (Hanūmant and others) 3. 266. 52, (Sugrīva and others) 3. 273. 13, *plavagagādhipa* (Sugrīva) 3. 264. 13, 266. 13. Cf. *kapi-*, *plavaṅgama-*, *vānara-*, *hari-*.

plavaṅgama- 'monkey', attack Kumbhakarṇa with trees, nails (*karajaiḥ*), and other weapons, 3. 271. 2-3; Hanūmant and others so called 3. 266. 30; 149. 2.

baka- 'crane', in the lakes on Himālayas 3. 155. 50; living on moss-like plant (*śaivala*) and fish 3. 297. 11; a certain *baka* lived in the lake Indradyumna 3. 191. 9: figures in a figure of speech 3. 33. 7.

barhiṇa- 'peacock', their sounds heard in Dvaitavana 3. 229. 13; near Himalayan rivers 3. 39. 18. Cf. *barhin-*, *mayūra-*, *śikhin-*, *sikhaṇḍin-*.

barhin- 'peacock', on Gandhamādana dancing to the tune of the anklets of *Apsaras* 3. 146. 26; in a simile 3. 255. 11. Cf. *barhiṇa-*, *mayūra-*, *śikhin-*, *śikhaṇḍin-*.

balākā- 'crane', bear the monsoon cloud 3. 84. 11; falls dead when looked at angrily by a Brāhmaṇa 3. 197. 3–5.

bhāsa- 'kind of vulture', feast on flesh and blood of the dead 3. 255. 31.

bhujaga- 'snake', mythical, in the retinue of Hara 3. 221. 16. Cf. *uraga-*, [2]*nāga-*, *pannaga-*, *bhogin-*, *sarpa-*.

bhujaṅga-, 'snake', killed by a hunter 3. 60. 27; very poisonous on Himālaya 3. 107. 11. Cf. *āśīviṣa-*, *uraga-*, *pannaga-*, *bhujaga-*, *bhogin-*, *sarpa-*.

bhuruṇḍa- 'wild animal (?)', appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43.

bhṛṅgarāja- 'large bee', on Himavant mountain 3. 107. 7, 175. 7; uttering sweet sounds on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 76.

bhogin- 'serpent (mythical)', seven-headed poison-eyed guard the Śveta mountain 3. 214. 11; Rāvaṇa, their enemy 3. 275. 30, 47. Cf. *āśīviṣa-*, *uraga-*, *pannaga-*, *bhujaga-*, [2]*nāga-*, *sarpa-*.

bhramara- 'bee', humming in forest 3. 296. 41; flowering forests on way to Dvaitavana full of them 3. 229. 13; on mango trees on Gandhamādana 3. 155. 60; figure in comparison (Arjuna's arrows) 3. 167. 22; in a *subhāṣita* (*madhuhā bhramarair iva*) 3. 34. 68. Cf. *madhukara-*.

makara- 'corcodile', seen in ocean 3. 166. 3, in the southern ocean 3. 261. 53; ocean called *makarālaya* 3. 105. 23, 275. 51; on the flag of Pradyumna 3. 18. 2; 19. 11; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 44; figure in simile 3. 254. 19. Cf. *nakra-*.

makṣikā- 'fly', one meets them on the Gandhamādana if one is not restrained 3. 142. 27.

maṇḍūka- 'frog', figure in a narrative 3. 190. 30 ff.

matsya- 'fish', eat piece of meat in water 3. 2. 39; do not wink when asleep 3. 297. 43; cranes live on fish 3. 297. 11; gold and silvery fish found in Vimalatīrtha 3. 80. 103; cursed by Fire to be the food of human beings 3. 212. 9–10; fish will be food of men in Kali age 3. 188. 21; a fish requested Manu to save it from the strong fish; this fish later saved Manu from deluge 3. 185. 6 ff. Cf. *mīna-*.

madgu- 'acquatic bird', in the lakes on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 50.

madhukara- 'bee', lotus ponds full of their sweet sounds on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 52. Cf. *bhramara-*.

mayūra- 'peacock', produce sweet sounds from the tops of trees in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 18; also in the forest near Dyumatsena's hermitage 3. 280. 30; on mt. Himavant 3. 107. 8; in the bowers on the lakes on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 54; 161. 4; yoked (together with swans) to the *vimāna* 3. 83. 29; Indra's horses compared to peacocks 3. 169. 23. Cf. *barhiṇa-*, *barhin-*, *śikhin-*, *śikhaṇḍin-*.

maśaka- 'mosquito', regions around the hermitage of Nara-Nārāyaṇa free from them 3. 145. 20; one finds them on the Gandhamādana if one is not restrained 3. 142. 27. Cf. *daṁśa-*.

mahādvipa- 'big elephant', mentioned as leaders of herds (*yūthapa*) seen in large number in Dvaitavana 3. 25. 19.

mahiṣa- 'buffalo', their meat sold in the slaughter-house of Mithilā 3. 198. 10; served at breakfast 3. 251. 13; king Uśīnara willing to give a buffalo to the hawk (Indra) 3. 131. 16; wander freely, without fear of tigers, in the hermitage of Dadhīca 3. 98. 14; in forest 3. 61. 123; move in herds (*yūthaśaḥ*) 3. 61. 8; chased by Kauravas in the forest 3. 229. 10; hunted by Pāṇḍavas 3. 253. 1; on the Gandhamādana 3. 150. 21; water-buffalos on the Gandhamādana 3. 146. 45; overpowered by Bhīma 3. 176. 4 (measure of strength); monkeys huge like buffalos 3. 267. 11 (measure of size); appear at the release of the *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42.

mātaṅga- 'elephant', found on mountains 3. 61. 37; many die in wars 3. 255. 29; for comparison of a gait (especially an elephant in rut) 3. 79. 14, 261. 9; elephant fighting an elephant 3. 12. 56. Cf. *kuñjara-*, *gaja-*, [1]*nāga-*, *vāraṇa-*, *hastin-*.

mārjāra- 'cat (wild)', appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43.

mīna- 'fish', moats round Laṅkā full of them 3. 268. 3; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 46; figure in a *subhāṣita* (perish in the absence of water) 3. 34. 27. Cf. *matsya-*.

mṛga- 1) 'forest animal, game animal (general)', 3. 12. 11; 59. 21; 61. 6, 37, 83, 123; 248. 1 (in Kāmyaka), 243. 21 (in Dvaita); they appear in the dream of Yudhiṣṭhira 3. 244. 2 ff.; chased by Kauravas 3. 229. 10, 11; found in the Viśākhayūpa forest on Yāmuna mt. 3. 174. 17; hunted for food 3. 257. 9; 253. 1–4; sacrificial animals hunted for Brāhmaṇas

3. 79. 8; in Daṇḍaka forest 3. 263. 24; many kind of '*divya*' game animals on Śveta mt. 3. 220. 24; raise sounds when struck by rain 3. 179. 7; appear at the relese of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42; harsh sounds uttered by them resorting to the direction lit by the sun (*ādityadīptā*), a bad omen indicating insult or attack by enemies 3. 253. 3; 2) 'deer', found in hermitage 3. 61. 61; meat sold in a slaughter-house at Mithilā 3. 198. 10; for break-fast 3. 251. 11, 12; many types *aiṇeya, pṛṣata* etc. 3. 251. 12; king Uśīnara willing to give the hawk (Indra) a deer 3. 131. 16, not accepted by the hawk 17; Mārīca took the form of a deer 3. 262. 11, 17; 263. 10 (*mahāmṛga*); Yamadharma took the form of a deer 3. 298. 13. 20, took away in its antlers the churning sticks of a Brāhmaṇa 3. 295. 8, 9 (*mahāmṛga*). 10, 14; for comparison (eyes) 3. 60. 29; 264. 72; (lion attacking deer) 3. 221. 55; when the deer entered the *mānuṣa tīrtha* they became humans 3. 81. 13. Cf. *hariṇa-*.

meṣa- 'goat', Vātāpi turned into a goat whose meat served to Agastya 3. 97. 3.

raṅku- 'a kind of deer', its hair used for making mattresses 3. 225. 9.

rājahaṁsa- 'white-feathered goose' (B.), in the lakes and rivers on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 66.

ruru- 'a kind of deer', in forests 3. 61. 2; 296. 40; on the Gandhamādana 3. 146. 45; killed by Pāṇḍavas for feeding Brāhmaṇas 3. 47. 7; offered for breakfast 3. 251. 12.

rauhī- 'a kind of female deer', for comparison (*rauhīva trastā*) 3. 265. 7.

lakṣmaṇā- 'heron (B.)', the cries of women whose husbands have fallen on battle-field compared with the autumnal sounds of these birds 3. 169. 21.

lohapṛṣṭha- 'a species of bird' ('red-backed' B.), uttering sweet sounds on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 76.

vaḍavā- 'mare,' yoked to a chariot 3. 133. 23; the fire Ūrdhvabhāj has a mare's mouth 3. 209. 20.

vatsa- 'calf', 3. 82. 77.

vayas- 'bird', food for them placed on ground at *Vaiśvadeva* 3. 2. 57. Cf. *dvija-, pakṣin-, patrin-*.

varāha- 'boar', in forests 3. 61. 2, 8 (in herds); 296. 40; their sounds heard during rainy season 3. 179. 7; wander without fear in the hermitage of Dadhīca 3. 98. 14; on mountains 3. 61. 37; on mt. Yāmuna 3. 174. 17; in Dvaitavana, chased by Kauravas 3. 229. 10; hunted by Pāṇḍavas

3. 253. 1; meat sold in the slaughter-house of Mithilā 3. 198. 31; offered as breakfast 3. 251. 13; king Uśīnara offers a boar to the hawk (Indra) 3. 131. 16, 17; appear at the release of the *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43; *daitya* Mūka takes the form of a boar 3. 40. 8; 163. 17; Viṣṇu takes the form of a boar 3. 100. 19; 294. 28; Viṣṇu in the form of a boar present at Vārāha tīrtha 3. 81. 15; Mārkaṇḍeya sees boars in the belly of the Child 3. 186. 106.

vartikā– 'quail', of terrible appearance, with one wing, eye, and foot, vomitting blood, making harsh sounds facing the sun (*pratyādityam*), a bad omen 3. 176. 42.

vājin– 'horse', yoked to the chariot of Indrajit 3. 273. 25; used in the army 3. 253. 23; 268. 6; Subāhu's mountainous kingdom in Himālayas had many horses 3. 141. 24. Cf. *aśva*-, *saindhava*-, *haya*-.

vānara– 'monkey', described as *vanya* 3. 271. 27, and living where it will (*yatrecchakanivāsa*) 3. 260. 13; move in herds (*yūthaśaḥ*) 3. 61. 8; many found on way to Gandhamādana 3. 145. 13–14; in the army of Rāma 3. 266. 6; 267. 2, 6, 12, 13, 25, 27; 268. 26, 34; 271. 4, 27; 274. 23; 275. 25, 50, 53; fight the *rākṣasas* 2. 268. 37, with trees 274. 4, nails and teeth 268. 36; faces (red) like ground vermilion (*hiṅgulaka*) 3. 267. 11; appearance white like śirīṣa flower 3. 267. 10; 268. 27, or like *śara* 268. 27, or like autumnal cloud 3. 267. 11; or they look like rice-fields or morning sun 3. 268. 27; hairy 3. 268. 36; huge like mountain summits or a buffalo 3. 267. 11; those killed in war brought back to life by Brahman 3. 275. 41–42; honoured by Rāma with jewels 3. 275. 53, 54; gods beget them on excellent female monkeys 3. 260 7, 11; *rākṣasas*, working as spies, assume their form 3. 267. 52; a demon takes this form to attack Kṛṣṇa 3. 23. 10; Hanūmant, Sugrīva and others so called 3. 149. 4; 150. 1; 264. 9, 10, 12, 17; 266. 32, 60, 63; *vānarendra* (Sugrīva) 3. 266. 20; (Gaja and Gavaya) 3. 267. 3; *vānarapuṁgava*, *vānaramukhya* (Sugrīva and others) 3. 266. 11; 267. 23; *vānarapati* (Vālin) 3. 264. 18; *vānararāja* (Vālin) 3. 263. 41, (Sugrīva) 263. 42; 264. 11, 57; *prājñavānara* (Aṅgada) 3. 267. 54; *vānararṣabha* 3. 268. 35. Cf. *kapi*-, *plavaga*-, *śākhāmṛga*-, [1]*hari*-.

vāyasa– 'crow', feast on flesh on blood 3. 255. 31; crying, interpreted as saying 'go, go' (*yāhi yāhi*) listed among bad omens 3. 176. 44; their harsh sound heard at the *yugānta* 3. 188. 81; at the end of Kali age trees will be full of crows 3. 186. 37.

vāraṇa– 'elephant', king Bhīma of Vidarbha had a *śālā* for them 3. 71. 6; get excited at the sound of chariot 3. 71. 7; sport with female elephants in the lakes near the *āśrama* of Dadhīca 3. 98. 15; on the Gandhamādana mt. 3. 146. 45; 150. 19; overpowered by Bhīma in combats 3. 176. 4. Cf. *kuñjara-*, *gaja-*, [1]*nāga-*, *mātaṅga-*, *hastin-*.

vṛka– 'wolf', in a figure of speech (*siṁhagoṣṭhaṁ vṛko yathā*) 3. 251. 8.

vṛṣa– 'bull', setting free a dark one (*nīla*) highly meritorious 3. 82. 85. Cf. *ukṣan-*, *ṛṣabha-*, [2]*go-*, *vṛṣabha-*, *govṛṣa-*.

vṛṣabha– 'bull', for comparison (two bulls fighting) 3. 12. 53; its shoulder (*vṛṣabhaskandha*) 3. 292. 5; setting free a bull (see *vṛṣa-*) 3. 83. 11. Cf. *ukṣan-*, *ṛṣabha-*, [2]*go-*, *govṛṣa-*, *vṛṣa-*.

vyāghra– 'tiger', infest forests 3. 61. 2, 25; in the caves of Himavant 3. 107. 6; near Himālayas and on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 13, 63; 146. 39 (some killed by Bhīma); one meets them on the Gandhamādana if one is not restrained 3. 142. 27; overpowered by Bhīma 3. 176. 4; hermitage of Dadhīca filled with their roars 3. 98. 18; Sītā protected by a tiger (a dream seen by Avindhya) 3. 264. 70; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42; Mārkaṇḍeya saw tigers in the belly of the Child 3. 186. 106; for comparison (two tigers fighting each other with nails and fangs) 3. 12. 54; in a simile (*balotkaṭa*) 3. 255. 3 (also cf. expressions like *puruṣavyāghra*); in a mode of expression (inviting danger to oneself) 3. 134. 3. Cf. *śārdūla-*.

vyāghravadhū– 'tigress', in a mode of expression (*kroṣṭā vyāghravadhūm iva*) 3. 248. 17.

[1]*vyāla*– 'beast of prey' (*vṛkavyāghrādayaḥ* – Nī.), in forests 3. 2. 3; 59. 21; in Dvaitavana 3. 243. 21; in Kāmyaka forest 3. 253. 2. Cf. *śvāpada-*.

[2]*vyāla*– 'serpent', in simile (*ucchvasantaḥ*) 3. 253. 22.

vyālī– 'female serpent', for comparing Sītā's braided hair 3. 265. 25; in a mode of expression (its meaning not clear) *śoṣayiṣyāmi gātrāṇi vyālī tālagatā yathā*) 3. 264. 50. (Cf. *tāla*–, ABORI LXVII. 237, 1986).

śakuna– 'bird', with wings shining like gold seen by Nala (really dice turned into birds) 2. 58. 11, 15; of various forms and chirping differently on Himavant 3. 107. 7; not identified, sitting in the intermediate spaces (*vivareṣu*) on trees on the Gandhamādana, they had plumages like diadems 3. 155. 56. Cf. *śakunta-*.

śakunta– 'bird', in a simile 3. 234. 12 (*śakuntā iva pañjare*); 3. 273. 2 (*śakuntāv iva*). Cf. *śakuna*-.

śatapatra– 'wood-pecker' (M. W.), 'pheasant' (B.) on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 73, on Himavant 3. 107. 8.

śambara– 'kind of deer', offered at breakfast 3. 251. 12.

śarabha– has eight feet, kills lions 3. 134. 14; found on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 35, filled with their roars 64; offered as breakfast 3. 251. 12; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43.

śalabha– 'locust', in comparison (appear in large numbers) 3. 167. 23.

śaśa– 'rabbit', offered at breakfast 3. 251. 12; at Śaśayāna tīrtha, lotus flowers remain concealed in the form of rabbits? 3. 80. 120; moon has the mark of a rabbit 3. 266. 2.

śākhāmṛga– 'monkey', in hermitage 3. 61. 61; Rāma's allies 3. 276. 11; 266. 61, 63 (*sarvaśākhāmṛgendra*); used as a contemptuous term for ugly woman 3. 251. 3 (*śākhāmṛgastrī*-). Cf. *kapi*-, *plavaga*-, *vānara*-, [1]*hari*-.

śārikā– 'maina', on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 73.

śārdūla– 'tiger', on the Gandhamādana 3. 150. 21; animals, like buffalos, afraid of them 3. 98. 14; called *araṇyarāj*-, 3. 61. 19, 30; *araṇyanṛpati*- 3. 61. 33; *mṛgendra*- 3. 61. 32; figures in comparison 3. 268. 18. Cf. *vyāghra*-.

śārdūlī– 'tigress', in a mode of expression 3. 262. 28.

śālāvṛka– 'jackal', howling on the left of a person, a bad omen 3. 253. 8; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43. Cf. *gomāyu*-, *śiva*-, *śṛgāla*-.

śikhin– 'peacock', in Bhīma's palace dance at the hearing of the chariot sound considering it to be the time for the appearance of the cloud 3. 71. 6, 7; overjoyed peacocks roam about during rainy season 3. 179. 8. Cf. *barhin*-, *barhiṇa*-, *mayūra*-, *śikhaṇḍin*-.

śikhaṇḍin– 'peacock', move in the company of peahens on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 72. Cf. *barhin*-, *barhiṇa*-, *mayūra*-, *śikhin*-.

śikhaṇḍinī– 'peahen', near the bowers on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 53; move there in the company of peacocks 3. 155. 72.

śiva– 'jackal', at the end of the *yuga*, the crossroads will be *śivaśūlāḥ* ('will bristle with jackals' B.). 3. 186. 36. Cf. *gomāyu*-, *śālāvṛka*-, *śṛgāla*-.

śivā– 'female-jackal', their sounds, an ill omen when made standing towards the south 3. 176. 41, or towards the south-west 3. 281. 74.

śṛgāla– 'jackal', entering a lotus pond, an improper act (mode of expression) 3. 253. 19. Cf. *gomāyu*-, *śiva*-, *śālāvṛka*-.

śauṇḍa– 'elephant' (Nī.), 'drunkard' (B.) in a mode of expression (a jar from which water has been drunk by elephants) 3. 253. 5.

śyena– 'hawk', Indra takes the form of a hawk to test king Uśīnara 3. 130. 19, 28; in a simile (hawks rush at a piece of meat) 3. 253. 24.

śvāna– 'dog', feast on flesh and blood on battle-field 3. 255. 31; mode of expression (oblation becomes unworthy when licked by a dog) 3. 275. 13; 253. 19, 20; their mother Saramā 3. 29. 33; *śvanara*- 'a lowly person' 3. 252. 3; *śvadṛti*- 'a bag made of dog's skin 3. 34. 78; *śvapaca*- 'a low-caste man' 3. 2. 57.

śvāpada– 'beast of prey', in forests 3. 64. 18. Cf. [1]*vyāla*-.

ṣaṭpada– 'bee', the hermitage of Dadhīca humming with their sounds 3. 98. 13; in the lotuses in the ponds on the Gandhamādana 3. 150. 23.

sarīsṛpa– 'reptile', in forests 3. 2. 3; over-joyed (*matta*) in rainy season 3. 179. 4; one meets them on the Gandhamādana if one is not restrained (*aniyata*) 3. 142. 27.

sarpa– 'serpent', (mythical ?) Rāvaṇa not to be defeated by them 3. 259. 25; in similes, serpent in a house 3. 222. 1; hissing like a serpent 3. 225. 13. Cf. *āśīviṣa*-, *uraga*-, [2]*nāga*-, *pannaga*-, *bhogin*-, [2]*vyāla*-.

sārasa– 'crane', making sweet sounds on Himavant 3. 107. 9; near Himalayan rivers 3. 39. 18; in the lakes and rivers on the Gandhamādana 3. 155. 66, 75; their presence indicative of nearness of water 3. 296. 8, 11; yoked (along with *haṁsa*) to the heavenly *vimāna* 3. 246. 31.

siṁha– 'lion', near the hermitage of Dadhīca 3. 98. 16; in forest 3. 61. 25; on mountains 3. 61. 37; many on Himālayas 3. 155. 13, 35, 63; in its caves 3. 107. 6; 146. 57; on the Gandhamādana many attack Bhīma and get killed 3. 146. 39, 46, 48; one meets them on the Gandhamādana if one is not restrained (*aniyata*) 3. 142. 27; having manes 3. 176. 4; 221. 3; *śarabha* kills them 3. 134. 14; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 42; a thousand, yoked to Śiva's chariot, move through the air 3. 221. 2–3; Mārkaṇḍeya sees them in the belly of the Child 3. 186. 106; for comparison, man entering his youth 3. 292. 21; gait (*vikrānta*) 3. 71. 12; chest (*uras*) 3. 61. 12; jaws (*daṁṣṭra*) 3. 157. 27; attacking

small animals 3. 221. 55; 272. 10; mode of expression not easy to fight them 3. 48. 39; wolf entering lion's den 3. 251. 8; plucking eyelashes and kicking a sleeping lion 3. 252. 6; touching his jaws 3. 261. 49; lion's roar 3. 267. 10; 221. 51; 230. 5; 274. 18; undeserved esteem 3. 133. 20 (*siṁhīkṛtaḥ*). Cf. ²*hari*.

suparṇa– 'eagle', snatch snakes from ponds 3. 253. 5; mythical birds 3. 157. 14, 19; present at Prayāga 3. 83. 67; visit Kubera's residence on mt. Kailāsa 3. 140. 11; visit Gandhamādana on *parvan* days 3. 156. 18. Cf. *garuḍa*-.

suparṇī– 'female eagle', 3. 215. 4; form taken by Svāhā, daughter of Dakṣa, 3. 214. 9. Cf. *garuḍī*-.

sūkara– 'pig', mode of expression (high-born woman not likely to be enamoured of a low person) 3. 262. 37 (*kathaṁ ... kareṇuḥ sūkaraṁ spṛśet*).

sṛmara– 'marsh deer' (B.), move without fear in the hermitage of Dadhīca 3. 98. 14; appear at the release of *raudra astra* 3. 170. 43.

saindhava– 'Sindhu steed', very swift 3. 253. 6.

stokaka– (= *cātaka* Nī.), move about intoxicated during the rainy season 3. 179. 8.

haṁsa– 'goose', seen in large numbers in autumn 3. 179. 10; lake Pampā full of them 3. 263. 40; on Himavant 3. 107. 7; singing in the rivers on the Himālayas 3. 39. 18; 175. 9; Gandhamādana peaks and lotus lakes full of their notes 3. 161. 4, 5; 155. 50; in the lotus pond near Kubera's abode 3. 151 6; they go to mt. Meru through a hole in the Krauñca mt. made by Kumāra 3. 245. 31; a heavenly *vimāna* to which swans (and peacocks) are yoked 3. 83. 29; 246. 31; 275. 19; swans ornamented with gold (*jātarūpaparicchada*) caught by Nala, can speak like human beings, bring about marriage of Nala and Damayantī 3. 50. 18, 19, 30–31; 61. 15; 74. 13; for comparison, 3. 288. 16 (whiteness), 3. 134. 1 (noise made by debaters), (sounds) 3. 112. 6, 1. 43.

haya– 'horse', in the army 3. 249. 11; obtained as tribute by Arjuna from the Gandharvas (speckled like partridge (*tittira*) and swift as wind) 3. 79. 23–24; yoked to Kubera's chariot called *gāndharva* 3. 158. 23; Nala (Bāhuka) expert in the knowledge of horses (*hayajña*) 3. 69. 23. 33; 73. 6; (*hayajñāna*) 3. 76. 16; (*hayakovida*) 3. 70. 17; (*hayatattvajña*) 3. 69. 2, 16; Śālihotra, reputed expert in *aśvavidyā* (*kulatattvavid*) 3. 69. 25; Nala (Bāhuka) expert in controlling horses 3. 69. 23, 34; Dāruki (son of Dāruka) skilled in controlling horses 3. 20. 5, knew their

maṇḍala-varieties 3. 20. 8; spurred by *pratoda*, and controlled by reins 3. 20. 9. Cf. *aśva*-, *vājin*-, *saindhava*-.

[1]*hari*– 'monkey', Sugrīva's followers 3. 266. 17; in Rāma's army, swift as wind 3. 268. 23; limbs red like *karabha* ('vermilion' B.) 3. 268. 25; 267. 7, 21; *śāla* and *tāla* trees and rocks their weapons 3. 267. 18; 269. 4, 5; 270. 8, 15, 16, 23; 271. 2; 272. 24; 275. 16; *hariyūthapa*- 3. 271. 6; 274. 2; *hariyūthapa-yūthapa*- 3. 267. 9; *harīndra*- 3. 267. 14; *harimahāmātra*- 3. 267. 17; Hanūmant called *hari* 3. 150. 3; 270. 12; Nīla so called 3. 271. 25; Sugrīva called *hari* 3. 266. 13, *harīndra* 3. 266. 30, *haripuṁgava* 3. 264. 6. Cf. *kapi*-, *plavaga*-, *vānara*-, *śākhā-mṛga*-.

[2]*hari*– 'lion', mode of expression (kicking a sleeping lion, a foolish thing to do) 3. 252. 7. Cf. *siṁha*.

hariṇa– 'deer', on the Gandhamādana 3. 146. 28; 150. 20, 25; offered at breakfast 3. 251. 12. Cf. *mṛga*-.

hariṇī– 'female deer', on the Gandhamādana 3. 150. 20; in comparison (one strayed away from the herd) 3. 61. 23.

hastin– 'elephant', one of the constituents of the army 3. 236. 7, *hastyāroha*- warrior fighting from elephant-back 3. 255. 22; herd of elephants tramples on the members of a caravan 3. 62. 6; in comparison (a lotus plant harassed by an elephant's trunk) 3. 65. 14. Cf. *kuñjara*-, *gaja*-, [1]*nāga*-, *mātaṅga*-, *vāraṇa*-.

ONCE AGAIN "DRAUPADĪ'S GARMENTS"

M. A. MEHENDALE

The *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.) tells us in the Sabhāparvan, if we follow the text adopted by the Poona Critical Edition (2.61.40-41), that an attempt was made by Duḥśāsana to snatch away Draupadī's garment. He did not succeed in his attempt to uncover a part of her body because she was covered by garments which appeared on her person one after the other. The text of the Mbh. adopted by the Critical Edition, thus, notes the incident but has no explanation to offer of the miracle of garments (*adbhutatamam* 2.61.42). A. Hiltebeitel has sought to offer an explanation by resorting to a 'nature mythology' interpretation of the Mbh. scene.[1]

The interpretation suggested is as follows : Draupadī stands for earth; the attempt of Duḥśāsana to disrobe her is to be understood as the attempt of the sun to lay bare earth in summer; the attempt fails; this happens because garments appear 'automatically' on Draupadī's body which signifies that the sun's attempt to lay bare earth in summer fails because the earth is covered in the rainy season with the automatically growing plants.

In the opinion of Hiltebeitel we have enough indications in the epic to offer above interpretation : In the first instance Draupadī's name Kṛṣṇā 'the black one' points to the black earth. Secondly, the suggestion to disrobe Draupadī is made by Karṇa who, as son of the sun, stands for the latter. Thirdly, Karṇa is killed by Arjuna, son of Indra who sends down water in the rainy season to cover the earth with plants. Thus, we obtain a chain Sun - Earth - Indra which is paralleled by Karṇa-Draupadī - Arjuna. There is one more indication in the epic which, according to Hiltebeitel, further strengthens the above parallelism. Before the great war begins, Kṛṣṇa attempts to tempt Karṇa to come over to the side of the Pāṇḍavas by telling him that Karṇa's change of sides will make him the sixth husband of Draupadī (Mbh. 5.138.15). Karṇa does not accept the suggestion because it is tantamount to the union of the Earth and the Sun, a cosmological impossiblility (p. 103). The constant opposition between the Karṇa and Draupadī is nothing but the reflection of the opposition between the Earth and the Sun. It is only at the end of the aeon (*yugānta*) that the one sun begets seven and is able to scorch the earth completely thus making it totally bare. But in the Sabhāparvan the attempt to disrobe Draupadī fails. "In simplest terms, the restoration of Draupadī's sarees shows that, except at the time of *pralaya*, the Earth's power to restore her garments is inexhaustible". (p. 104).

If we interpret the Sabhāparvan episode in the light of nature-mythology, the unexplained phenomenon of the garments appearing automatically on Draupadī's body is easily explained.

It is difficult to agree with the above view of Hiltebeitel. In the first instance, the two assumptions which compel Hilterbeitel to invoke nature mythology are baseless. He assumes that Karṇa asked Duḥśāsana to remove from Draupadī's person her saree to disrobe her., This is not correct. What Karṇa asked Duḥśāsana to do was to remove only her upper garment (*uttarīya*), witness what the Pāṇḍavas did and how they understood the word '*vāsas*' in Karṇa's instruction (*pāṇḍavānāṁ ca vāsāṁsi Draupadyāś cāpyupāhara* Mbh. 2.61.38).[2] Hiltebeitel also assumes that the garments appeared *automatically* on Draupadī's body. Although there is no stanza explaning the miracle in the text accepted in the Critical Edition, we cannot neglect the fact that the tradition has offered two explanations of it. One is that Draupadī prayed Kṛṣṇa and he supplied her with the necessary garments. The other is that Dharma supplied her the garments. This latter explanation can only mean that Draupadī in the difficult situation she was placed did *satyakriyā* putting at stake her scrupulous observance of *dharma*[3] and succeeded in failing Duḥśāsana's attempt. This explanation, and not the first one, is more likely to be closer to the 'original' epic and hence it is not necessary to assume that garments appeared automatically, without any supernatural intervention, on Draupadī's person.

Thus it is unnecessary to bring in nature – mythology to understand the sequence of events in the Mbh. Even otherwise Hiltebeitel's explanation does not stand the test of scrutiny.

In the first instance let it be remembered that Karṇa asked Duḥśāsana to get the (upper) garment not of Draupadī alone but of the Pāṇaḍavas as well. The Pāṇḍavas obliged him by removing their upper garments themselves and putting them aside. If Duḥśāsana's unsuccessful attempt is to be understood on the basis of nature-mythology, then in this explanation there must be a place also for the Pāṇḍavas removing their upper garments and sitting with parts of their bodies bare in the assembly. But in Hiltebeitel's explanation there is nothing to correspond to this part of the incident. If the metaphorical explanation is to be established, it should neatly embrace the whole incident and not just one convenient part of it.

Next, as far as the natural event is concerned it is the sun who during the summer months tries to lay bare the earth and does not ask some one else to do it. In the epic narrative it is not Karṇa (son of the Sun) who tries to snatch the garment of Draupadī but asks Duḥśāsana to do it. In the nature-mythology imagined by Hiltebeitel there is nothing to correspond to Duḥśāsana. Hiltebeitel is aware of this discrepancy. He tries to explain it away by pointing out that at the time of *pralaya* the Sun succeeds in laying bare the Earth and hence the Sun does the act himself. On other occasions, that is during annual summer, the attempt is not successful and hence

in the epic Duḥśāsana is shown dragging the garment and not Karṇa. But this escape is not satisfactory. It would have been so, provided in summer the unsuccessful attempt to lay bare the earth was made by some agency other than the sun.

Thirdly, Hiltebeitel on the one hand wants us to believe that the sun's attempt does not become successful on account of the earth's intrinsic power to cover herself with plants, but at the same time he also says that the earth needs rain-water supplied by Indra to enable the plants to grow. In the epic narrative, however, Arjuna, son of Indra, is of no help to Draupadī to cover herself with garments. Arjuna kills Karṇa no doubt, but it has nothing to do with foiling Duḥśāsana's attempt to carry out Karṇa's instruction.

Fourthly, Hiltebeitel asserts that it is god Indra who supplies rain-water to earth. This is only partially true. In the epics Indra does appear as rain-god. But the older vedic tradition tells us that it is god Sun who sends down rain. That the sun has a hand in the phenomenon of rain is not unknown also in post-Vedic period as can be seen from expression such as *navamāsadhṛtaṁ garbhaṁ bhāskarasya gabhastibhiḥ* (Rām. 4.28.3) and *sahasraguṇam utsraṣṭum ādatte hi rasaṁ raviḥ* (Raghu. 1.18).[4] If this older and continuing tradition is to be relied upon, then in the epic Karṇa should have helped Draupadī to get the garments, but that is an impossibility.

Hiltebeitel at one stage observes : "They did not pick Karṇa's name out of hat for his rôle at the disrobing" (p. 102). In his opinion this has happened because in nature mythology it is the sun who tries to disrobe the earth and in the epic Karṇa is son of the Sun.

Hiltebeitel, apparently, has a different view of the role of the epic author. The epic narrator is not a dramatist-cum-producer who has a bunch of actors at his disposal and undertakes to write a stage-play keeping in view certain roles for certain actors. The business of the epic narrator is to narrate the event as it happened in the past. If in the event to be described by him Karṇa acted in a certain way, he has to say so, and has no choice. The situation in the epic event was not such as if the narrator had many choices and that he picked up one of them. After all who but Karṇa in the Assembly could issue the particular instruction he did to Duḥśāsana? There are only three persons – Duryodhana, Śakuni and Karṇa – who could come up for consideration. In the Sabhā, Śakuni's role is restricted to the winning of the dice-game. This done, he remains a passive on-looker. The upper garments of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī were to be removed because, apparently, the dāsas and the dāsīs had no right to use them. There was no doubt about the Pāṇḍavas having become the dāsas. The case of Draupadī was yet to be decided. Duryodhana had admitted the question raised by

Draupadī which meant that in his opinion it was not decided whether she had become a dāsī or not. Hence, he was most unlikely to issue the instruction. In the whole assembly it was Karṇa alone who had no doubt that Draupadī had become the slave of the Kauravas. Hence, it is easily understandable that he, and no one else, asked Duḥśāsana to get the garments. There is nothing here which the author of the Mahābhārata has done with some motive.

Hiltebeitel attempts to bolster up his explanation by pointing out further that Karṇa, as suggested to him by Kṛṣṇa, does not leave the side of the Kauravas and go over to the Pāṇḍavas to become the sixth husband of Draupadī. According to Hiltebeitel this happens because the union of sun (represented by Karṇa) and earth (represented by Draupadī) is an impossibility. But why does one have to imagine a reason for Karṇa's not leaving the side of the Kauravas? In the case of garments the critical text of the epic has no stanza to explain the incident and hence one can understand Hiltebeitel's imagining some kind of explanation. But in the case of Karṇa not deserting the Kauravas the Mahābhārata does not leave anything to imagination. It tells us quite clearly that Karṇa does not leave the Kauravas because he had enjoyed his kinghship for thirteen years on account of Duryodhana's support, and that he did not want to betray his friend who had started the conflict with the Pāṇḍavas relying mainly on Karṇa's support (5.139.13, 15-18). Why should one not accept this sensible explanation and imagine something which has no basis?

The review of Hiltebeitel's interpretation of the garment-episode does not end here. In his opinion, the identification of Kṛṣṇā Draupadī with black earth is only one facet of her larger identification with *prakṛti* constituted of the three guṇas: *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas*. This identification of Hiltebeitel is based not on the evidence offered by the text of the critical edition but by an interpolated stanza. It is strange that Hiltebeitel discards the evidence of the interpolated passages while treating the first identification of Draupadī with earth, but for the second identification (Draupadī = *prakṛti*), he has no hesitation in resorting to the interpolated passage.

One of the *interpolated* stanzas in the incident of the garments (2.61.553*) says that the garments appearing on Draupadī's body were of different colours and were also *virāga* (*nānārāga-virāgāṇi*).

Actually the above words do not specify the colours of the garments. If they were of different colours one of them could, of course, be red. Hiltebeitel picks it up as it suits his explanation. Next, he requires white colour. This also, like the red, he could have got from the general description *nānārāga*. But he does not do that because the white colour of the garments is offered to him by the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha who interprets the word *virāga as kevalaśveta* 'pure white'. The third colour, black, required by him for Draupadī's

identification with *prakṛti* is given to him by Draupadī herself who is known to be *Kṛṣṇā*. Hiltebeitel, thus, sees before him 'black' Draupadī putting on alternately, 'pure white' and 'red' garments (he of course neglects other equally possible colours of the garments like yellow, blue etc.) which, in his opinion, represent the fundamental 'qualities' of nature, thus enabling him to identify Draupadī with *prakṛti*. "Draupadī's identification with Earth is thus only one facet of her fuller identification with *prakṛti* 'nature'. As the epic's primary embodiment of the Hindu Goddess, she represents all of nature, not just the Earth" (p. 107)

For various reason this second identification is as unacceptable as the initial one.

In the first instance, the 'garments' in the form of plants which cover the earth in rainy season are strikingly green in colour and they are neither red, nor white. Hence, one cannot set aside this colour and imagine that the garments which, for Hiltebeitel, appeared automatically on Draupadī's body and which therefore stand for plants were red or white in colour. Next, as noticed above, the two colours – white and red – required by Hiltebeitel have not been directly stated even in the interpolated text. As a matter of fact the evidence given by the text accepted in the Critical Edition should have settled the point. It clearly states that the garments were only of one colour (*tadrūpam aparaṁ vastram* 2.61.41), i.e. if the original upper garment put on by Draupadī was white, the rest were white, if red red, etc. Hiltebeitel no doubt notes this point (p. 105), yet has no hesitation in drawing upon the evidence of the interpolated passage. In his opinion this passage "makes up for this uncertainty" regarding the colour of the garments. But, in fact, it does not. Even this interpolated text does not specify any colour, much less red and white, but simply says that the garments were of different colours. In these circumstances, it is not proper just to choose the colour which suits the intended interpretation. It is again extremely doubtful if *virāga* can mean *kevalaśveta* as assumed by Nīlakaṇtha. The expression *virāgavāsas* can means 'a garment of different colours, variegated'. The interpolated passage means that the garments which appeared to cover Draupadī were of two types, some of different colours, i.e. each one of a different colour, and some variegated, i.e. each one having different colours.[5]

Hiltebeitel approvingly refers to the views of Heino Gehrts[6] who sees connection between the garments of Draupadī and those brought by Uttara, son of Virāṭa, in the Virāṭaparvan. When Uttara is about to march out to get back the cows plundered by the Kauravas his sister Uttarā and her friends ask his charioteer Bṛhannaḍā (= Arjuna) to get for them the (upper) garments (*vāsāṁsi*) of the Kaurava heroes so that they could make dolls out of them.[7] The garments brought back were of three colours - white of Kṛpa,

yellow of Karṇa, and blue of Aśvatthāman and Duryodhana. Since the garments in both the episodes are various and colourful, Gehrts has seen connection between the two.

Hiltebeitel agrees with Gehrts and asserts that it is possible to find further evidence for connecting the two episodes by pointing to the fact that the stanza in which Bṛhannaḍā is asked to get the garments we find the use of the word *pāñcālikā*. The word means both 'Draupadī' as well as 'doll.' When Bṛhannaḍā is asked to get the garments *pāñcālikārtham*, there is also a hint, argues Hiltebeitel,: 'bring the garments for Draupadī.' Now the garments of the Sabhāparvan, since they stand for plants covering the earth, symbolize rebirth. They were given not to Draupadī, although they were meant for 'Pāñcālikā', but to Uttarā because they were brought for making dolls. In the opinion of Hiltebeitel this change is highly significant. It suggests that regeneration of the Pāṇḍavas, i.e. continuation of their line, was to take place not through Draupadī – since all her five sons were massacred –, but through Uttarā. Hence in the Virāṭaparvan, Uttarā takes the place of Draupadī.

This argument suffers from various drawbacks. It is based on grounds which range from being inadequate to impossible.

Before we go into the details, let us once again see what the Mahābhārata has actually to tell us. In the Sabhāparvan it tells us that when in the Assembly Duḥśāsana tried to remove the (upper) garment of Draupadī there appeared other garments of the same colour to cover her. And in the Virāṭaparvan incident we are told that Uttara brought garments of some of the Kaurava warriors which were white, yellow and blue in colour.

The relationship between the two garments, as mentioned above, rests on their 'similarity'. But since the colour of the garments is not specified at all in the Sabhā, the question of seeking similarity based on colour does not arise at all. And even if we admit for the time being the two colours – red and white – chosen by the Hiltebeitel for the Sabhā incident, they do not match the colours of the garments in the Virāṭaparvan. If the garments (standing for plants) symbolize rebirth through Uttarā, what kind of rebirth do they indicate when they appear on Draupadī's body? The garments of Draupadī stand for plants, and hence for rebirth, because they are supposed to appear automatically. No such automaticity is seen for the garments of the Kauravas. Yet they symbolize rebirth because they are 'similar' to those of Draupadī in a very vague way. Admitting, the latter were garments of rebirth, they should have covered Uttarā. This definitely does not happen. She at the most touches them while making dolls. But so do her friends who were also apparently involved in the making of the dolls. In spite of all these difficulties, if the garments of the Kauravas are to be looked upon as garments of rebirth, and were handed over to Uttarā, and not to Draupadī, for the purpose mentioned above, then to imagine

that the author of the Mahābhārata suggested the continuation of the line of the Pāṇḍavas through Uttarā with garments of the Kauravas is something preposterous.

If the author of the Mahābhārata did want to convey a suggested meaning by the use of the word *pāñcālikārtham* it could only be 'bring the garments of the Kaurava heroes for Draupadī, i.e. bring them to avenge the insult done to her by trying to remove her upper garment in the Sabhā'. Neither the garments of the first nor of the second episode have anything to do with rebirth or the continuation of the line of the Paṇḍavas.

NOTES :

1. Alf Hiltebeitel : Draupadī's Garments, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 22.97-112 (1980).
2. I have argued this point at length in a Marathi article published in the *Navabhārata* (Wai, Dt. Satara, Maharashtra) April 1987. Hiltebeitel's translation (p. 98) of the above line " strip the Pāṇḍava's and Draupadī's clothes" goes beyond the text.
3. *nānārāgavirāgāṇi vasanāny atha vai prabho prādurbhavanti śataśo dharmasya paripālanāt* 2.61.553.* For Draupadī taking recourse to *satyakriyā* on a different occasion see Mbh. 4.14.18.
4. For a detailed and very instructive account, see H. Lüders, Varuṇa, I 308-314.
5. In the Virāṭaparvan (35.23), the garments, in a different context, are similarly described as *citrāṇi* (variegated -- *virāga* of the interpolated Sabhāparvan passage) and *vividhāni* (of different colours = *nānārāga* of the same passage).
6. *Mahābhārata : Das Geschehen und seine Bedeutung*, Bonn, 1975-206-207; 224-225. This work is not accessible to me.
7. Mbh. 4.35.23.

The Custom of *Sahagamana* : some early references

M. A. Mehendale

Writing on the subject of *satī* about fifty years ago, the late M. M. Prof. Dr. P. V. Kane observed : "The subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i.e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime... We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal[1]".

When Dr. Kane wrote these lines India was under the British rule. Now, some forty years after independence, the situation described above unfortunately does not seem to be quite true. The passions aroused by the Rupkanwar incident in Rajasthan a few years ago would not permit us to describe the subject of *satī* as of mere academic interest. However, it is certainly worth-while to look at the subject academically and try to interpret correctly the proper significance of the available references. After the unfortunate Rajasthan incident allusions were often made to the Vedic *mantras* and to the Mādrī-episode in the *Mahābhārata (Mbh.)*. It has therefore become imperative to have a fuller account of the Mbh. incident and place it before the public.

But, first, to start with the Vedic literature it may be observed that there is not a single case of self-immolation of a widow reported in the entire Vedic literature. We may further point out that there is no mention of self-immolation in the Avesta either. Hence we are entitled to conclude that the practice of self-immolation was not in vogue in the Indo-Iranian period.

It is however necessary to state that there is a *mantra* in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda* which together definitely point to the *satī* custom as a matter of distant past. The *mantras* in question occur among those which are used at the time of the funeral rites. The *mantras* have by now become quite famous. The *Ṛgveda mantra* runs as follows :

udīrṣva nāry abhi jīvalokaṁ gatāsum etam upa śeṣa ehi /

hastagrābhasya didhiṣos tavedaṁ patyur janitvam abhi saṁ babhūtha // Ṛv. 10.18.8.

The situation presented in the *mantra* is as follows : some one in the family has died (*gatāsu*). Before the body is cremated, his wife lies beside the dead body

(*upa śeṣe*). Some one holds her hand (*hastagrābha*) and asks her to get up and come over to the world of the living persons. The holder of the hand apparently is to become her next husband.

This *mantra* occurs also in the *Atharvaveda*. There it is preceded by another *mantra* which runs as follows :

iyaṁ nārī patilokaṁ vṛṇānā ni padyata upa tvā martya pretam / dharmaṁ purāṇam anupālayantī tasyai prajāṁ draviṇaṁ ceha dhehi //Av. 18.3.1

This *mantra* makes the above situation more clear. The woman lying near the dead body does so because she intends to obtain the world of her husband. This she does following an old custom (*dharmaṁ purāṇam*). However, some one among those that have gathered round the dead body requests the dead person to let his wife have the progeny and the wealth left behind by him.

These two *mantras* inform us that long before they were composed there was a custom following which the wife of the dead person, if she chose to follow her husband to the next world, lay beside him and was presumably cremated with him. This was the age-old custom (*purāṇa dharma*) no longer in vogue at the time of the composition of the Vedic *mantras*. During the period of the *mantras*, the wife no doubt lay near the dead body of her husband as a relic of the old custom, but was asked to get up and marry again, and to bring to her new husband the progeny and wealth of her dead husband.

As an aside it may be pointed out that among certain American Indian tribes the widow lies beside her husband's dead body as a relic of the old custom of self-immolation but is allowed to withdraw when she is nearly suffocated (as reported by Tawney-Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, p. 258). It is not known whether the custom still continues.

It was observed a little while ago that there is not even a *hint* in the *Ṛgveda* of a widow committing the act of self-immolation. The later commentators on the *Dharmaśāstras* and the Nibandhakāras, however, who favoured this practice included the following *mantra* from the *Ṛgveda* in the *saṅkalpa* to be made by the widow at the time of committing *satī*. They did this to show that the practice of *satī* was prevalent in the *Ṛgvedic* period. The *mantra* in question partly reads as :

imā nārīr avidhavāḥ supatnīḥ ... ā rohantu
janayo yonim agre //Ṛv. 10.18.7.

The *mantra* simply states that the ladies whose husbands are living and who had apparently gone to the cremation ground may return home first. It has thus nothing to do with the widow-burning. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (4.6.11-12) and the *Baudhāyana Pitṛmedhasūtra* (1.21.14) which prescribe the employment of this *mantra* have nothing to say about its relationship with *satī*. The commentator Sāyaṇa also does not say

anything of the sort. But the writers who favoured the custom of *satī* read *agne* or *agneḥ* in place of *agre*, i.e. they read the quarter as *ārohantu janayo yonim agne* or *agneḥ*. The quarter was thus forced to mean 'may the wives mount on the place of Agni' or 'oh Agni, may the wives mount on (your) place' thereby neglecting that if *agne* were vocative the accent of the end of the *mantra* would be totally different. It is surprising how the author of the *Brahmapurāṇa* and of the commentary *Aparārka* say that the *Ṛgveda* recommends self-immolation (*ṛgvedavādāt sādhvī strī na bhaved ātmaghātinī – Brahmapurāṇa* quoted by Aparārka p.111). *Aparārka* specifies that by *ṛgvedavāda* we have to understand *mantras* like '*imā nārīr avidhavāḥ* ... *Ṛv*. 10. 18.7.

It should be by now clear that the Vedic literature does not offer a single instance of any widow having committed *satī*. Next, it has to be remembered that none of the *Gṛhyasūtras* like the Āśvalāyana and the Śāṁkhāyana, nor the eariler *Smṛtis* like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya prescribe immolation by a widow. The first clear statement that a widow should burn herself with her dead husband is found in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* of about the third century A. D. The statement runs as: *mṛte bhartari brahmacaryam, tadanvārohaṇṁ vā* 25.14 It should be noted that this first statement does not make it obligatory on the part of the widow to follow the dead husband on the funeral pyre, it is mentioned as an alternative of second preference, and not the first. The author of the *Viṣṇusmṛti* would want the widow to lead the life of a celibate as her first preference. Explaining the reasons for this order of preferences a late text, *Smṛti Candrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (13th century A.D.), observes that the life of a celibate (*brahmacarya*) is to be preferred because it leads to the world of Brahman, whereas self-burning would secure heaven[2], i.e. a fruit of less value (*tatrāpi brahmacarye vyavasthānam uttamo dharmaḥ brahmalokaprāptikāratvāt* ... *etad dharmāntaram* (i.e. *anvārohaṇam*) *api brahmacaryadharmāj jaghanyaṁ nikṛṣṭaphalavāt*, V.R. Gharpure's edn p. 254).

We may hasten to add that according to Aṅgiras[3], whose opinion is cited in *Aparārka*, even this second preference alternative was not to be resorted to by a Brāhmaṇa woman. If she were to commit *satī* that would constitute the self-killing and hence would neither lead herself nor her husband to heaven (*yā strī brāhmaṇajātīyā mṛtaṁ patim anuvrajet / sā svargam ātmaghātena nātmānaṁ na patiṁ nayet*)[4].

This situation however, changes in the 6th - 7th centuries A.D. when Vedavyāsa in his *smṛti* recommends *satī* not only to Brāhmaṇa women but gives self-immolation first preference over the life of penances (*mṛtaṁ bhartāram ādāya brāhmaṇī vahnim āviśet / jīvantī ... tapasā śoṣayed vapuḥ* 2.53).

Although some writers on the Dharmaśāstra had started recommending self-immolation to widows as early as the third century A.D., their recommendation had not obtained universal approbation even upto the ninth century. This is clearly seen from the fact that the commentator Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti* vehemently opposes this recommendation. While commenting on *Manu* 5.157, a stanza[5] which has nothing to do with *satī*, Medhātithi goes out of his way to assert that self-killing is as much prohibited for women as for men and a woman who ascends the funeral pyre of her dead husband clearly violates the Vedic injuncation that no one should give up his life before the end of the prescribed life-span *(puṁvat strīṇām api pratiṣiddha ātmatyāgaḥ... asty eva patim anumaraṇe' pi striyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ / kiṁca 'tasmād u ha na purāyuṣaḥ preyāt' iti pratyakṣaśrutivirūddho' yam.)*

But the commentators like Vijñāneśvara and Aparāditya on the *Yājñavalkyamṛti* who flourished in the 11th and the first half of the 12th century A.D. have very strongly supported the custom of *satī*. According to them the practice of self-immolation is meant for all women, irrespective of the caste. The only exception they make is those of pregnant women, and those who have young children to look after (*ayaṁ ca sarvāsām strīṇāṁ agarbhiṇīnām abālāpatyānām ācaṇḍālaṁ sādhārano dharmaḥ – Mitā*, on *Yājñ*. 1.86). These commentators as well as the authors of the *Nibandhas* like the *Dharmasindhu* have tried to explain away somehow the statements of the *Smṛti* writers not favourable to them, Occasionally they have exaggerated the statements of earlier texts, or they have cited certain passges as *Smṛti* passages which are not to be found in the extant *Smṛti* texts. For example, we have seen that according to Aṅgiras a Brāhmaṇa widow should not commit self-immolation. The author Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya (late 18th cent.) (Chaukhamba edn. p. 971) of the *Dharmasindhu* tries to get rid of this exception by interpreting the above statement to mean that a Brāhmaṇa woman should not ascend a separate funeral pyre *(brāhmaṇyā niṣedhavacanajātaṁ tat pṛthakcitiparaṁ/ bhartur mantrāgnidāhottaram anugamanaṁ pṛthakcitiḥ)*.

As an example of exaggeration we may point to what *Aparāka* has to say on *Yājñ*. 1.87. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have a single allusion on *satī* where Vedavatī tells Rāvaṇa that her mother entered fire along with the dead body of her husband Kuśadhvaja (*tato me jananī dīnā taccharīraṁ pitur mama / pariṣvajya mahābhāga praviṣṭā dahanaṁ saha* 7.17.13). On the basis of this isolated instance Aparārka does not hesitate to make the following sweeping statement : *ata eva rāmāyaṇādau brāhmaṇyādīnām svabhartṛśarīrāliṅganapūrvakaṁ svaśarīradāham upākhyāyate*. Having formulated the sentence as *rāmāyaṇādau ...upākhyāyate* Aparārka seeks to imply that many *upākhyānas* containing *satī*-incidents are available in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in other similar works. And by using the would *brāhmaṇyādīnām* he suggests that the women committing satī came from all the castes. But this is absolutely not ture.

As to a smṛtivacana being unjustifiably ascribed to some ancient Smṛtikāra one may cite the example of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (17th Cent.) who in his *Nirṇayasindhu* (*tṛtīya pariccheda, uttarārdha*, p. 626, Nirṇayasāgara edn.) cites *brahmacaryaṁ cared vāpi praviśed vā hutāśanam* as said by Manu *(tathā ca manuḥ)*. But the stanza does not occur in the available *Manusmṛti*.

If we now leave the *Dharmaśāstra* texts and look to the two epics we find that the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains a single instance in its late *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Vedavatī's mother. This was alluded to a little while ago. There is no other instance of *satī* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. None of the wives of king Daśaratha commits *satī* at his death. It is therefore significant to note that there are few stanzas, considered interpolated in the critical edition in which Kausalyā either gives expression of her wish to commit *satī* (*idaṁ śarīram āliṅgya pravekṣyāmi hutāśanam* 2.60.* 1534) or says that she is not able to ascend the funeral pyre as she craves to see Rāma after his return from the forest (*nyāyyaṁ dharmyaṁ yaśasyaṁ ca mārgaṁ satstrīniṣevitam / adhigantum na śakṣyāmi rāmasaṁdarśanāśayā* // 2. App. 20.6 ff.; 21. 11. ff.). It is quite clear that these stanzas must have been inserted when the custom of *satī* had gradually begun to gain ground.

When we come to the *Mahābhārata* we notice that the custom of *satī* was not uncommon among the Yādavas who had established themselves in the west. At the death of Vasudeva his four wives Devakī, Bhadrā, Rohiṇī and Madirā ascended the funeral pyre (16.8.18.24), and at the death of Kṛṣṇa five of his wives, viz., Rukmiṇī, Gāndhārī, Śaibyā, Haimavatī and Jāmbavatī entered fire independently, i.e. not with Kṛṣṇa's body (16.8. 71).. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* the number of Kṛṣṇa's wives who entered fire is raised from five to eight and they are said to have burnt themselves along with Kṛṣṇa's body (5.38.1-2). There is no other Yādava woman reported in the *Mbh*. to have committed *satī*, although *Viṣṇupurāṇa* again reports Revatī to have entered fire with Balarāma's body (5.38.3). We can thus see that the custom of *satī* had gained more ground between the period of the composition of the *Mausala parvan* of the *Mbh*. and the composition of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

These instances of *satī* from among the Yādavas as reported in the *Mahābhārata* are not so commonly known.

The incident of *satī* from the *Mbh*. that is widely known is of course that of Mādrī. It has a two-fold significance. In the first instance it is the earliest instance of *satī* recorded in Sanskrit literature; and, secondly, Mādrī is the only woman in the Kuru family who is reported to have committed *satī*. It is therefore necessary to have a close look at it since, as we have seen above, committing *satī* is not recommended by the authors of the *Dharmaśāstra* until about third century A.D.

There are two contradictory narrations available in the *Mbh*. regarding the incidents that took place after the death of Pāṇḍu. According to one narration, when Pāṇḍu died Kuntī offered to ascend the funeral pyre as she was the elder wife (*ahaṁ jyeṣṭhā*

dharmapatnī jyeṣṭhaṁ dharmaphalaṁ mama / ...mā māṁ mādri nivartaya / anveṣyāmīha bhartāram ahaṁ pretavaśaṁ gatam / 1.116.23-24). But Mādrī dissuades Kuntī from her resolve and herself ascends the funeral pyre (*ity uktvā taṁ citāgnisthaṁ dharmapatnī nararṣabham / madrarājātmajā tūrṇam anvārohad yaśasvinī* 1.116.31). Afterwards the sages along with Kuntī and the five Pāṇḍavas go to Hāstinapura and hand them over to Bhīṣma. They then told Bhīṣma and others that Mādrī had committed self-immolation (1.117.28)..

This narration is the one which is usually known. But there is also a second narration available in the *Mbh.* which is completely contradictory with the one given above. According to this narration Mādrī did not commit *satī*. The entire narration is worth looking into. It is as follows : The sages who arrive at the court of the Kauravas tell that Pāṇḍu and Mādrī had died. They had brought with them the dead bodies of the two and proper funeral rites may be performed on them (*tasyās tasya ca yat kāryam kriyatām tad anantaram / ime tayoḥ śarīre dve* 1.117.29.30).

Having heard these words of the sages Dhṛtarāṣtra asked Vidura to arrange for a state funeral of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī. We have a somewhat detailed description of this in *Adhyāya* 118 of the *Ādiparvan*. We are told that Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked Vidura to see that Mādrī's body is fully covered so that it is not exposed to the sun and wind. When the funeral procession reached the banks of the Ganges Pāṇḍu's body was smeared with perfumes and bathed with oils. After washing it they again applied sandal-wood paste mixed with aloe. They then covered his body with white cloth. Pāṇḍu then appeared as if he was alive (*ācchannaḥ sa tu vāsobhir jīvann iva nararṣabhaḥ / śuśubhe* 1.118.20). Pāṇḍu's body was then smeared with *ghṛta* and both the bodies were placed on the pyre made of *candana* and other fragrant wood and were cremated together (*ghṛtāvasiktaṁ rājānaṁ saha mādryā svalaṅkṛtam/tuṅgapadmakamiśreṇa candanena sugandhinā /anyaiś ca vividhair gandhair analpaiḥ samadāhayan* (118.21-22).

When one reads the above description one immediately realizes that according to this narration Pāṇḍu's body was not consigned to flames on the Śataśṛṅga mountain where he died but this was done on the banks of Ganges at Hāstinapura. One also realizes that Mādrī did not commit *satī*.

We miss two important details in this second narration. One, we are not told what led to Mādrī's death. Two, we are not told how the two bodies were kept in tolerably good condition till they were brought to Hastināpura.[6] We are left to imagine that Mādrī died due to the shock of Pāṇḍu's sudden death when he forcibly tried to embrace her (1.116.10,12) and that the sages knew how to preserve the dead bodies in good condition over a period of time. It is very likely that the story teller considered the two details not worth mentioning since they could be easily understood by his audience. Or, and this seems to me more likely, when the attempt was made to bring together the two

contradictory versions these details were omitted in order to make the combination as smooth as possible.

The two narrations so contradict each other that both cannot be true at the same time. However, Nīlakaṇṭha, the famous 17th cent. commentator, has tried to bring about reconciliation between the two accounts by interpreting the word *śarīra* in the second narrative as 'bone'. This would mean that the sages who came to Hastināpura brought with them not the two bodies of Pāṇḍu and Mādri, but two bones representing Pāṇḍu and Mādrī. If we understand the passage this way the two accounts become reconciled. Mādrī did commit *satī*, and what the sages brought with them were just the two bones. The *saṁskāras* which were done on the banks of the Ganges were done on these two bones and not on whole bodies.

But is it proper to interpret the word *śarīra* this way to explain away the contradiction?

Our answer to this question should be emphatically 'no' because there are many difficulties in accepting Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation. A simple objection is that the word *śarīra* occurs not once but thrice in this account. If the author of the *Mbh*. had really meant '*asthi*' by '*śarīra*', we expect that he would have at least once used the word '*asthi*' and made clear what he meant. And the most important objection is that the description of the funeral rites given in the *Adhyāya* 118 does not read like the one performed on the bone, but performed on the whole body. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's instruction to Vidura to see that Mādrī's body is not exposed to the sun or to wind would sound ridiculous if it was meant for a mere bone. Similarly, the specific statement that at one stage Pāṇḍu looked as though he was alive could not have been made with reference to a bone. For this reason, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the first General Editor of the critical edition of the *Mbh*., does not accept Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation (vol. I, p. LXXXVII). However, according to Dr. Sukthankar it is not possible to decide on the evidence of the manuscripts alone which of the two accounts could be the original one. Both these accounts appear in the identical form in both the northern and the southern recensions of the *Mbh*. and hence, in accordance with the principles accepted for constituting the critical text, both these accounts had to be accepted for the critical edition. This, however, does not mean that both the accounts are correct; it only means that the attempt to bring together into the text of the *Mbh*. the two contradictory accounts was made early enough to allow the inflated text percolate into the two recensions.

It seems to me that although the manuscripts do not give help in deciding which of the two accounts could be nearer to the original, there are two kinds of other evidence, internal and external, which help us decide that the account according to which Mādrī did not commit *satī* is more likely to be nearer to the original.

But before I narrate this evidence let me first consider a likely objection to my not accepting Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation of *śarīra* as bone.

The objection is based on the fact that in Sanskrit the word *śarīra* does appear in the sense 'bone'. E.g. in the section of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which deals with he death of an Agnihotrin, a question is raised as to what should be done to the sacred fire if an Agnihotrin dies while on journey. One option is that the fire should be kept burning until his bones, and in the absence of bones, leaf stalks of a *palāśa* tree (*palāśavṛkṣasya chinnān vṛntān*, Sāyaṇa) are brought from the place where he was cremated. These bones (or the leaves) are to be then arranged in the form of a body of a man. In this context we read : *ā śarīrāṇām āhartoḥ/yadi śarīrāṇī na vidyeran parṇaśarāḥ ṣaṣṭiś trīṇi ca śatāny āhṛtya teṣām puruṣarūpakam iva kṛtvā* ... *Ait. Br.* 7.2 (=32.2). Similarly, in the *Śat. Br.* 12.5.1.13, in a similar context,. we hear of the bones of an Agnihotrin being collected and brought to the place of his residence : *asthīny etāny āhṛtya ... puruṣavidhaṁ vidhāya*. Here the word *asthīni* is used in the place of *śarīrāṇi* of the *Ait. Br.* and it clearly shows that *śarīrāṇi* means bones. But we cannot justify on this evidence Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation of the *Mbh.* word *śarīra* as 'bone' for the following two reason :

(1) In the first instance the *Mbh.* stanza on which Nīlakaṇṭha comments runs as *tasyemān ātmajān dehaṁ bhāryāṁ ca sumhātmanaḥ svarāṣṭraṁ gṛhya gacchāmo* 1.126.4 (Bombay edn) = Cr. edn. 1.117.1266*). In this stanza, which is not accepted in the Cr. edn., a reference is clearly made to Pāṇḍu's body with the word '*deha*'. It is on this word, and not on the word *śarīra* that Nīlakaṇtha writes *dehaṁ dehayor asthīni agnihotrāgnibhiḥ saṁskāralambhanārtham*. Now although, as noted above, the word *śarīra* in a definite context is found used in the meaning 'bone' the word *deha* is never so found. Secondly, in the description of the funeral rites that follows there is no reference to the *saṁskāra* having been done with the *agnihotra* fire. Clearly Nīlakaṇāṭha has interpreted the word *deha* as 'bone' under the influence of his knowledge of the *agnisaṁskāra* of an *agnihotrī* Brahmin.

(2) Secondly, and this is a more important objection, the word *śarīra* when in the above context is used in the sense of 'bone' it is always in plural, and never in singular. In the *Mbh.*, in the above narration, the word *śarīra* occurs thrice, but not once is it used in the plural. The plural use in the *Ait. Br.* indicates that many bones have to be collected to be arranged later in a human form. If any such thing was intended in the *Mbh.* the sages would have collected a large number of bones of both Pāṇḍu and Mādrī and not one bone each.

Dr. Sadashiv A. Dange has tried to answer a part of the above objection to Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation. Writing on "Pāṇḍu, Mādrī and their 'Bodies' " he upholds Nīlankaṇṭha's interpretation of *śarīra* (sg.) as 'bone' and argues that there is no contradiction involved in the two accounts of the *Mbh.* and that Mādrī did commit *satī*. He maintains that *śarīra* is after all used in the sense of 'bone' even when used in the singular. He says that "... we also have the word *śarīra* (singular) indicating a jar wherein

the bones *(śarīrāṇi)* were collected." (p. 3). He cites from the *Baudhāyana-pitṛmedha-Sūtra* (3.10) where the jar in which the bones (*asthīni* pl.) of the cremated person are collected is addressed as *śarīram* (sg.). Dr. Dange also refers to the *Kātyāyana - Śrauta Sūtra* 21.3.7-13, and the *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (4.15.20), but in both these passages we do not have the use of the word *śarīraṁ* (sg.) in the sense 'bone'[8].

It will therefore be clear that the word *śarīram* occurs only once in the singular and there it refers directly to the jar *(kumbha)* in which the bones are collected and not to the bones themsleves. The *kumbha* in which the bones are collected represents the body which has bones. Hence this occurrence of *śarīram* in singular cannot be given as evidence to prove that in Sanskrit *śarīram* in the sg. is used to convey the meaning 'bone'. In order to be able to derive support from the *Baudh. Pitṛ. Sūtra* we have to assume that when the sages told the Kauravas *ime tayoḥ śarīre dve* (1.117.30) they gave them two jars in which the bones were collected. If this were really the case the narrator would have most certainly mentioned that the sages collected the bones of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī in two separate jars and brough them to Hastināpura. The narrator was probably quite familiar with this mode of re-cremation. But the narrator does not say anything of the sort. Nor does he say that the sages asked the Kauravas to do the *punaḥsaṁskāra* (*Baudh. Pitṛ. Sūtra* 3.8) of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī. Nīlakaṇṭha on whom Prof. Dange so much relies does not make any reference to the jar. He simply says *dehaṁ dehayor asthīni*, thereby interpreting the word *deha* straight away as *asthīni* without bringing in the concept of a jar. For him the jar does not figure at all. Otherwise he would have said something like *dehaṁ dehayoḥ kumbhayoḥ avahitāni asthīni*.

Next, we have to note that in order to reconcile this 'jar' theory with the detailed account of the *antyasaṁskāra* in the *Mbh*. Prof. Dange has to assume that the two small jars were remade into big jars which were later covered with cloth and decorated with ornaments to give them the semblance of actual bodies (p. 5). From this assumption I am glad to note that Prof. Dange shows awareness of the fact that the small jar in which the collected bones are supposed to have been brought could not look like bodies even when covered with cloth and ornaments. Hence the assumption of re-making them into big jars for which, as Prof. Dange notes, there is not even a distant allusion. But, in spite of this, Prof. Dange has no hesitation in giving his judgement on the silence of the text on this importatant point as 'unnecessary' (p. 5). I for one do not understand how a jar can be adorned with ornaments and even if this is somehow achieved how it can give the semblance of an actual body. All-in-all, this jar-theory of Prof. Dange, beginning with Nīlakaṇṭha's changing *deham* (sg.) of the epic text to *dehayoḥ* (dual) and paraphrasing it as *asthīni* and ending with remarking of small jars into big jars, is saddled with too many difficulties to inspire confidence. If the critically admitted text of the *Mahābhārata* had only this single instance of internal contradiction between the two accounts of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī, perhaps, one would have accepted Nīlankaṇṭha's suggestion to get rid of it as there was no other way out. But since the critical edition presents many instances of such

contradictions I have no hesitation in accepting this as one of them instead of trying to resolve it by impossible assumptions.

I have already admitted that in the second narration we do not get information on two points : how Mādrī died and how the two bodies were kept in tolerably good order until they were brought to Hastināpura. As regards the first point it is easy to assume that Mādrī died of a serious shock since it was in her arms that Pāṇḍu died. Since in the first narration it has been stated that Mādrī committed *satī*, the redactor responsible for the combination of the two versions could not retain the stanza in the second narration informing us that Mādrī died a natural death. Hence I had said in my Marathi article that this part of the narration is lost[9], and I still favour that view although Prof. Dange has tried to make fun of it. As regards the second point, I would say that either the *tāpasas* living on the Himālayas knew some method of preserving the dead bodies, or that here some element of supernatural is involved since the sages who brought the bodies appear to be siddhas since they are said to have disappeared (*kṣaṇenāntarhitāḥ sarve .... tatraivāntarhitam punaḥ/ṛṣi-siddhagaṇaṁ dṛṣṭvā vismayaṁ te paraṁ yayuḥ* 1.117.32-33) after handing over the two bodies to the Kauravas.

So much for the objection raised by Prof. Dange and his thesis that in the two accounts of the *Mbh*. no contradiction is invovled.

I now return to my own thesis and present the evidence -- internal and external -- to show that the narration in which Mādrī is represented as not having committed *satī* is likely to be the original one.

As regards internal evidence I wish to point out that no woman, other than Mādrī, from the Kuru family is reported to have committed *satī*. Many Kaurava heroes fell in the battle. But none of their wives or of the families like the Pāñcālas and the Matsyas committed *satī*. Hence it is almost certain that Mādrī did not commit *satī*. It is true that some of the Yādava women committed *satī* after the death of Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa. This only shows that the custom had stared raising its ugly head in the family of the Yādavas who were located in western India. But on that single evidence we need not assume that the custom of *satī* had obtained acceptance in other families and in the other parts of India. The external evidence is offered by two independent texts - (1) The *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th century A.D.) and (2) The writing of the Greek Historian Diodorous (1st Century B.C.).

While trying to dissuade Mahāśvetā from her resolve to die following the death of Puṇḍarīka, Candrāpīḍa tells her that it is futile to give up life at the death of one's father, brother, friend or husband. If on such occassions the breaths do not leave the body themselves, they should not be made to leave (*svayaṁ cen na jahati na parityājyāḥ*, Nirṇayasāgar edn. p.364). In order to strengthen his contention Candrāpīḍa then cites the examples of Rati, Kuntī, Uttarā and Duḥśalā who did not give up their lives at the death

of their respective husbands. If Bāṇabhaṭṭa had accepted the *satī* version of the Mādrī episode he would not have alluded to Pāṇḍu's death at all while citing the instances of women who did not die after their husbands' deaths. Therefore, he must have been familiar with the version according to which Mādrī died due to grief, and Kuntī did not commit *satī*. Hence, he cites Kuntī's example to show that a woman does not abandon life, if death does not come naturally to her as, presumably, it came to Mādrī, at the death of her husband.

Diodorus, the Greek historian of the 1st cent. B.C. informs us that a certain leader of an Indian continent had gone to Iran to fight under the leadership of Eumenes (316 B.C.). When he went to Iran his two wives accompanied him. When the Indian leader lost his life in the battle his two wives vied with each other as to who of the two should commit *satī*. The dispute between the two was referred to the Greek general for decision. Since the elder of the two was with child, he permitted the younger one to commit *satī* (Cambridge History of India 1.415).

The similarity between this incident and the *satī*-version reported in the *Mbh.* is obvious. In both cases the two wives are equally eager to commit *satī*, they have an argument each one justifying her claim on one ground or the other, and ultimately the younger one commits *satī*. It is remarkable that in both cases the issue is settled on the ground which is related to the progeny. Of course there is a difference. Whereas in the incident of Iran the elder wife is not allowed to commit *satī* because she is pregnant, in the *Mbh.* incident Kuntī is dissuaded because she was better able to take care of children without making any distinction between them.

On account of this similarity I am inclined to believe that, when this incident which took place on the Iranian soil became known in India, it occurred to some narrator to fabricate a different version of the incidents that took place after Pāṇḍu's death and incorporate in it self-immolation by Mādrī. It should be quite clear that such a thing could have happened only when the custom of committing *satī* was slowly revived in India.

In the post-epic Sanskrit literature, especially *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and in the inscriptions dating from the Gupta period, we find references to the custom of *satī*. It is not necessary to give here a list of them.[10]

In conclusion it may be said that the custom of *satī* which was prevalent in the very distant past among the people who came to India had became obsolete at a time very much prior to the Vedic period. Many centuries later the custom raised its head again, apparently first in Western India, with the result that we have stray instances of *satī* from about the fourth century B.C. When the custom gradually spread in the first few centuries of the Christian era, it was initially restricted to the Kṣatriya class. Subsequently it was recommended also for the Brāhmaṇas. After the tenth century A.D. the writers on the

Dharmaśāstra vigorously wrote in favour of the custom and prescribed it to women of all classes without distinction.

Even then the recommendation of these writers in favour of *satī* never became an obligatory rule in India and the custom was adopted only as an option. When Lord Bentinck prohibited the inhuman custom it was feared that there will be widespread opposition. In fact nothing of the sort happened. Writing about this Dr. Kane observes : "The very fact that there was no disturbance of peace or ebullition of popular feeling or even great protest from the vast Hindu population (except a petition to the Privy Council) against Bentinck's sweeping measure indicates two things : viz. That the burning of widows was a rare occurrence and that people were not very keen on observing the practice nor had they any very deep rooted conviction about its absolute religious necessity." (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, II. 1. p. 636).

NOTES :

1. *History of Dharamaśāstra*, Vol, II, pt. 1, p. 624 (1941).
2. Cf. *svargaloke mahīyate* said by Aṅgiras.
3. Apparently different from the author of the work now available as *Aṅgiraḥsmṛti*.
4. This is also the view of Paiṭhīnasī, Virāj, and Vyāghrapād, cf. *Aparārka* p. 112.
5. *Kāmaṁ tu kṣapayed dehaṁ puṣpamūlaphalaiḥ śubhaiḥ na tu nāmāpi gṛhṇīyāt patyau prete parasya tu //*
6. Especially when we are told that it took the sages seventeen days to reach Hastināpura (1.117.27)
7. '*Bhāratī*' (Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu Unviersity, Varanasi) 17 (1987-88) pp. 1-6.
8. Prof. Dange has to rely on the commentator.
9. Actually what I have said in my Marathi article is as follows :
   "हे दोन तपशील महाभारताची कथा सांगणाऱ्याने कधी सांगितलेच नव्हते की, ते तपशील सांगणारे श्लोक काळाच्या उदरात गडप झाले, हे सांगणे कठीण आहे." ("नवभारत", जानेवारी, १९८८, पृ. ४)
10. They can be easily found in A. S. Altekar's *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, 1956, pp. 129-32, and in P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 2. pp. 628-30.

DAMAYANTĪ'S SVAYAṀVARA

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Writing on the above subject S. Insler[1] suggests a new interpretation for the *Mbh.* stanza 3. 54. 26. His interpretation is based on two suggestions both of which are uncalled for. The stanza in question runs as

vilajjamānā vastrānte jagrāhāyatalocanā /
skandhadeśe 'sṛjac cāsya srajaṁ paramaśobhanām //

(1)

Insler objects to van Buitenen's somewhat free translation of *srajam asṛjat* 'threw a garland' because *sṛj* does not mean 'to throw' but 'to release'. He, however, on that account does not opt for the most natural translation 'released the garland'. On the other hand he cites two passages from the *Mbh.* 3. 264. 33 and Calcutta edn. I. 4418 (= Cri. edn. I. 1131*) in which he gets the expressions *mālām āsajat* and *srajaṁ samāsajat.* Insler translates these as 'hung a garland'.[2] On the basis of this evidence Insler proposes to emend (*srajam*) *asṛjat* of the above *Mbh.* stanza to (*srajam*) *asajat.*

Is this emendation called for? Insler admits that flowers can be 'released' (*sṛj*) from the hand. Then what is so impossible in the expression 'release (*sṛj*) the garland from the hands' even if the expression '*varṣa*' (shower) is not found with it? Insler himself cites on p. 578 from Pāli *Jāt.* I. 8 *mālaṁ parikkhipitvā*, but instead of drawing the correct conclusion that 'to throw a garland' or 'to release a garland' are fairly old and current modes of expression he imagines that the Pāli expression *mālaṁ parikkhipa* is influenced by the 'wrong' Sanskrit expression *srajaṁ sṛj.* The two verbs *sṛj* and *ā*- or *samā-saj* express two distinct and successive actions connected with garlanding a person. First comes the act of releasing (*sṛj*) the garland from the hand and then, if necessary, the act of sticking it, adju-

[1] *JAOS* 109. 577-580 (1989).
[2] Strictly speaking *ā saj* or *samā saj* also does not mean 'to hang' (which means 'attach loosely, suspend'), but 'to stick, to fasten'.

sting it, putting it in proper place (*saj*)[3] Hence there is nothing wrong in describing that Damayantī released the garland on Nala's shoulders as there is nothing wrong in saying that Kuntī stuck the garland on Pāṇḍu's shoulder (Cal. edn I. 4418 cited by Insler). The author of the *Mbh*. stanza 3. 54. 26 also could have used *āsajat* as found elsewhere, but since that was metrically not possible he chose to say *asṛjat* which was quite suited to the context. But to say that the original *asajat* was emended to *asṛjat* by some one in the line of transmission just because there was an *r* sound in the following word (*srajam*) is suggesting something which is extremely unlikely. We may ask ' if some one in the line of transmission changed *asajat* to *asṛjat* due to *r* in *srajam*, why did he not change *avasaktaḥ* (*Mbh*. 1. 37. 3 cited by Insler) to *avasṛṣṭaḥ* when there was *ṛ* (not just *r*) to precede (*mṛgayām*) as well as to follow (*mṛtaḥ*)?

Insler gets his idea to change *asṛjat* of the *Mbh*. 3. 54. 26 to *asajat* on the basis of the two *Mbh*. passages, viz. 3. 264. 33 and Cal. edn. 1. 4418. But he neglects the fact that for the citation from the Cal. edn. we have a variant *samāsṛjat* (Cri. edn. 1.1131*) for *samāsajat*. Of the two, Insler picks up the latter simply because that suits his purpose, although the former is more widely attested.

(2)

Insler also feels that the original stanza had *vastrāntam* (acc.), which was later changed to *vastrānte* (loc.). His search for the motivation of this change leads him to *skandhadeśe* (loc.). In accepting this solution Insler assumes too much ignorance on the part of the person allegedly responsible for the change. If this person knew enough Sanskrit to recognize *skandhadeśe* to be loc. sg. he certainly knew that *vastrāntaṁ*, if it existed in the text before him, was to be construed with *jagrāha*, and therefore could not think of changing it to *vastrānte* to bring it in line with *skandhadeśe*.

Insler interprets *vastrānta* as *nīvī* ' end knot by which a woman's lower garment is secured ' and says that Damayantī grasped it to signify her sexual submission to Nala. This means Damayantī grasped her *nīvī* in the presence of all those that had gathered for the *svayaṁvara* to indicate that she would be always ready to loosen it whenever Nala so desired. This is ridiculous. No princess would dream of doing such an act, least of all Damayantī who

---

[3] This is reflected in the use of the two terms *avāsṛjat* (Insler's *āsṛjat* to be so corrected) and *avasaktaḥ* used in the stanzas *Mbh*. 1. 46. 10 and 1. 37. 3 in describing the same incident (cited by Insler p. 578).

is described as *vilajjamānā* 'feeling bashful'.[4] She is not like Indumatī who, on a similar occasion, had almost set aside her bashfulness (*lajjāṁ tanūkṛtya, Raghu.* (Nandargikar's edn.) 6. 80. And what did Indumatī after all do after setting aside her bashfulness? She merely fixed her eyes on Aja (*dṛṣṭyā kumāraṁ pratyagrahīt*) to indicate her choice, and did not do anything to indicate her sexual submission to him.

Insler wrongly construes *vastrānte* with the following *jagrāha* and therefore wants to chanage *vastrānte* (loc.) to *vastrāntam* (acc.) which would then serve as an accusative complement to the verb *jagrāha. Vastrānte* is really to be construed with the preceding *vilajjamānā*. The accusative complement for *jagrāha* is *srajam* (and not the imaginary original reading *vastrāntam*) which is also the accusative complement for *asrajat*.[5] This is clearly shown by the use of *ca* (*āyatalocanā srajaṁ jagrāha skandhadeśe asṛjac ca*). Damayantī took the garland (apparently from the plate or from the hands of some one in her retinue) and released it on the shoulders of Nala. *Vilajjamānā vastrānte* 'feeling shy in the end of the garment' means Damayantī expressed her shyness by covering her face a little within the end of her garment.[6] Drawing forward on the face the end of the garment as an act of modesty or as an expression of bashfulness is even now practised in parts of India. Understood this way the whole stanza gets easily construed without having to do violence to the text and it gives an excellent picture of the condition of Damayantī. This picture has been totally distorted by Insler's suggestions.

As for the *Raghuvaṁśa* stanza VI. 83 cited by Insler, a different interpretation, more plausible than the one admitted so far, is possible. The stanza says : *sā* (Indumatī) ... *dhātrīkarābhyām* ... *āsañjayām āsa yathāpra-*

---

[4] If Damayantī had touched her *nīvī* as imagined by Insler, her both hands would not be free to hold the garland and hang it on the shoulder of Nala.

[5] F. Bopp (*Nalus Maha-bharati Episodium*, 1868, p. 31) also construes *srajam* as the accusative complement both of *jagrāha* and *asṛjat* ("... vestis-extremo prehendit ... in humeris deposuit ei seritum ...") although he understands *vastrānte jagrāha* differently (grasped in the end of the garment"). (I am thankful to Dr. A. M. Ghatage for bringing this to my notice). But it is extremely unlikely that Damayantī would first grasp the garland in the end of her garment and then deposit it on Nala's shoulder.

[6] Cf. *sā vastrasaṁruddhamukhī lajjayā janasaṁsadi, Rāmā.* 6. 102. 34. Those who changed the original *vastrānte* to *vastrāntam* as witnessed in the two MSS, K and B4, also must have understood *vilajjamānā vastrāntaṁ jagrāha* as 'feeling bashful (Damayantī) held the end of the garment (to draw it a little forward over her face)'.

deśaṁ kaṇṭhe guṇam.[7] This has been usually taken to mean that Indumatī did not place the garland herself on the neck of Aja but asked her nurse to do it (cf. Mallinātha – *dhātryāḥ*[8] ... *karābhyāṁ* ... *āsaktaṁ kārayām āsa / na tu svayam āsasañja / anaucityāt*). But this is very unlikely. What impropriety does Mallinātha see in the princess putting the garland herself around the neck of the prince is not clear. The correct understanding of the whole situation is that Indumatī first indicated her choice by favourably looking at Aja (6. 80). A little later she herself put the garland on his neck. When this was done she asked her nurse only to adjust the garland so that it stuck at the proper place (*yathāpradeśam* 6. 83). At this moment Aja felt as if Indumatī had put her arms around his neck (6. 84). This description of the condition of Aja would be appropriate only if Indumatī, and not her nurse, put the garland.

The stanza from *Indische Sprüche* 1780 (688) cited by Insler[9] to prove his point has no place here. One wonders how *lajjākṛti* can mean 'who feigns modesty.' Even if the compound is supposed to have the elements *lajjā* + *ākṛti* it would mean 'shame incarnate'. But the compound is really made up of *lajjā* + *kṛti*[10] and means 'who has done an act that invites shame' (*lajjāvahā kṛtir yasya*). The contrast between *nirlajja* and *lajjākṛte* in this stanza is not to be understood as 'one though immodest is feigning modesty' — what sort of modesty could the fellow feign when he was actually dragging the garment and forcibly trying to kiss the beloved? — but as 'one having no feeling of shame although he had done a shameful act.'

---

7 In the citation, Insler's *mūrtim* to be corrected to *mūrtam*.

8 Mallinātha identifies the nurse as Sunandā (*dhātryā upamātuḥ sunandāyāḥ*). This is unlikely. Earlier Sunandā is specifically said to be the holder of the cane in her capacity as a door-keeper or a harem-watcher (*vetragrahaṇe niyuktā* 6. 26, *vetrabhṛt* 6. 82; *dauvārikī* 6. 59; *pratihārarakṣī* 6. 20, 35; *śuddhāntarakṣī* 6. 45). The nurse therefore must be some one else in Indumatī's retinue (*parivāra* 6. 10) and not Sunandā.

9 Insler's *cumbati* in this citation to be corrected to *cumbasi*.

10 It seems that the only other attestation for *lajjākṛti* is in the compound *lajjākṛtināśakaḥ* (*Skandap.* 4. 98. 67) where, obviously, *lajjākṛti* means 'a shameful act, an act that brings shame'.

THE GAME OF DICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Some additions and corrections to the article of H. Lueders on this subject)

M. A. MEHENDALE

Long ago (1907) H. Lueders wrote a fairly exhaustive article on the game of dice in ancient India (reprinted in Philologica Indica. 1940). The article was noticed by W. Caland in ZDMG 62.123 f. Some of the corrections suggested by Caland, especially the one concerning the meaning of *vicinoti*, were accepted by Lueders, cf. his Berechtigungen und Zusaetze, Phil. Ind. pp. 785-786. Although Lueders in his article did not succeed in clarifying every detail of the game, he certainly did all that was possible for him to do in the circumstances and made many ingenious suggestion of lasting value.

It is proposed to make a few additions and suggest some corrections to Lueder's article.

1. In the AV 7.50.5 a gambler tells his opponent : *ájaiṣaṁ tvā sáṁlikhitam ájaiṣam utá saṁrudham*. Lueders observes : "Die Bedeutung von *saṁlikthita* und saṁrudh is voellig unklar"[1] But in the light of the information given by Lueders (a circle was drawn round the players and the one who lost the game could not come out of the circle unless he paid his dues)[2], we may translate the above line as : "I have won you around whom a line has been drawn, I have won you who has been confined." It may be noted that the Paippalāda text (19.9.7) has *saṁvṛtam* 'enclosed' in place of *saṁrúdham* which supports this interpretation. If this understanding of the passage is correct, we can say that the custom of drawing circles around the players at the time of the game reaches back to the Vedic times.

2. *pravātejā* - : In RV 10.34.1 the vibhītaka fruit are described as *pravātejāḥ*. The usual explanation of the word, which Lueders accepts, is 'grown at a windy place' (am windigen Orte geboren, Phil. Ind. p. 122)[3]. Since 'growing at a windy place' does not look like a significant attribute of a plant or a tree, the explanation given by Yāska (Nir. 9.8) *pravaṇeja* 'growing on slopes' is more likely. Yāska apparently derives *pravātá* from pra-vát 'slope'.

3. *The technique of the game* : This has been very well described by Lueders on the basis of the available evidence. He, however, does not specify whether a player had to separate some minimum number of dice from among those thrown on the *adhidevana* by his opponent. In the absence of such a condition, it would be easy for any player, with some practice, to separate at once just four pieces, or perhaps even eight, and win the game. Hence, it is essential that a certain minimum

number of pieces must be separated by the player to win the game. This minimum number could be twelve. The assumption is supported by the description of the game played at the time of the Agnyādheya as described by the Baudh ŚS 2.9. There the sacrificer plays the game with his three sons using 49 pieces of the Vibhītaka fruit. The father and the two elder sons who must win the game take twelve pieces each and win, leaving 13 for the youngest son who loses. If there was no rule about the minimum number of pieces the game at the Agnyādheya could have been played even with 17 or 33 pieces (the father and the two elder sons together removing 12 or 25 pieces respy, leaving 5 or 9 for the youngest).

4. AV 7.50.5 : We read here *ávim vṛko* yáthā máthad evá mathnāmi te kṛtám "I shall crush your *kṛta* (throw) as a wolf tears to pieces a sheep". Here a gambler seems to challenge his opponent who has won the game by making a *kṛta* and wants to nullify the opponent's success. How do we understand this challenge? According to the mode of play described by Lueders a game comes to an end when the two players in turn have thrown the dice on the ground. In such a game, the loser has no chance to undo what the winner has achieved. Lueders (Phil. Ind. p. 154. f.n.2) takes the above AV. line to mean that the speaker wants to prevent his opponent from making the *kṛta aya* by reciting some magic formulae. This can hardly be correct. The verb *mathnāmi* expresses drawing apart what actually exists before the speaker and not preventing something from happening. Moreover, understood the way Lueders has done, comparison with a wolf tearing to pieces a sheep is out of place. We have, therefore, to say that the loser while issuing the challenge wants to add to the opponent's dice, already thrown on the ground, some more which would also result in a *kṛta*. In such an event, the challenger's *kṛta* will have nullified the winner's *kṛta*. Such an understanding of the stanza means that it was open for the loser to defeat the winner by throwing dice once more, In this case, the total number of turns the two players would have becomes three and not two as in the unchallenged game.

5. Game in which division by five is decisive : Lueders (Phil. Ind. p. 159) rejects Weber's view that the placing of five *akṣas*[4] on the hand of the king in the rājasūya sacrifice implies that here we have an allusion to a game in which the number of dice is to be divided not by four but by five. According to Lueders the placing of five *akṣas* has nothing to do with the game of dice and that the number of dice, which is five, is detemined by the number of the direction(s) which the king is supposed to make symbolically subservient to him. That the number of dice is determined by the number of directions is correct. But it is not correct to say that here the *akṣas* have nothing to do with the game of dice. Just as in the ṚV 1.41.9 one who has four dice in his hand arouses fear in the mind of the opponent (because in that kind of game the number of dice was to be divided by four and the holder of

four dice has made *kṛta* = the winning throw), similarly in the rājasūya the king who holds five dice in his hand becomes the overpowerer of all (because in this kind of game the number of dice was to be divided by five and five dice meant the winning throw).

6. *āsphura* : In the Mbh. 2.51.3 Śakuni speaks about the game of dice in terms of archery. He says : "Know the *glahas* to be my bows, dice the arrows, the *akṣahṛdaya* my bow-string, and *āstara* my chariot." Lueders had before him the reading *āsphura* of the Bombay edition in place of *āstara*, hesitatingly adopted in the Poona critical edition. Lueders takes *āsphura* to mean *adhidevana*, i.e. the place where the dice are thrown (Phil. Ind. p. 118). Nīlakaṇṭha explains the word as *akṣavinyāsapātanādisthāna* which, according to Lueders, is correct.[5]

This interpretation of the Mbh. word *āsphura* cannot be correct. Since Śakuni identifies *āsphura* with his chariot (*ratha*) and a chariot is a place from where the archer shoots the arrows, *āsphura* must be taken to mean the place near the *adhidevana* where a gambler sits and from where he throws the dice and not the *adhidevana* itself.

The critical edition reading *āstara* possibly implies that the seat of the gambler was covered with a piece of cloth. That the analogy of *āsphura* with the chariot was not missed by Lueders is clearly seen from the fact that he translates the word (p.119) as 'Wuerfelplatz'. But "Wuerfelplatz von dem aus der Kaempfer die Pfeileder Wuerfel abschiesst" is quite different from *adhidevana* which is "eine Vertiefung im Boden, innerhalb dessen die Wuerfel niederfallen mussten" (p.116)

7. *dyūtamaṇḍala* : This word occurs in the Mbh. 2.70.600* (= Bom. edn. 2.79.32) and in the Harivaṁśa 89.49 (= Bom. edn. 2.61.54). At both these places Lueders (Phil. Ind. pp. 113-114) takes it to mean the circle drawn round the gambler which he cannot leave unless he has paid the dues. This interpretation is not likely to be correct. In the Mahābhārata the word appears in the context of Draupadī being forcibly taken to the *sabhā* and being dragged around there (*gamanaṁ parikarṣaṁ ca Kṛṣṇāyā dyūtamaṇḍale*). If Lueders' interpretation is correct we will have to assume that after Draupadī was taken to the *sabhā* she was made to stand in the circle where earlier Yudhiṣṭhira sat while playing the game. But there is nothing in the Mahābhārata to warrant such an assumption. Draupadī was brought in the *sabhā* to get the answer to her question directly from the members sitting in the Hall. There was thus, no occasion for making Draupadī stand in the gambler's circle. Hence *dyūtamaṇḍala* in this passage must simply mean *dyūtasabhā*, i.e., the place where the game was played. Such an interpretation agrees with another stanza where the dragging of Draupadī is alluded to. It reads as *pāñcālīm apakarṣadbiḥ sabhāmadhye tapasvinīm* 2.72.12.

In the Harivaṁśa the word *dyūtamaṇḍala* is used when it is reported that Balarāma killed Rukmin with an *aṣṭāpada* in the *dyūtamaṇḍala*. In the game of dice

played between Balarāma and Rukmin a dispute arose as to who of the two won the game. Enraged Balarâma struck Rukmin with the golden dice-board (Hariv. 89.42.43). It is mentioned that Balarāma crushed Rukmin on the ground (*niṣpipeṣa mahītale*). It is difficult to believe that all this happened strictly within the space circumscribed by the circle. Since there was no agreement about the outcome of the play both the players were free to come out of the circle and fight out. Hence in this passage too *dyūtamaṇḍala* = *dyūtasabhā*.[6]

8. Mbh. 3.56.8 (= Bom. edn. 3.59.8) : In the Nala episode of the Mbh. we are told that when Puṣkara challenged Nala for a game of dice Nala, first, did not accept it. But when Puṣkara persisted in challenging Nala, the latter could bear it no longer and agreed to have a game with him. In this context, we read :

na cakṣame tato rājā samāhvānaṁ mahāmanāḥ /
Vaidarbhyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ paṇakālam amanyata //

Since Lueders assumed that in ancient India people believed that a gambler could win the game on the strength of the faithfulness of his wife he interpreted the above stanza to mean that Nala agreed to Puṣkara's request and decided to play while Damayantī was looking on, i.e. in her presence, because he was confident of victory if the game was played in the presence of his faithful wife. Actually Nala lost the game because, according to Lueders, Kali had entered Nala's body and therefore Damayantī's chastity was of no avail to him (Phil. Ind. pp. 112.113).

This interpretation cannot be correct. If Nala thought of defeating Puṣkara at the game, not on the strength of his own skill, but on the strength of Damayantī's chastity, he would have doubted her character when he lost the game. He at that time did not know that he was possessed by Kali and therefore could not have attributed his defeat to the presence of Kali within him. But the defeated Nala neither expresses surprise at his defeat even when the game was played in the presence of his virtuous wife nor does he cast any reflections on her character. Besides, if we admit Lueders' interpretation we shall have to admit that to Indian mind, Kali was more powerful than a virtuous woman. This can hardly be a correct view. In fact in this episode we are told later that Kali was burning inside the body of Nala due to Damayantī's curse (3.74.18) which demonstrates who, of the two, was considered stronger.

The correct interpretation of the stanza can be had on the basis of Pāṇini 2.3.38 *ṣaṣṭhī cānādare*. The stanza means that Nala thought that the time for declaring the *paṇa* had come *(paṇakālam amanyata)*, i.e. he agreed to play the game of dice, in spite of the fact that Damayantī was looking on, i.e. disregarding her presence. On the strength of this epic statement the only conclusion that we may draw is that women in general, and Damayantī in particular, did not favour the husband's playing the game of dice and in spite of this Nala gave in to Puṣkara's persistent challenge.

NOTES :

1. Phil. Ind. p. 154, n. 1.
2. Phil. Ind. p. 114.
3. Durga on the Nir. 9.8. has a similar explanation, but he also adds *prāvṛṭkāle* 'during the rainy season.'
4. Maitr. Saṁ. 4.4.6; Taitt. Br. 1.7.10.5; Śat. Br. 5.4.4.6; Kāty ŚS 15.7.5.
5. He could have added that Durga also on the Nir. 5.22 gives conversely *āsphāra* as the meaning of *devana* i.e. *adhidevana*.
6. The Nāradasmṛti 17.5 *aśuddhaḥ kitavo nānyad āśrayed dyūtamaṇḍalam* can very well mean : "a gambler who has not cleared himself of the dues should not go to another *dyūtasabhā*."

5

Has the Vedic Rājasūya any Relevance for the Epic Game of Dice?*

M.A. Mehendale

Nārada, who visited Yudhiṣṭhira's *sabhā* told him that king Hariścandra, after conquering the entire earth and subduing all the kings (2.11.53, 55[1]) had performed the great sacrifice Rājasūya. Only a king who had performed the Rājasūya got a place in the *sabhā* of Indra (2.11.62). Hence Pāṇḍu sent a message to Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya (2.11.65-66).

Acting on this message, Yudhiṣṭhira performed the Rājasūya. For this purpose the Pāṇḍavas collected an enormously large amount of wealth by way of tribute from the kings.[2] Soon afterwards they lost everything to the Kauravas in the game of dice. Why must this happen?

Prof. van Buitenen in the Introduction to his translation of the Mahābhārata[3] observes that we are entitled to raise the above question. He asks : "Why, when everything has been achieved, must it now be gambled away by the hero in all whose previous life there has not been so much as a hint of a compulsion to gamble, all of whose life has in fact been of exemplary rectitude and prudence? It is this disturbing contradiction[4] in the character of Yudhiṣṭhira that demands the question whether this was indeed a contradiction, or whether the events in his life may not have been modeled on a preexisting structure". His conclusion is : "In my opinion there is such a model : the events of *The Assembly Hall* follow fairly closely the principal moments of the very *rājasūya* ritual that is central to the book". (p. 5)

What are the "principal moments" of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya which van Buitenen thinks "follow fairly closely" those of the Vedic Rājasūya? To start with he argues : "Kṛṣṇa advises him (i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira) that this (i.e. the performance of the Rājasūya) is not a mere matter of personal volition but is dependent on the consent (*anumati*) of the entire baronage. ... in the Vedic ritual of the *rājasūya*, too, the ceremony opens with a prayer for consent, which is concretized in an offering to the Goddess of Consent, Anumati" (p. 14).

What Kṛṣṇa really told Yudhiṣṭhira was that as long as Jarāsandha who had conquered the kings and made them captive was alive it was not possible for Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya. It was therefore necessary for him to kill Jarāsandha and free the kings (2.13.61-62, 66). One who conquered Jarāsandha would surely be the emperor (*samrāj* 2.14.20). Later, when Jarāsandha was killed and the kings freed, they asked Kṛṣṇa what they might do for him. Kṛṣṇa asked them to offer their assistance to Yudhiṣṭhira who wished to perform the Rājasūya. The kings willingly agreed (2.22.34-37).

If van Buitenen wants to interpret the readiness of the kings to assist Yudhiṣṭhira in his Rājasūya as a "close parallel" to the offering to Anumati (Consent, Good Will) in the Vedic ritual, he might as well have interpreted the elimination of Jarāsandha, a potential threat to the Rājasūya, as a "close parellel" the accompanying offering to Nirṛti (Destruction, Opposition) in the Vedic ritual.

Apart from the fact that there is nothing in the Vedic ritual to suggest that the offering to Anumati symbolizes the consent of the barons, Yudhiṣṭhira would have been bound to make an offering to Anumati, even after securing the support of the kings, if he was following the Vedic Rājasūya. But the epic has nothing to say about it.

The next item in van Buitenen's list of the "principal moments" showing close relationship between the epic and the Vedic Rājasūya is the giving of the guest gift to Kṛṣṇa (2.33.22, 27-31). Since the gift was made only to one person, van Buitenen sees in this "moment" close following of the Vedic rite of bestowing the remnant of the unction water to the heir-apparent of the king who performed the Rājasūya.

Seeing these two events as closely related is as far-fetched as one can ever imagine. In the first instance one fails to understand why van Buitenen considers the giving of gift to Kṛṣṇa as one of the "parting gifts" to the assembled guests. He knows that when this gift was given to Kṛṣṇa the sacrifice was by no means over (p. 23). How can then this be a parting gift just because it was given after the unction?

Secondly, why does van Buitenen take for granted that the gift was made only to Kṛṣṇa and to none else? He asserts : "Also no mention is made of any other kings being presented with parting gifts" (p. 22). If this is so, why does he choose to describe the gift given to Kṛṣṇa as "the first one in a *series of parting gifts to the kings* who have been Yudhiṣṭhira's guests at the Consecration"? (p. 22, italics mine). What he says here is, however, correct because Bhīṣma has clearly in mind giving gifts to all the assembled kings in accordance with their precedence (*kriyatām arhaṇaṁ rājñāṁ yathārham; eṣām ekaikaśo rājann arghyam ānīyatām* 2. 33. 22, 25). There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that this was what Yudhṣṭhira actually did (*yathārhaṁ pūjya nṛpatīn* 2. 42. 38). There is therefore no justification in connecting the guest gift given to Kṛṣṇa, and after him to the rest of the assembled kings, and the handing over the remaining unction water to the heir-apparent.

Thirdly, again on van Buitenen's own admission (p. 23), if suzerainty (*sāmrājya*), unlike the king's inherited right to rule his own dominion (*rājya*), "is not strictly an inheritable office" how could Yudhiṣṭhira bestow his *sāmrājya* away to Kṛṣṇa if that was the meaning of his giving *argha* to Kṛṣṇa?

Finally, it is highly absurd to imagine that when Bhīṣma asked Yudhiṣṭhira to give the *argha* to the assembled kings he wanted Yudhiṣṭhira to show his preferences for receiving the title of *samrāj* after him.

The third and the last "principal moment" common to the two Rājasūyas seen by van Buitenen is the challenge issued by Śiśupāla to Kṛṣṇa in the Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira and the king's chariot drive in the Vedic Rājasūya (p. 23). In this drive the newly anointed king shot arrows at a Kṣatriya and then returned to the *sadas*. According to van Buitenen this drive could symbolize the king's march against a real challenger, a kinsman of the king, who considered himself to be the claiment to the dominion. The epic incident and the king's drive, however, have nothing to do with each other. Śiśupāla's challenge was not to Yudhiṣṭhira who had performed the Rājasūya, but to Kṛṣṇa. In van Buitenen's own view giving of the *argha* to Kṛṣṇa symbolizes the handing over the remnant of the unction water i.e. bestowing the *sāmrājya* on Kṛṣṇa *after* Yudhiṣṭhira. van Buitenen thus makes Śiśupāla, not a kinsman of the Pāṇḍavas, challenge not the emperor but the heir-apparent, and this is not the case in the chariot drive as understood by him.

Quite clearly van Buitenen is pleading an extremely weak case or in fact a non-existing case. It is not as if he is totally unaware of it. He says : "To some it might appear that I overstate the connection between incidents in

the Vedic *rājasūya* and in The Book of the Assembly Hall". Why does he do it then? His defence is: "Yet it is not my cause I plead here, but that of the authors of this book". (p. 27). The position now becomes clear. van Buitenen indeed does not very strongly believe what he says. What has happened is that he has noticed an anomaly in the behaviour of Yudhiṣṭhira as presented to us by the epic authors. He therefore wants to plead the case of these authors by showing that the anomaly is not real but only apparent. To prove this he feels compelled to find some factors common to the two sacrifices and prove that Yudhiṣṭhira played the game not on his own but because he was forced by the rules of the Vedic Rājasūya. van Buitenen blames modern scholars for having failed to notice these common factors. But the modern scholars are not to be blamed. They naturally have not seen what does not exist.

In support of his non-existing case van Buitenen next brings forward some lame evidence from the epic itself in order to show that Yudhiṣṭhira was bound to play *dyūta*. In a stanza (2.45.54) addresed by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Vidura he interprets the word *diṣṭam* as 'ordained (by the structure of the Vedic Rājasūya)'. According to van Buitenen Dhṛtarāṣṭra in this stanza as if reminds Vidura, who is not at all enthusiastic about the game (2.45.52), that the game of dice has to take place since it has been ordained (*diṣṭa*). But here the world *diṣṭa* quite clearly does not mean 'ordained by the structure of the Rājasūya'; it means 'ordained by fate' which becomes evident from the next stanza (2.45.55) where the word *daivavihita* occurs. In this stanza Dhṛtarāṣṭra assures Vidura that he and Bhīṣma would not allow anything untoward to happen, even if the untoward was ordained by the fate, and that the gods in the heaven would do what was good for them (2.45.55, 53). van Buitenen admits that it was Śakuni who was instrumental for the game of dice (p. 28). How than does he argue that the game had to take place because it was ordained by the Rājasūya?

The next hint, according to van Buitenen, given by the epic is contained in Vidura's appeal to Dhṛtarāṣṭra to stop the game of dice when the first ten plays[5] were played out. Vidura appeals to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, argues van Buitenen, and not to Yudhiṣṭhira because the latter was bound by the rules of his Rājasūya and was not a free agent (pp. 29-30). This is a very strange argument. Vidura's appeal to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and not to Yudhiṣṭhira who was 'maddened by the game' (*dyūtamadena mattaḥ* 2.60.5), was natural. We cannot forget that it was Dhṛtarāṣṭra who gave permission to play, and hence it was he who could withdraw it. One of the reasons why Yudhiṣṭhira agreed to play was that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had asked him to do that. It was therefore natural if Vidura felt that if Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked, Yudhiṣṭhira would stop playing the game. What is extremely difficult to understand, if we follow van Buitenen's line of argument, is that if Yudhiṣṭhira played the

game as required by the rules of his Rājasūya, how did Vidura, the most virtuous-minded of all, think of asking Dhṛtarāṣṭra to do what would violate the prescriptions of the Veda? And how could Yudhiṣṭhira, if he was not a free agent, stop playing even if Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked him to do that?[6]

If one wants to assert that the epic game of dice was played because it formed part of the Vedic Rājasūya, one must first demonstrate that Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya was performed mostly following the Vedic prescriptions. But this can absolutely not be done. The only "moments" really common to the two Rājasūyas are that water was used on the *abhiṣecanīya* day for unction and that the *avabhṛtha* marked the end of the ritual.[7]

In the epic there is not even a hint that the Vedic Rājasūya was the cause of Yudhiṣṭhira's game. The suggestion for the game came from Śakuni. It required Dhṛtarāṣṭra's consent which Duryodhana could not obtain easily. He had to threaten that he would otherwise commit suicide. Vidura was totally against it. Yudhiṣṭhira agreed to play becauce Dhṛtarāṣṭra wanted him to do that and because it was his vow not to refuse if challanged to a game. All these factors do not indicate that the structure of the Vedic Rājasūya was responsible for Yudhiṣṭhira's game. In the epic account there is no direct or indirect mention of it.

It is possible also to raise the following objections to van Buitenen's contention:

1. If Yudhiṣṭhira's game of dice was in accordance with the procedure of the Vedic Rājasūya, the game should have been played at the time of and at the place of the sacrifice, and not several days later and in the Hall specially built for the purpose at Hāstinapura. In the epic Dhṛtarāṣṭra wanted the Pāṇḍavas to visit the new Hall and have a game.

2. In the epic, Yudhiṣṭhira shows no awareness that he had to play the game as a part of the sacrifice performed by him. He did not play it as a matter of course but only because he received an invitation for it from Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

3. Yudhiṣṭhira, if he was following the Vedic Rājasūya, should have played the game with a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra and not with Śakuni alone as a representative of Duryodhana.

4. On one occasion, after the war began, Saṁjaya blamed Dhṛtarāṣṭra and said that if he had dissuaded the two parties from engaging themselves in the game of dice he would not be facing the danger he

was (7.62.4). Saṁjaya could not say this if the *dyūta* was played as a part of the Rājasūya. Then again Yudhiṣṭhira is seen blaming himself for consenting to the game and bringing disaster on the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī (3.35.1, 4). This Yudhiṣṭhira could not do if he was bound to play the game as a part of the Rājasūya.

van Buitenen feels compelled to make his untenable suggestion because he feels that there is a contradiction in the character of Yudhiṣṭhira in agreeing to play the game of dice. By offering his suggestion he wants to show that what looks like a contradiction is an 'apparent' one.

But the starting premise itself of van Buitenen is not borne out by the facts. It is true the epic does not tell us that Yudhiṣṭhira played the game of dice every day. But the epic certainly tells us that Yudhiṣṭhira loved the game of dice and hence it is legitimate to presume that he played it now and then. Śakuni describes Yudhiṣṭhira as *dyūtapriya* (2.44.18). Draupadī says Yudhiṣṭhira was *nātikṛtaprayatna* "one who had not made (sustained) effort (to achieve proficiency in the game)" (2.60.43). This means Yudhiṣṭhira was an average player. If one were to believe Sātyaki Yudhiṣṭhira used to play dice with his brothers (5.3.7). We also know that Yudhiṣṭhira wished to act as a 'gambling companion' (*sabhāstāra* 4.1.20) to Virāṭa during the period of *ajñātavāsa*. He was going to introduce himself to Virāṭa as *a former very dear friend* (*prāṇasāmaḥ sakhā* 4.1.22) of Yudhiṣṭhira. If a gambler could declare himself to be a close friend of Yudhiṣṭhira, the latter must be one who loved gambling enough to feel compelled to accept the challenge issued to him (2.52.15-16). Hence there is no contradiction in the character of Yudhiṣṭhira if he agreed to play the game. Hence also it is not necessary to exert oneself to the point of being ridiculous to establish relationship between the Vedic and the epic Rājasūya in order to prove that the contradiction is not real but apparent.

The epic war, on archaeological evidence, is supposed to have been fought C. 1200 B.C., i.e. at a time much anterior to the formalization of the Rājasūya as represented in the ritual texts. It is therefore improper to seek justification for an earlier event in the texts of a later period. If anything, the epic incidents point to the possibility of a king who performed the Rājasūya being challenged by his kinsman to a game of dice and being deprived of his accumulated wealth. Probably, acceptance of such a challenge was looked upon as brave. Also, perhaps, the challenge could be issued only once. In order to obviate the danger of a king losing his wealth in a real game of dice, the systematizers of the Vedic ritual made the game a part of the ritual in which the performing king must win. Thus one may attempt to explain the game of dice becoming a part of the Vedic ritual on the basis of incidents similar to the one found in the epic, and not vice versa.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* Paper read at the Seminar on the Rituals... under the auspices of the Ananthacharya Indological Institute, Bombay, December 28-29, 1991.

1. All references to the Pune Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

2. 2. 24. 18—2. 27. 28; 2. 28. 54; 2. 29. 14—18; 2. 43. 25—35; 2. 45. 15—35; 2. 46. 23—25; 2. 47. 1—31; 2. 48. 1.—41. According to Duryodhana only two families did not pay tribute—the Pāñcālas because they were related to the Pāṇḍavas, and the Andhaka—Vṛṣṇis because they were the friends of the Pāṇḍavas (2. 48. 42).

3. The Mahābhārata: 2. The Book of the Assembly Hall, translated and edited by J.A.B. van Buitenen, The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London, 1975.

4. Buitenen asks : "... is a neighbouring kinsman's envy at Yudhiṣṭhira's good fortune sufficient reason for the new king... willingly to gamble it all away?" We may ask : "Why not?" We have a parallel in Nala losing everything away to his brother Puṣkara in a game of dice.

5. van Buitenen's conclusion that every game of dice must go through twenty turns is absolutely without basis. The *anudyūta* of the epic concluded only in one play, and there is no knowing how many plays Nala and Puṣkara had in their *dyūta*.

6. van Buitenen makes certain statements (p. 30) about this incident which are not of immediate relevance to the subject of this paper, but it has to be pointed out that there is no basis for them. He observes: "In the end Dhṛtarāṣṭra rules that the last play was indecisive and the game as a whole had been neither lost nor won". Where does he find evidence in the epic to make this observation? Similarly, following the general opinion, he states that the debate on the question raised by Draupadī remained inconclusive. The epic, however, tells us that when Duryodhana challenged any one of the Pāṇḍavas to answer Draupadī's question, Arjuna did that every neatly (2. 63. 21). Finally, there is nothing in the epic to show that the *anudyūta* was only "a repeat of the twentieth game" and not a new game altogether.

7. J.C. Heestermann: An ancient Indian Royal Consecration, 1957, pp. 114-116; 167-168; Mbh. 2. 33. 1.; 2. 49. 10 fg.; 2. 42. 35.

Is There Only One Version of The Game of Dice In The Mahābhārata?

M. A. MEHENDALE

The Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata (Mbh.) describes the game of dice played by Śakuni, on behalf of Duryodhana, and Yudhiṣṭhira. This version of the game we may call the standard version. But is this the only version of the game available? When one goes through the description in the Sabhāparvan and considers certain other references to the game found elsewhere in the Mbh. one notices certain discrepancies in narration. In order to account for them it becomes necessary to assume that at one time there were current different versions of the game. It is now not possible to have full details of the lost versions, but we can form some idea about them on the basis of the evidence offered by the discrepant account. Their presence in the standard version must be attributed to the anxiety of the narrator to include features of other versions in the standard one that he was narrating.

I. Discrepancies in the Sabhāparvan

There are five discrepancies in the Sabhāparvan version, two of which have been already noticed by scholars before.

1) When Dhṛtarāṣṭra consulted Vidura about the game of dice, the latter expressed his disapproval. Ignoring it, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked him to go to the Pāṇḍavas to invite Yudhiṣṭhira for a game. Distressed, Vidura left for Bhīṣma's residence (2.45.58). In the next Adhyāya, however, we do not hear about the meeting between Bhīṣma and Vidura; instead, what has been narrated before is repeated in Adhyāyas 46-51 and then we are told that Vidura left for Indraprastha (2.52.1).

Obviously the two statements about Vidura's departure belong to two different versions of the game and some one has brought them together[1].

2) When Duryodhana sent his messenger to Draupadī a second time to get her to the Sabhā to obtain an answer to her question (2.60.10-12), she apparently refused to oblige him. He then returned to the Sabhā and repeated Draupadī's question. Since no one replied[2], Duryodhana, delighted, asked the messenger to go to Draupadī again to invite her to the Sabhā (2.60.16).

Between stanzas 12 and 16 which report the above sequence of events there occur two stanzas (2.60.14-15) which are totally incongruous with the narration. They inform us that Yudhiṣṭhira, knowing what Duryodhana desired, sent a

messenger acceptable to Draupadī (? *draupadyāḥ saṁmataṁ dūtaṁ prāhiṇot*) and she came to the Sabhā as she was and stood before her father-in-law.

And in spite of the fact that the above stanzas tell us that Draupadī had gone to the Sabhā, we are informed in the stanzas that follow (2.60.16 ff.) that Duryodhana asked his messenger to go to Draupadī, and when he hesitated, asked Duḥśāsana to do the same : In order to explain the incongruency in the narration we have to assume a combination of two versions of the same event -- one in which Duḥśāsana dragged Draupadī to the Sabhā against her wishes, and the other in which Draupadī of her own accord presented herself in the Sabhā[3]. The two stanzas (14 and 15) belonging to this latter version were incorporated in the standard version by some one in the oral transmission[4].

3) When none of the senior members present in the Sabhā answered Draupadī's question, Vikarṇa did it. He declared that Draupadī had not become a *dāsī*. He supported his contention on four grounds (2.61.19-24) : (i) Kings are supposed to be addicts to four pleasures, one of which was *dyūta*. A person under the influence of these addictions behaved unlawfully (*dharmam utsṛjya vartate*). People therefore did not recognize the acts committed under the influence of addiction. When Yudhiṣṭhira was challenged to stake Draupadī he was under the excessive influence of the game; therefore his act could not be recognized; (ii) Draupadī was the common wife of all the Pāṇḍavas. Vikarṇa implied that therefore Yudhiṣṭhira alone had no right to stake her; (iii) Yudhiṣṭhira staked her after he had staked himself and lost the game; apparently therefore he could not stake her; (iv) finally, it was Śakuni who, desirous of having Draupadī as the stake, mentioned her name. Vikarṇa implied that Draupadī as stake was not Yudhiṣṭhitra's own choice; he was instigated by Śakuni to do that and apparently that was not correct.

Karṇa tried to refute Vikarṇa's arguments and establish that Draupadī had been lawfully won. In fact, however, he sought to refute only one of Vikarṇa's four arguments. He pointed out that when Yudhiṣṭhira specifically named Draupadī as his stake, the rest of the Pāṇḍavas had acquiesced (by remaining silent). Hence Karṇa implied that Draupadī was the stake of all the Pāṇḍavas and not of Yudhiṣṭhira alone (this would be in reply to Vikraṇa's second argument).

Karṇa then said something, as if to refute what Vikarṇa had said but what Vikarṇa, in fact, had not said. Karṇa argued : "Yudhiṣṭhira staked all his possession (*sarvasva*) in the game, and since Draupadī was included in the *sarvasva*, she was lawfully won by the Kauravas. How can then you say that she was not won?"

(yadā sabhāyāṁ sarvasvaṁ nyastavān pāṇḍavāgrajaḥ //
abhyantarā ca sarvasve draupadī bharatarṣabha /
evaṁ dharmajitāṁ kṛṣṇām manyase na jitāṁ katham // (2.61.31-32).

What Karṇa said implied that Yudhiṣṭhira lost all his possessions, including Draupadī, in a single stake[5]. But this is not what that standard version of the game

tells us. According to it Yudhiṣṭhira played twenty games to lose his possessions, brothers, himself, and wife in a certain order. Vikarṇa had never argued that Yudhiṣṭhira staked his *sarvasva,* and had not mentioned Draupadī by name,[6] therefore she could not be looked upon as won. It is therefore necessary to assume that what Karṇa said to Vikarṇa belongs to a different version[7] of the event and that these stanzas are interpolated in the standard version.

4) In the narration of the Sabhāparvan, stanza 58.30 must be considered interpolated. In that stanza Vaiśaṁpāyana tells Janamejaya : "Having said this, (Śakuni) who was fond of dice, defeated all those known heroes of the world (i.e. the Pāṇḍavas), who stood staked, by throwing the dice, (winning) each one of them separately.

(evam uktvā matākṣas tān glahe sarvān avasthitān /
parājayal lokavīrān ākṣepeṇa pṛthak pṛthak)

The point of narration where this incongruous stanza occurs is as follows : After Yudhiṣṭhira had staked his brothers, one after the other, and finally himself, and played and lost the games immediately after the declaration of each one of the stakes, Śakuni suggested the stake of Draupadī in two stanzas. In the first stanza, he blamed Yudhiṣṭhira for having lost himself when he had some 'wealth' left (2.58.29). In the second, Śakuni specifically suggested to Yudhiṣṭhira to stake Draupadī and "win yourself back"[8] (*paṇasva kṛṣṇāṁ pāñcālīm tayātmānaṁ punar jaya* (2.58.31). These two stanzas of Śakuni should have occurred one after the other. Instead, between the two (29 and 31) occurs Vaiśaṁpāyana's stanza noted above (30) which is not only out of the place but is inconsistent with the main narration.

Stanza 30 is out of the place because the narrator has already told us that Śakuni had won all the five brothers by playing five games. Now Śakuni had started to suggest to Yudhiṣṭhira to stake Draupadī. There is thus no occasion for Vaiśaṁpāyana to intervene and tell what he has already told before.

The stanza is incongruous because it tells a different story about the progress of the game. According to the standard version Yudhiṣṭhira and Śakuni played the games immediately after the stake of each one of his brothers and of Yudhiṣṭhira himself was announced. According to Vaiśaṁpāyana's stanza, however, all the five stakes were deelared first, in a certain order, and when that act was completed the two players played five games one after the other. Stanza 30 of Vaiśaṁpāyana opens with the words *evam uktvā.* This indicates that in the lost version, before stanza 30, there must have been a stanza in which Śakuni told Yudhiṣṭhira something as follows : "Now that you have staked all your brothers and yourself, let us play the games for those five stakes". Only under the assumption of some such course of events Vaiśaṁpāyana's stanza beginning with 'Having and said thus ...." will be consistent. In the standard version it is obviously interpolated.[9]

Once we assume that stanza 2.58.30 is interpolated in the standard version we recognize some more factors which support such an assumption. We notice that

the stanza in which Nakula's stake was declared is in the Anuṣṭubh while the stanzas in which the stakes of Sahadeva, Arjuna and Bhīma were declared are in the Triṣṭubh. We would normally not have laid stress on this difference in the metres because such a change is not uncommon in the Mbh. But the difference between the two stanzas is not merely formal, it also extends to the mode of declaring the stake. We have assumed that in the lost version Yudhiṣṭhira first declared only his five stakes without playing the games immediately following the declaration of each stake. In that situation it is possible for Yudhiṣṭhira to use such expressions as 'this is my first stake', 'this is my second stake' etc. after the declaration of each stake. In fact Yudhiṣṭhira does use such an expression while declaring the first stake of Nakula (*nakulo glaha eko me* 2.58.11). But in the standard version of the game where each time the game was played immediately after the announcement of the stake, such expressions 'this is my first, this is my second stake, etc.' have no place, and we do not find Yudhiṣṭhira saying 'this is my second stake' when he staked Sahadeva and the rest. Hence it appears that stanza 2.58.11 declaring the stake of Nakula also belonged to the same lost version to which stanza 2.58.30 belongs.

5) When Draupadī was dragged to the Assembly hall she said : "*The skilled gamblers* challenged the inexperienced Yudhiṣṭhira to a game of dice and *they all together* defeated him (*āhūya rājā kuśalaiḥ sabhāyām ... nātikṛtaprayatnaḥ... saṁbhūya sarvais' ca jitaḥ* 2.60.43-44). This account does not agree with what had happened before. It was Śakuni who invited Yudhiṣṭhira to a game (2.53.1), and when Yudhiṣṭhira asked against whom he was supposed to play, Duryodhana announced that he would be responsible for the stakes but the game would be played by Śakuni (2.53.10). The game was then played only between Śakuni and Yudhiṣṭhira and none of the gamblers present in the Hall is reported to have taken part in the game at any stage. The stanza in which Draupadī complained that Yudhiṣṭhira was defeated, not by Śakuni, but by all the gamblers playing together[10] must have been interpolated in the standard version from a different account of the game.

This assumed version finds its echo at three different places in the Mbh. First, Vikarṇa, while stating his case, said that Yudhiṣṭhira was challenged by the gamblers when he staked Draupadī (*samāhūtena kitavair āsthito draupadīpaṇaḥ* 2.61.22). Secondly, Sātyaki asked Balarāma : "The skilled gamblers challenged the one who was not an expert with dice and defeated him. How could this be called a lawful victory ?" (5.3.6)11. Finally, Yudhiṣṭhira himself once said that he was challenged to a game by skilled gamblers and was deprived of his kingdom (3.49.32). It is surprising that Draupadī, Vikarṇa, Sātyaki, and Yudhiṣṭhira do not mention Śakuni at all.

Hence we have to assume that there was a version of the event in which the gamblers in the Hall, all of them expert, and not Śakuni, defeated Yudhiṣṭhira. All the above references really belong to that version.[12]

II. Discrepancies in the other Parvans

The incongruous elements in the versions of the game noticed in the Udyogaparvan and the Āraṇyakaparvan are of a more radical nature. They present to us Yudhiṣthira in a totally different light.

1) The Udyogaparvan : When, before the war, the Pāṇḍavas were taking counsel regarding the future course of action, Balarāma, at one stage, drew attention to the way how the Pāṇḍavas lost their kingdom. He said : "All the principal heroes in the Kuru family and Yudhiṣthira's friends tried to prevent him from indulging in the game of dice. Although not a skilled player, Yudhiṣthira challenged Śakuni, a known skilled player, to a game. There were other gamblers in the Hall and Yudhiṣthira could have challenged them and won. Instead, he challenged Śakuni and was defeated. As the game progressed, the dice always turned out to be unfavourable to Yudhiṣthira. He was confused and lost miserably. There was no fault of Śakuni (*tatrāparādhaḥ śakuner na kaś cit 5.2.9-11).*

Balarāma's account is at complete variance with the one found in the Sabhāparvan. In the latter, no one is reported to have tried to dissuade Yudhiṣthira. In fact, the question of dissuasion did not arise at all. Yudhiṣthira had already told Vidura that he would not himself challenge Śakuni, since he did not wish to play dice; but if he was challenged by Śakuni, he, following his vow, would accept it (2.52.16). There was thus no question of Yudhiṣthira's challenging Śakuni or any one of the gamblers. According to the Sabhāparvan, the compulsion for playing the game was Śakuni's challenge; he won, because his confidence in his skill was justified. According to Balarāma's version, the compulsion for playing the game was Yudhiṣthira's own urge to play; he lost, because his confidence was misplaced.

2) The Āraṇyakaparvan : The information supplied by the account in the Āraṇyakaparvan changes the image of Yudhiṣthira even more radically. The information assumes significance because it is supplied by Yudhiṣthira himself.

Once, in the forest, during the course of a conversation, Yudhiṣthira admitted to Bhīma that because he (Yudhiṣthira) adopted the wrong path they all faced their present difficult condition (*mamānayād dhi vyasanaṁ va āgāt* 3.35.1). He continued : "It was I who took recourse to the dice in order to deprive Duryodhana of his entire kingdom (*rājyaṁ sarāṣṭram ?*). But the rogue Śakuni played against me for Duryodhana. As the game progressed, I noticed that the dice resulted according to the wishes of Śakuni -- they turned out to be odd or even as he desired. Seeing that it should have been possible for me to control myself (and stop playing). But anger destroys a man's equilibrium"

(*ahaṁ hy akṣān anvapadyaṁ jihīrṣan rājyaṁ sarāṣṭraṁ dhṛtrarāṣṭrasya putrāt/*
tan mā śaṭhaḥ kitavaḥ pratyadevīt suyodhanārthaṁ subalasya putraḥ //
... akṣān hi dṛṣṭvā śakuner yathāvat kāmānulomān ayujo yujaś' ca /
śakyaṁ niyantum abhaviṣyad ātmā manyus tu hanti puruṣasya dhairyam //

3.35.2, 4)

It is impossible to reconcile these statements with the account narrated in the Sabhāparvan. There we are told that it was Śakuni who suggested to Duryodhana to take recourse to the safe expedient of *dyūta* to deprive the Pāṇḍavas of their accumulated wealth. Hence Dḥtarāṣṭra invited the Pāṇḍavas for a game dice. But on Yudhiṣṭhira's own admission it appears that Dhṛtarāṣṭra may have invited Pāṇḍavas just to pay a visit to the newly built Sabhā and not for a game of dice. But once in the Sabhā, Yudhiṣṭhira was seized by the desire to play a game and deprive Duryodhana of his kingdom. It is conceivable that Yudhiṣṭhira was superior to Duryodhana in playing the game and hence he challenged him. Unfortunately, however, Śakuni took up the challenge; Yudhiṣṭhira could not withdraw, and in the process lost everything to Śakuni.

This account in the Āraṇyakaparvan must belong to a different version. The Udyogaparvan account, noticed above, too holds Yudhiṣṭhira responsible for the start of the game, but does not attribute specific motive to him. The Āraṇyakaparvan account goes beyond it and attributes a selfish motive to Yudhiṣṭhira in taking recourse to dice.

The Āraṇyakaparvan account further alludes to a different mode of play. According to Yudhiṣṭhira, the dice always resulted as Śakuni wanted them to be. They turned out to be odd if he wanted them odd, or even if that was what he desired. This means that the total number of dice thrown on the playing ground by the two players was divided by two and not by four. It also means that after Yudhiṣṭhira threw the dice, when Śakuni followed Yudhiṣṭhira he declared in advance how the dice would turn out, odd or even[13]. The result of each game went in Śakuni's favour.

On the other hand, from the various allusions in the Mbh. (5.140.7, 9 etc.; 4.45.24) to the game of dice in the Sabhāparvan it can be assumed that the Sabhāparvan game agreed with the Vedic game of dice in that the total number of dice thrown on the playing ground was divided by four. Apparently Śakuni always succeeded in that game in getting the number exactly divisible by four and hence he won.

The different versions of the events in the game of dice may be charted as follows :

The Game of Dice in the Mbh. -- Different Accounts of certain Events

Duryodhana, jealous of Pāṇḍavas' wealth suggested the Game of Dice to Dhṛtarāṣṭra (2.45; 35; 40; 2.51.4)

Duryodhana, jealous of the Mayasabhā, asked Dhṛtarāṣṭra to build a Sabhā in Hāstinapura

Dhṛtarāṣṭra had the Sabhā built

Dhṛtarāṣṭra invited the Pāṇḍavas to a Game in the Sabhā

Dhṛtarāṣṭra invited the Pāṇḍavas to visit the Sabhā

Vidura sent to invite the Pāṇḍavas

Vidura went straight to the Pāṇḍavas (2.52.1)

Vidura first went to Bhīṣma (and then to the Pāṇḍavas) (2.45.46)

The Pāṇḍavas in the Hall -- the game of dice

Challenge issued not by Yudhiṣṭhira

Śukani challenged Yudh. and defeated him (2.53.1 ff)

Gamblers challenged Yudh. and defeated him (2.60.43-44; 2.61.22; 5.3.6; 3.49.32)

Challenge issued by Yudhiṣṭhira

Yudhiṣṭhira challenged Śakuni and lost (5.2.9-11)

Yudhiṣṭhira challenged Duryodhana; but Śakuni accepted the challenge (3.35; 1-4)

Yudh. lost everything in 20 games (2.53.22 ff.)

Yudh. lost everything in a single game (2.61. 31-32)

Yudh. staked and played, staked and played five times to lose his brothers and himself. (2.58.11-28)

Yudh. first only staked five brothers individually in five stakes and played, five stakes and afterwards played five conscutive games to lose all (2.58.30)

Yudhisthira lost Draupadī's stake; Drupadī asked to come to the Sabhā

Duḥśāsana dragged Draupadī to the Sabhā (2.60.22 ff.)

Draupadī herself came to the Sabhā (2.60.14-15)

Notes :

1. F. Edgerton (Sabhāparvan, Introduction, XXXII) observes : "Again it seems to me that two accounts of the same event are taken into the text side by side".
2. This part of the event has not been specifically narrated but may safely be assumed.
3. Obviously in this version there will be no occasion for Duḥśāsana to drag Draupadī by her hair.
4. F. Edgerton (Sabhāparvan, Introduction, XXXI), "Clearly we have here parts of two entirely different versions of the story."
5. This was, for example, how Puṣkara lost everything to Nala in a single stake (3.77.18).
6. Unlike Nala, in the second match between him and Puṣkara, when he mentioned Damayantī specifically as his stake along with all his wealth (3.77.5).
7. It is likely that in this lost version **Draupadī** raised the question not only about herself, but also about the four Pāṇḍavas. Apparently while staking his *sarvasva*, Yudhiṣṭhira had not named his brothers either. When Duryodhana challenged any one of the Pāṇḍavas to reply to Draupadī's question Bhīma in his reply said that if Yudhiṣṭhira considered himself won, the rest of the

Pāṇḍavas were also won (2.62.33). Significantly he spoke nothing about Draupadī He was as if speaking for himself and his brothers. This reply of Bhīma is clearly out of the place in the standard version because nobody had raisedd the question about the Pāṇḍavas. It gains significance only in the above version assumed by us.

8. The significance of the expression ''win yourself back'' is that Śakuni agreed to stake Yudhiṣṭira who had become a *dāsa*, against Yudhiṣṭhira's stake of Draupadī; if Yudhiṣṭhira won this last game he would be free (and of course Draupadī would not be won).

9. It may be noted that the way Śakuni's victory is announced in the standard version (2.53.25; 2.54.3,7 etc., for the winning of the Pāṇḍavas (2.58.13, 15, 21, 25,28) is quite different from the way the same is done in the assumed lost version (2.58.30).

10. Of this mode of play -- one against many -- we know practically nothing.

11. It is however, difficult to understand what Sātyaki could have meant when he continued that if the gamblers had approached Yudhiṣṭhira while he was playing the game with his brothers at his residence and won, that would have been a lawful victory (5.3.7).

12. In the Nala story too Damayantī gave a different account to the ascetics whom she met in the forest. She told them : '' Some mean persons, rogues, who were expert gamblers challenged the king (Nala) to a game of dice and deprived him of his kingdom and wealth'' (3.61.78). In the principal narration, however, we are told that Nala's brother Puṣkara challenged Nala and defeated him. Hence Nala story too apparently was current in two versions.

13. That is, as in the game where the dice are divided by four, it was not necessary that the number be exactly divisible by two and no remainder left.

ONCE AGAIN DRAUPADĪ'S HAIR[1]

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

In the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*) Draupadī is subjected to two humiliations : dragging her by her hair and trying to remove her upper garment. Alf Hiltebeitel (H.) has published two articles concerning these two themes. The first, on Draupadī's Garments, appeared in 1980[2] and the second, on Draupadī's Hair, in 1981.[3] I have refuted H'.s views on the first elsewhere.[4] Here I examine his views on the second.

For his second article H. has used evidence from the *Mbh.* as well as from the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. In the present paper I shall consider mainly the *Mbh.* evidence, referring to the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* only in a few cases. In his first article on Draupadī's garments H. saw in Kṛṣṇā (dark) Draupadī earth, and, covered with white and red garments, also *prakṛti.* In the second paper on Draupadī's hair he has chosen to see in Kṛṣṇā (dark) Draupadī, wearing dishevelled hair, Goddess Kālī, and further in her loose hair the dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*). His thrust in the second paper is to present Draupadī wearing her hair loose, unwashed and dishevelled, since the Sabhā episode up to the end of the battle, i. e. for well over thirteen years.

It is widely believed in the south, H. informs us, that Draupadī took a vow not to bind up her hair until they were smeared with the blood of either Duryodhana or Duḥśāsana. The theme is represented in the literary compositions and stage representations of the epic in the south (pp. 179–180).

In the north, the vow related to Draupadī's hair first appears in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* (7th cent. A. D.). In this drama, however, it is Bhīma, and

1 The original article in Marathi appeared in the *Navabhārat*, Divali Number, 1994, 75-90.

2 *IIJ* 22. 97–112 (1980).

3 Autour de la déesse Hindoue. Ed. M. Biardeau, Paris, 179-213 being Vol. 5 (1981) of *Puruṣārtha* : *Sciences Sociales en asie du Sud*, Paris.

4 *BDCRI*, (Golden Jubilee Volume) 50, 285-290 (1990). The numbers of pages 287 and 286 to be corrected respectively as 286 and 287 in that article.

not Draupadī, who takes the vow.[5] In the *Mbh.* itself we hear of two vows of Bhīma : to drink the blood from Duḥśāsana's chest (2. 61. 46) and to break the left thigh of Duryodhana (2. 63. 14). None of these has anything to do with the anointing of Draupadī's loose hair with blood and tying them up.

H. asserts : "The Mahābhārata seems to know more about Draupadī's hair than it ever makes explicit" (p. 186). The epic events he uses for his discussion are the following :

1. Dragging Draupadī to the Sabhā

According to H. Draupadī's hair were already loose and dishevelled when Duḥśāsana held them in his hand. His opinion is based on two epithets, *ūrmimant* (2. 60. 22), which he renders 'flowing', and *prakīrṇa* (2. 60. 28) 'dishevelled', used in the *Mbh.* to describe Draupadī's hair. He justifies the 'flowing' i. e. the loose and dishevelled condition of Draupadī's hair by pointing out that she was at that time *rajasvalā*. Women in period were required to observe certain restrictions on taking care of their hair. For example, according to a statement in the *Taitt. Saṁh.* 2. 5. 1 *rajasvalā* women were not expected to comb their hair (*yā pralikhate*).

It is true that according to the *Mbh.* Draupadī was *rajasvalā* on the day the dice game began. But it does not say the rest of the things imagined by H. about Draupadī's hair. In the first instance, the epithet *ūrmimant*, used for her hair, does not mean 'flowing', hence loose, but 'wavy', i. e. curly. Draupadī's hair were dark and curly as seen from the epithets *nīlakuñcitamūrdhajā* (1. 155. 42) and *vellitāgrān* (4. 8. 1). Next, the *Mbh.* does not say that Draupadī was already *prakīrṇakeśī* when Duḥśāsana held her by hair. It says that she became so a little later owing to the shakings she received while being dragged to the Sabhā (*prakīrṇakeśī patitārdhavastrā duḥśāsanena vyavadhūyamānā* 2. 60. 28; and later *duḥśāsanakarotsṛṣṭaviprakīrṇaśiroruhā* 3. 12. 17). It is also wrong to infer the dishevelled condition of her hair on the basis of the *Taitt. Saṁh.* passage referred to above. The passage in question mentions such restrictions on *rajasvalā* women as not bathing, not applying ointment to eyes (or oil to the body), and not combing hair. The last restriction only means that women in period were expected to keep

[5] Among the medieval Marathi poets, Mukteśvara (17th cent.) shows knowledge of Bhīma's vow (Sabhāparvan 16. 72). But it is absent both in Śrīdharasvāmin's (17th - 18th cent.) *Pāṇḍavapratāpa* (29. 92 ff.) and Moropant's (18th cent.) *Āryābhārata* (5. 91; 6. 29). It would be interesting to find out whether or not the vow figures in the medieval literature of the other parts of northern India.

their hair the way they were before the commencement of the period i. e. as braided before. When in period they were not supposed to untie them for combing or for any other purpose.

Conclusion : There is no evidence to show that Draupadī wore her hair loose and dishevelled before the start of the dice match. Her hair were dishevelled later, though tied up, because of shakings.

2. Starting for the forest[6]

Draupadī, when she started for the forest, was *rajasvalā* and *muktakeśī* (2. 70. 9 ; 2. 71. 18). On this basis H. argues that since some days must have elapsed between the first match of the dice and the start for the forest after the second match, and since Draupadī cannot be *rajasvalā* for a great number of days, the word *rajasvalā* used to describe Draupadī's condition while starting for forest cannot mean ' observing her period '. It has to be taken to mean ' being in a general state of impurity '. The general state of impurity attaches not only to Draupadī but to the Pāṇḍavas as well because they all were entering " *into* a realm of death symbolized by the gestures of their chaplain Dhaumya who strews *darbha* grass to the death Goddess Nirṛti and sings Sāman verses to Yama (2. 71. 21)" (p. 189). For his new meaning of *rajasvalā* H. thinks he finds support in the curse-like words uttered by Draupadī. She said : " The Kaurava women, fourteen years hence, would offer water to the dead and then enter the city Hāstinapura in a *rajasvalā* state " (2. 71. 19-20). Since all Kaurava women cannot be *rajasvalā* in its normal sense at the same time, H. argues, the word in this context must mean ' being in an impure condition ' arising out of the death of near relatives. Draupadī's wearing her hair loose at the start of the exile is indicative of this defilement associated with death.

All this is not convincing. Draupadī could have started her period the very day the first match of dice was played and if the *Mbh.* tells us that she was still in her period when the Pāṇḍavas started for forest it only means that an interval of not more than two (or three) days elapsed between the two

6 While listing the Sabhā incidents that occurred before the Pāṇḍavas started for forest H. mentions the question raised by Draupadī and adds that the question was never resolved (p. 188). This is an erroneous view about an important event. This view has held its ground for quite a long time. Draupadī's question was squarely answered. by Arjuna (2. 63. 21) and his answer settled that Draupadī had not become a Dāsī. For a detailed discussion see the author's paper " Draupadī's question ". *JOIB* 35, 179-194 (1986).

matches of dice. The expression *vyadhvagatān* (2. 66 74; 2. 67. 1) used with reference to the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Indraprastha can easily be understood as indicative of the distance they could have traversed in about a day or so. There is therefore no ground to interpret *rajasvalā* used with reference to Draupadī in any other way. And even if H. thinks that he has somehow got over the difficulty presented by the word *rajasvalā*, how is he going to get rid of the other difficulty about Draupadī's garment which is said to be smeared with blood (*śoṇitāktaikavasanā* 2. 70. 9; *śoṇitāktārdravasanā* 2. 71. 18)? This is definitely indicative of her being in period.

As for the Kaurava women it is obvious that the word *rajasvalā* cannot mean 'a woman in period'. But the word can be easily understood otherwise —and H. is aware of it — since it can also mean 'covered with dust.' The Kaurava women would embrace their husbands fallen on the ground in the battle and hence would be 'covered with dust' (*rajasvalāḥ*). This is quite understandable and there is no necessity of bringing in here for the understanding of the word the notion of general impurity arising out of death. Similarly the word *śoṇita* occurring in the word *bandhuśoṇitadigdhāṅgyaḥ* (2. 71. 20) used to describe the Kaurava women is easily understood as referring to the blood issuing from the wounds of the fallen heroes. It certainly does not refer to the menstrual blood. This is also made clear by the use of the word '*bandhu*' 'relative' in the above compound.

Now about the word *muktakeśī* used to describe Draupadī when she started for the forest. If the epic informs us that Draupadī wore her hair loose at that time, it means that before that she had her hair tied up. And because she wore her hair loose at that point of time for some reason it does not mean that she kept them so for the rest of the duration of her forest life. Draupadī's purpose in keeping her hair loose at that time is told by Vidura to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. She did that to foretell that the Kaurava women will have to wear their hair loose at the end of the war (2. 71. 19). As *muktakeśyaḥ* with reference to Kaurava women means that they would wear the hair that way temporarily and afterwards they would tie them up as before, so also *muktakeśī* with reference to Draupadī means that she untied her braid only temporarily. Once the purpose for which the hair were untied was served there was no reason why she should keep them unbraided. The behaviour of the other Pāṇḍavas also points in the same direction. Whatever they did (e. g. Arjuna released sand from his hand 2. 71. 14) while going to the forest was done only for a short while as their actions had specific purpose to serve. When that was achieved they had no reason to continue doing the same for all the twelve years of their forest life.

Also the Purohita of the Pāṇḍavas recited the Sāmans related to Yama not to suggest that he, along with the Pāṇḍavas, was entering the realm of death. He did that only to suggest what his counterpart in the service of the Kauravas would have to do at the end of the battle (2. 71. 21–22).

Conclusion : At the time of leaving for the forest Draupadī was still *rajasvalā*, i. e. in her period, and she did untie her hair temporarily on some purpose.

3. Forest life

As the Pāṇḍavas were entering the Kāmyaka forest on the third night of their forest life they were stopped at the entrance by the demon Kirmīra. Seeing him Draupadī fainted and was held by her husbands. While referring to her at this point the *Mbh.* stanza alludes to her hair : " She whose hair were dishevelled and released by the hand of Duḥśāsana " (*duḥśāsanakarotsṛṣṭaviprakīrṇaśiroruhā*[7] 3. 12. 17). From this H. concludes : " Draupadī continues to wear her hair dishevelled in the exile " (p. 190).

This is not correct. The above expression is not intended to describe Draupadī's hair at that point of time. It is intended to refer to the condition of her hair when, only a few days ago, they were held by Duḥśāsana in his hand. A reference to Draupadī's hair here and elsewhere, e. g. in 3. 13. 108, is not to be interpreted as referring to the then prevailing condition of her hair and serving as reminder to the Pāṇḍavas of what had happened in the Sabhā (p. 190). The Pāṇḍavas did not stand in need of such reminders. They would continue to remember the insult done to their wife although Draupadī had tied her hair up.

Besides the reference to Draupadī's hair in the Kirmīra incident, H. points to references to Draupadī's *tapas* in the forest which, according to him, are very likely " directly related to Draupadī's tacit (in the epic) vow " (p. 190), i. e. to her popular vow to wear her hair loose until the death of the Kauravas.

It does not seem justifiable to bring into this discussion references to *tapas*. These references are few and they do not suggest that Draupadī

7 It is not clear why H. translates this compound as " with her hair widely dishevelled and ruffled by Duḥśāsana's hand." Apparently he translates *utsṛṣṭa* as " ruffled ", since elsewhere he renders *viprakīrṇa* as " dishevelled ". The word *utsṛṣṭa* can only mean ' released '. The transposition of *viprakīrṇa* and *utsṛṣṭa* is apparently due to metrical reasons.

practised austerities all through the forest life and consequently wore her hair dishevelled. Draupadī joined her husbands in *tapas* on two occasions for specific reasons. First, because the mountain Ārcīka to which they were drawing near was holy (3. 125. 13, 19) and, a second time, because nobody who had not practised *tapas* could mount the mountain Gandhamādana (3. 141. 22-23).[8]

This is all that H. has to bring forward as evidence in support of his contention that Draupadī wore her hair loose and dishevelled during her stay in the forest. His evidence is not conclusive. On the other hand there is evidence to suggest that Draupadī did not practise *tapas* all along in the forest and that she took good care of her hair. H. has apparently missed this precious little piece of evidence. The evidence is available from an incident which occurred towards the end of the forest life. Jayadratha once saw Draupadī from a distance. He noticed that she had an excellent appearance. She shone with her lustre illuminating the forest (3. 248. 9). This description does not fit a woman who would be emaciated if she practised continuous *tapas*. A little later in that incident Koṭikāśya drew near Draupadī to enquire who she was. He addressed her as *sukeśi* (voc.) ' one whose hair are lovely ' (3. 249. 13). This makes clear that Draupadī's hair were in good condition. They were not such as they would be if they were neither washed nor taken care of for eleven years. The expression does not tell us whether the hair were tied up in a braid or they were loose. But one may argue they were not loose. For, if they were in that condition Koṭikāśya would have almost certainly asked her why Draupadī had not tied them in a braid. Loose hair could be an indication of a woman staying away from her husband.

Conclusion : Draupadī took good care of her hair in forest life and had tied them up in a braid.

4. Ajñātavāsa

According to H. the Ajñātavāsa is " rich in its surprising twists and complex symbolism " (p. 191). The twist is observed in the fact that the Pāṇḍavas had to perform duties not at all befitting their status. In the case of Draupadī the twist lies not merely in her having to do a job unsuited to her. The twist is felt more poignantly by H. on account of the condition of her hair. While going to the town of Virāṭa, Draupadī had gathered up her soft hair and concealed them on the right side presumably by a piece of

---

[8] In the case of second *tapas*, Draupadī is not directly named. However, her *tapas* can be a reasonable assumption.

cloth.[9] (*tataḥ keśān samutkṣipya vellitāgrān aninditān / jugūha dakṣiṇe pārśve mṛdūn asitalocanā //* 4. 8. 1). Thus, while Draupadī had to keep her beautiful hair concealed, she must take care of Sudeṣṇā's hair !

One need have no hesitation in admitting the painful twist in the life of Draupadī emphasized by H. But it is necessary to object to his remark : " she whose hair is hidden, and, I would argue, still dishevelled " (p. 191). In support of his assumption H. finds nothing in the epic text, neither critical nor interpolated. All that he can find in support is the artist's representations of Draupadī's hair inserted in the critical edition of the Virāṭaparvan (facing pp. 67 and 272) and the Sabhāparvan (p. 305). There Draupadī's hair appear loose, not tied up in a braid.

It has to be admitted that the artist's representations in the critical edition are, at times, faulty. The editors of the critical edition must have been conscions of it. Yet, the representations were allowed to appear probably because of the exigencies of time. However, the editors could never have imagined that any one at any time would use those representations, even in a foot-note, as a piece of evidence. In the two specific representations of the Virāṭaparvan mentioned above Draupadī surely wears her hair loose. H. has only noticed that. But those hair cannot be called " dishevelled," not at any rate in the first representation (facing p. 67) and, what is more important, they are not shown gathered up and concealed on the right side as required by the epic text (4. 8. 1).

Draupadī's hair were definitely not dishevelled and unkempt at the commencement of her life incognito. To prove this it is not necessary to point to the two representations noticed above. One would rather point to the two adjectives *mṛdūn* and *aninditān* of her hair found in the passage noticed above (4. 8. 1). They are quite enough to indicate that Draupadī took good care of her hair in the forest. It is likely that Draupadī did not tie up her soft (*mṛdu*) and blameless (*anindita*) hair in the normal *triveṇī* way, as she did in the forest life, but braided them in the *ekaveṇī* way because she was going to tell Sudeṣṇā that she was living away from her five Gandharva husbands (4. 8. 27).

In the southern recension of the *Mbh.* H. finds a clear proof of the connection between Draupadī's vow to wear her hair dishevelled and her disguise

9 H. has not considered the question why Draupadī had concealed her hair. It is not likely that Draupadī acted that way because that was the way Sairandhrīs were expec-

(*Continued on the next page*)

as a Sairandhrī (p. 192). That recension informs us that Draupadī as Sairandhrī assumed the name *vratacāriṇī* (*sairandhrī jātisaṁpannā nāmnāhaṁ vratacāriṇī* 4. 94*). According to H. *vratacāriṇī* " can hardly be anything but a paradoxical reference to her vow of dishevelment " (p. 192). I beg to differ. I would relate the word *vrata* in the expression *vratacāriṇī* not to something which the epic does not state, but to something which it does state. Sairandhrī was *jātisaṁpannā* ' belonging to a good class (of Sairandhrīs).[10] Hence she would not do certain things ; she would not eat remnants of the food partaken by others and she would not wash anybody's feet. (4. 8. 29). It is to these norms of life that the word *vrata* in *vratacāriṇī* refers. (Also cf. Mbh. 3. 222. 29).

Just as *vratacāriṇī* has nothing to do with the vow of dishevelment, the word *dīkṣitāḥ*, used about the Pāṇḍavas in a variant in the stanza 2. 68. 1,[11] has nothing to do with their occasional practice of *tapas* in the forest. If the Pāṇḍavas, in the variant reading, are said to be *vanavāsāya dīkṣitāḥ* it simply means ' they were resolved or fully prepared for forest life,' exactly as when the same thing is said, for example, of Yayāti (1. 80. 25) or Dhṛtarāṣṭra (15. 17. 3) who resolved to live in forest leaving their respective kingdoms. This is shown by the text adopted in the critical edition.

According to H., however, the word *dīkṣitāḥ* occurring in the variant noticed above has connection with what occurred after the twelve years of forest life. At the end of the *Ajñātavāsa* Arjuna told Virāṭa that they had lived unknown in his house as creatures live in the womb (before their birth) (*ajñātavāsam uṣitā garbhāvāsa iva prajāḥ* 4. 66. 10). The simile is easily understood. But H. sees in it a hidden meaning. In the *dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi* performed at the beginning of a sacrifice, the sacrificer stays in a special hut (*dīkṣitavimita*). His stay in this hut is looked upon as his living in the

---

(*Continued from p. 165*)

ted to have their hair. Damayantī lived for some time as a Sairandhrī of noble class (3. 62. 26). But it is not said that she had concealed her hair. It would therefore be a reasonable guess that Draupadī concealed her hair so that her identity was not disclosed. It seems her hair were remarkably curly (1. 155. 42 ; 2. 60. 22 ; 4. 8. 1). That would have revealed her identity. In the case of Damayantī, her identity would have been disclosed by the mole between her eyebrows (*piplu*). Hence she kept it concealed (3. 66. 5).

10 This is what *jātisaṁpannā* means and not " belonging to that caste " as rendered by H.

11 H. does not give this reference. Four Devanāgarī mss , including that of Nīlakaṇṭha, one Bengali and one Malayalam manuscript read the first line of the stanza as *tataḥ parājitāḥ pārthā vanavāsāya dīkṣitāḥ*. The critical edition has, instead, *vanavāsāya cakrus te matiṁ pārthāḥ parājitāḥ*.

womb from which he emerges at the end of the *iṣṭi*.[12] According to H. Arjuna's mention of *garbhāvāsa* has a bearing on the life of the sacrificer in the hut and that explains the term *dīkṣitāḥ* used with reference to them.

The connections seen by H. are very far-fetched. In the first instance there is no reason to see any ritual significance in the word *dīkṣitāḥ*. It simply means 'were prepared for.' Secondly, if *dīkṣitāḥ* had any connection with the *garbhāvāsa* of a *dīkṣita*, then Ajñātavāsa should have preceded the *vanavāsa* as the *dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi* precedes the sacrifice. H. appears to be aware of this difficulty. However, without mentioning it he quietly relates the expression *dīkṣitāḥ* not with *vanavāsa* but with the 'sacrifice of war' (*raṇayajña*) – a term which does not occur in the epic but in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* — which will take place after the Ajñātavāsa. But the variant clearly reads *vanavāsāya dīkṣitāḥ* and not *raṇāya dīkṣitāḥ*.

H. dwells at some length on the theme of ritual danger, death, and impurity related to rebirth in the *dīkṣā* rite (pp. 194–196). In this connection he brings in an incident from the Virāṭaparvan (pp. 196–197). Once, Virāṭa hit Yudhiṣṭhira's nose with dice and blood began to flow. Sairandhrī gathered the blood in a golden vessel and prevented it from falling down. Yudhiṣṭhira explained to Virāṭa why Sairandhrī did that. He said that if his blood had touched the ground Virāṭa, together with his kingdom, would have perished (4. 64. 8). According to H. this explanation means that the fallen blood would have given rise to destructive forces endangering the king and his kingdom. He gets this idea from an incident in the *Devīmāhātmya* in which demons arose from each drop of blood that fell on the ground from the body of the demon Raktabīja. The process was stopped by Kālī by drinking up the blood before it could reach the ground. According to H. Draupadī played the role of Kālī and saved the kingdom from destruction. This further means she sayed the womb of the Pāṇḍavas the destruction of which would have forced them to emerge from their *garbhavāsa* prematurely and be known before the proper time arrived.

The *Mbh.* gives no occasion to notice such connections. Yudhiṣṭhira himself has clarified what he told to Virāṭa, and that should leave no doubt in anybody's mind regarding what Yudhiṣṭhira meant. He had earlier told the gatekeeper of Virāṭa that Bṛhannaḍā would kill any offender who forced out blood from Yudhiṣṭhira's body except in war (4. 63. 53–54).[13] If Bṛhan-

[12] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1. 3.

[13] At the most the gatekeeper might have wondered what had Bṛhannaḍā to do with this, and how could she do what Yudhiṣṭhira said.

naḍā is able to kill Virāṭa with his ministers and the entire army there is no necessity of imagining the rise of evil forces from the drops of his blood fallen on the ground. And apart from this the parallelism sought to be established between the epic and the Purāṇa incidents does not stand scrutiny. It was not Sairandhrī who really stopped the blood from falling on the ground. It was Yudhiṣṭhira himself who did it. Sairandhrī came into the picture a little later (4. 63. 45–47). In the Purāṇa incident Caṇḍikā fights with Raktabīja, her enemy. She hits the demon and asks Kālī not to let the blood drop down. When this is done Caṇḍikā kills Raktabīja. In the epic Virāṭa hit Yudhiṣṭhira, his friend, in a fit of anger, not his real enemy. Yudhiṣṭhira, who is at the receiver's end, and not Virāṭa, the hitter, who asks Sairandhrī to hold the blood in a vessel. When this is done, Yudhiṣṭhira does not kill Virāṭa.

H. meets with a formidable difficulty with regard to Draupadī's hair in an incident in the Ajñātavāsa. When Sairandhrī ran to Sudeṣṇā's quarters she untied her hair loose (*keśān muktvā* 4. 15. 36).[14] This expression indicates that before Sairandhrī loosened her hair they were tied up in some way. This clearly goes against H.'s view that Draupadī's hair were all along loose. He, therefore, takes *keśān muktvā* to mean " Draupadī spreads or shakes loose her already unbound hair. " (p. 197). This is impossible. That H. himself is not satisfied with his interpretation is seen from his next statement that " there is no precise and evident consistency in every epic reference to Draupadī's hair " (p. 198). This means that according to H. too *keśān muktvā* means " having loosed her hair " (which were tied up before). But he would explain it away simply as an example of epic inconsistency.

But there is no real inconsistency. The expression in its normal sense is easily understood. When Draupadī was insulted by Kīcaka in the presence of her two husbands, she was understandably wild with anger, her eyes red and burning (4. 15. 14, 36). In this state of mind, no wonder if she suddenly decided to set her hair loose to indicate that she considered her husbands as good as dead.

In this connection it is necessary to consider another piece of evidence which H. brings forward in support of his contention of Draupadī's deliberate neglect of her hair. According to him, although there is no consis-

---

14 The Southern recension reads instead *keśān pramuktān saṁyamya* (4. 338*). This will not help H. (p. 197). As a variant to *keśān muktvā*, *keśān pramuktān saṁyamya* can only mean that Sairandhrī gathered together her hair which she had (just) loosened.

tency in the epic's reference to Draupadī's hair, there is consistency while referring to her actions. Once, before the death of Kīcaka and, again, after his death, Sairandhr. washes her limbs and garments (*gātrāṇi vāsasī caiva prakṣālya salilena sā* 4. 16. 2; 4. 23. 12). Here, there is consistency in her actions. What strikes H. more in this case is that in both these verses there is no reference to the washing of her hair. Repetition of verses is not unusual in the epic and H.'s conclusion is unwarranted. The word *gātrāṇi* can include hair as well and no distinct mention of *keśān* is needed. The Pāṇḍavas, while visiting the *tīrthas,* often bathed in holy waters. While referring to such ablutions the epic sometimes uses the word *gātrāṇi* without specifically mentioning hair (3. 93. 5 ; 3. 109. 20 ; also Draupadī in another context (*āplutāṅgī*) 1. 176. 29). This, however, does not mean that the Paṇḍavas and Draupadī washed only their limbs and not their hair.

Kālī had figured in the Purāṇa incident brought in for comparison with an incident in the Virāṭaparvan in which blood issued from Yudhiṣṭhira's nose. H. has observed similarity between the roles of Kālī and Draupadī in the two incidents. In the death of Kīcaka too, which occurred even before the above incident, H. sees a connection between Kālī and Draupadī. The person, however, who kills Kīcaka is Bhīma, not Sairandhrī. Hence, H. has to establish some sort of identity between Bhīma and Sairandhrī in order to associate her with Kālī. This he does by approvingly citing M. Biardeau's view that Bhīma was the arm of Sairandhrī (le bras de la déesse) (p. 198). Next, in this connection H. gets a passage in the epic in which Sairandhrī is said to be another form of Death. Kīcaka was happy at the prospect of meeting Sairandhrī in private, but the fool as he was, he did not realize that Sairandhrī was only another form of Death (*sairandhrīrūpiṇaṁ mūḍho mṛtyuṁ taṁ nāvabuddhavān* 4. 21. 19). Again, later, when Kīcaka touched Bhīma mistaking him for Sairandhrī, the epic says that he had touched Death (*śayānaṁ śayane tatra mṛtyuṁ sūtaḥ parāmṛśat* (4. 21. 42). There is really nothing very striking in such statements. If there was any other woman in place of Sairandhrī (and even if she had never worn her hair loose), the narrator might have used similar words. But, H. has the following to contribute to the present scene : " In the epic, Mṛtyu is a Goddess, a form evoking Kālī and Durgā as they break into the Hindu literary tradition. For Death to appear to Kīcaka " in the form of a Sairandhrī " would seem an unmistakable evocation of Kālī, the wild Goddess with the dishevelled hair " (p. 199).

Conclusion : There is no evidence to show that Draupadī wore her hair loose in the Ajñātavāsa. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that she had tied them up.

5. Attempt at reconciliation

Before Kṛṣṇa left for Hāstinapura to make a final attempt to avoid war, Draupadī showed her hair to him and asked him not to forget them while negotiating with the Kauravas. Draupadī's hair at that time were delightful to look at, very dark, having the lustre of a cobra, curly at ends, scented with fragrant substances, possessed of all good marks, but first of all, loosely braided (*mṛdusaṁhāraṁ vṛjināgraṁ sudarśanam / sunīlaṁ ...... puṇyagandhādhivāsitam // sarvalakṣaṇasaṁpannaṁ mahābhujagavarcasam / keśapakṣaṁ*[15] 5. 80. 33-34). Referring to this incident H. says that in these words of Draupadī, the epic comes closest to her popular vow (not to braid her loose hair until they were smeared with Duḥśāsana's (or Duryodhana's) blood (p. 200).

The truth of the matter, however, is that this description of Draupadī's hair is clear evidence to disprove H.'s contention that Draupadī wore her hair loose and did not take care of them for over thirteen years.

As for their being loose the epithet *mṛdusaṁhāram* gathered loosely together (in a *veṇī* form) goes against H. Hence he disagrees with Nīlakaṇṭha's correct explanation *veṇīrūpeṇa saṁhṛtam api mṛdum.*[16] He, on his part, feels satisfied with the rendering ' softly gathered back ' and considers it ' reasonably neutral ' (p. 200, f. n. 71 end). But why should one try to be neutral when the *Mbh.* epithet is unambiguous ?[17]

H. has considered the difficulty presented to him by *mṛdusaṁhāram* at least in a footnote. But he takes no note of the other epithets of Draupadī's hair which show that Draupadī did not have them dirty and dishevelled for a long peried.

Conclusion : Between the Ajñātavāsa and the start of the battle Draupadī dit not wear her hair loose.

6. End of the battle

After the battle, Yudhiṣṭhira was grieved over the great loss of life, including that of Karṇa. All try to revive his spirits. When Bhīma speaks

---

[15] The word *pakṣa* added to *keśa* does not reveal whether the hair are tied up or loose. It signifies only their collection (*pāśaḥ pakṣaś ca hastaś ca kalāpārthāḥ kacāt pare / Amarakośa* 2. 6. 98, comm. *kalāpārthāḥ keśasamūhavācinaḥ ity arthaḥ*).

[16] A *veṇī* may be tied up tight or loose as desired.

[17] H. himself renders *saṁhāra* " binding up " when it occurs in the title of the drama *Veṇīsaṁhāra* (p. 179). In the context of the word *saṁhāra* as in *mṛdusaṁhāram*, which is said about Draupadi's hair, the word *veṇī*, though not expressed can be easily assumed.

he says : *diṣṭyā duryodhanaḥ pāpo nihataḥ sānugo yudhi / draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya diṣṭyā tvaṁ padavīṁ gataḥ //* (12. 16. 25). H. assures his readers that "This passage establishes beyond any reasonable doubt that Draupadī has worn her hair loose since the dice match" (p. 201).

How does H. find in the above stanza unambiguous evidence for his contention ? He gets it in two steps : (1) According to H. the second line of the stanza means that "the Pāṇḍavas have moved from the depths of defilement to rebirth, from rebirth to revenge and from revenge to coronation" (p. 201), just as Draupadī's hair have moved from the state of dishevelment to rebinding and anointing. (2) And the use of the word *diṣṭyā* twice, once with reference to the fall of Duryodhana and again with reference to Yudhiṣṭhira's going the way of Draupadī's hair (as interpreted by H.) shows that the death of Duryodhana is connected with the binding up of Draupadī's hair (p. 201).

This is misleading. The stanza does not say that Draupadī's hair were dishevelled and loose before Duryodhana's death. That is H.'s assumption on the basis of which he interprets the stanza. The epic nowhere suggests that Draupadī wore her hair loose when Duḥśāsana held them and that, after that incident, she kept them loose until the death of Duryodhana. In fact, we have notices to the contrary. The epic, however, does tell us that Duḥśāsana molested Draupadī's hair. Hence when the stanza says that Draupadī's hair and Yudhiṣṭhira have gone the same way, it only means that just as Draupadī's hair have avenged the insult done to them with the death of Duryodhana and his followers, Yudhiṣṭhira too, in their death, has avenged the injustice done to him in being refused his share of kingdom. In the stanza Bhīma uses the word *diṣṭyā* twice. It may be that when he used it in the first line he admitted that there was an element of luck in his being able to hit the thigh of Duryodhana. By using it again in the second line, Bhīma expresses his happiness over the Pāṇḍavas' having been able to achieve a double objective with the death of Duryodhana in the battle. In the first instance Yudhiṣṭhira was able to wipe out the injustice and get back the share of the kingdom and, secondly, they were able to avenge the insult done to Draupadī's hair (*draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya diṣṭyā tvaṁ padavīṁ gataḥ* 12. 16. 25). The main objective of the battle was no doubt to fight against the injustice done to the Pāṇḍavas in the denial of their share of kingdom. This is what Kuntī's message has emphasized : "get back the paternal share of kingdom refused to you" (*pitryam aṁśaṁ mahābāho nimagnaṁ punar uddhara* 5. 130. 30, 32; 5. 135. 5). This was also the only point made in the story of Vidurā told by Kuntī. Kuntī's reference to the harsh words spoken to Pāñcālī in the Sabhā is only secon-

dary (5. 135. 15).[13] If Duryodhana had agreed to return their share of the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas or if he had shown willingness to settle the whole matter by giving the Pāṇḍavas five villages as suggested by Yudhiṣṭhira, battle could have been averted. Then the Pāṇḍavas would not have got the opportunity to avenge the insult to Draupadī. Hence Bhīma was happy (*diṣṭyā*) that the battle enabled the Pāṇḍavas to achieve the double objective.

In the first part of his paper H. has tried to establish that Draupadī wore her hair loose and kept them unwashed for a pretty long time. This was only to prepare ground for establishing in the second part of his paper his main thesis viz. that epic Draupadī is the prefiguration of later Kālī, "the exemplary Goddess of the dishevelled hair" (p. 206).

While looking for evidence in this direction, H. notices association of Draupadī with Death and Destruction. As was noticed above, H. points out that according to the epic narrator Sairandhrī meant Death to Kīcaka. Next, he points out that at the time of Draupadī's birth an invisible voice prophesied that Kṛṣṇā will lead the Kṣatriyas to destruction (*kṛṣṇā kṣayaṁ kṣatraṁ ninīṣati* 1. 155. 44) Draupadī's name Kṛṣṇā, which is also a common epithet of Kālī is thus directly connected with Destruction.

The Kīcakavadha incident has been already discussed above. As regards the prophecy it may be noted that the Brāhmaṇas present at the time of Draupadī's birth gave her the name Kṛṣṇā specifically on account of her dark complexion (*kṛṣṇety evābruvan kṛṣṇāṁ kṛṣṇābhut sā hi varṇataḥ* 1. 155. 50). The Brāhmaṇas proceeded with their work as though they knew nothing about the prophecy. The name Kṛṣṇā is intelligible even in the absence of the prophecy. One may therefore consider that that part of the prophecy which connects Draupadī with the destruction of the Kṣatriyas did not figure in the original text. Its presence gives rise to an internal incongruity. The text says that hearing the prophecy, the Pāñcālas were extremely delighted, so much so that the earth could not bear them (*na caitān harṣasaṁpūrṇān iyaṁ sehe vasundharā* 1. 155. 46). One cannot understand such great joy of the people if the newly born girl was going to be the cause of great destruction. If, however, we omit the lines 1. 155. 44cd and 1. 155. 45cd

---

13 That in the following two stanzas Kuntī considered the insult done to Draupadī even more important than the loss of kingdom is not consistent with what goes before. If that were really the case, Kuntī should have mentioned it first. Moreover, the story of Vidurā is not at all suited for inciting, a warrior to take up arms because his wife was insulted. This point is irrelevant in the context of the Vidurā narrative. Hence the stanzas which refer to Draupadī in Kuntī's message are suspect.

and read 1. 155. 44 as : *tāṁ cāpi jātāṁ suśroṇīṁ vāg uvācāśarīriṇī / surakāryam iyaṁ kāle kariṣyati sumadhyamā*, it is suitably followed immediately by 1. 155. 46 which speaks of the joy of the Pāñcālas on hearing the prophecy.

Having imagined Draupadī to be the prefiguration of Kālī, first on account of her assumed dishevelled hair and, next, on account of her equally assumed relationship with Death and Destruction, H. tries to bring Kālī and Draupadī closer through Kālarātri. Kālarātri is mentioned in the epic. It is said that she was seen by the soldiers at the time of the noctural massacre in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas. H. points out that this Kālarātri of the epic not only receives the epithet Kālī 'dark', but her whole description is such that no other goddess but Kālī can be thought of as coming closest to her. H. thus tries to identify Kālarātri, who is mentioned in the epic, with Kālī who is not mentioned. But H. has yet to show relationship between Draupadī and Kālarātri before he can relate Draupadī with Kālī. Relationship between Draupadī and Kālarātri is, however, totally absent in the epic. H. has, therefore, only to rely on certain connections. First, in the description of Kālarātri she receives an epithet *śikhaṇḍinī*, and Kālarātri appears in the camp after Aśvatthāman has killed the first few heroes one of whom is Śikhaṇḍin, Draupadī's brother. And then in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, while arranging Draupadī's hair, Bhīma calls her *veṇī* as the Kālarātri of all the Kauravas (*dhārtarāṣṭrakulakālarātriḥ ... iyaṁ veṇī* VI. after st. 41).

One wonders how this can be considered evidence enough to associate epic Draupadī with Kālarātri. Bhīma's reference to Draupadī's braid as Kālarātri is from outside the epic. Kālarātri's epithet *śikhaṇḍinī* has nothing to do with her mention after Śikhaṇḍin's death. Kālarātri could be present in the camp right from the beginning of the massacre. Only she was noticed by ordinary warriors when Aśvatthāman made them his target. Moreover, the epic itself has quite a different story to tell about the identity of this Kālarātri. The epic identifies her with a *kṛtyā* 'an evil spirit' active on the side of the Kauravas It is said that since the very start of the battle, ordinary fighters in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas used to see in a dream Aśvatthāman killing sleeping warriors and a *kṛtyā* carrying them away. When on the night of the real destruction they saw Kālarātri, they remembered what they had earlier seen in dreams and identified Kālarātri with the *kṛtyā* (10. 8. 66-69).

H.'s connecting Draupadī with Kālarātri is horrible. It is said that Kālarātri was all smiles at mass killings in the camp of Pāṇḍavas (10. 8. 64–

65). It is unthinkable that Draupadī, if she were the Kālarātri, could do that. Only a Kṛtyā, siding with the Kauravas, could.

Draupadī's assumed dishevelled and loose hair were used by H. to see in her the prefiguration of Kālī. For this he needed the help of Kālarātri. The induction of Kālarātri 'the night of Time, the night of dissolution (*pralaya*) of the universe' (p. 207), into the discussion has led H. to point out another symbolic significance of Draupadī's hair.

In his earlier paper on "Draupadī's Garments" H. had maintained that if Karṇa himself had tried to disrobe Draupadī and succeeded in his attempt that would have meant a *naimittika pralaya.* Draupadī then would stand "denuded like the earth prior to its combustion and ... "bare like the back of the tortoise" " (*IIJ* 22. 103). But since in the epic it was not Karṇa, but Duḥśāsana, who made the attempt to disrobe Draupadī and since he did not succeed in his attempt the epic scene meant that (except at the *naimittika pralaya*) the earth has an inexhaustible capacity to restore her garments automatically (*IIJ* 22. 103).

In the present paper with regard to Draupadī's untied hair and the dissolution of the universe, H. observes : "The untying of Draupadī's braid represents the potential untying of the universe. For the universe is itself a braid, composed of the three *guṇas* or strands of *prakṛti,* nature. Here, however, it is not the *naimittika pralaya* that is evoked, but the *prākṛta pralaya,* the very dissolution of *nature* (*prakṛti*) .... Mythologically, this *pralaya* is the "Night of Time", Kālarātri, with whom Draupadī's hair is directly compared in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* .... But by wearing her hair dishevelled for thirteen years, Draupadī also shows that the full dissolution of the universe is at least metaphorically pending should her husbands, with the help of lord Kṛṣṇa, not regain the sovereignty and restore dharma on earth" (pp. 210-211).

I have already refuted elsewhere H.'s views related to Draupadī's garments.[19] As for Draupadī's hair, we have seen that there is no justification for seeing her hair untied for thirteen long years. During this period she kept them untied for a short while only on two occasions — first, while starting for the forest, and, again, while going to Sudeṣṇā from the Sabhā of Virāṭa. There is therefore no question of relating Draupadī with Kālī, the goddess of dishevelled hair, nor seeing in Draupadī's loose hair Kālarātri, the dissolution of *prakṛti.* According to H. Draupadī's loose hair is a fact ;

19 See fn. 4 above.

however, the dissolution of *prakṛti*, which he thinks the loose hair symbolize, is not a fact but only an imagined possibility. H. has to live with this inconsistency because we know that heavens did not fall when, according to H., Draupadī, resolved to wear her hair loose due to the insult done to them by Duḥśāsana. This should have happened if untying of hair meant dissolution of the three *guṇas* of *prakṛti*. But it did not, and hence what according to H. is already a fact symbolizes what according to him is a possibility ! But then the epic gives no ground for imagining this possibility either. The epic does not inform us that the Kauravas misruled their kingdom during the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, that during their rule *adharma* was ascendant. Hence there is no reason to feel that, if the Pāṇḍavas had failed to avenge the insult to Draupadī, i. e. if they had lost the war and not regained sovereignty, the Kauravas would have let loose on earth such terror, such *adharma*, as would match *pralaya*.

ŪRUBHAṄGA AND THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

M. A. MEHENDALE

The fighting on the eighteenth day of the epic battle did not end for that day immediately after the fall of Śalya but continued for sometime. During the turmoil, Duryodhana felt tired and was a little dismayed. He thought of retiring from the battle. With a mace in his hand he left the battlefield alone and hid himself in a pond.[1] When the Pāṇḍavas learnt about his hideout, they went to the pond and challenged Duryodhana to come out and fight.[2] Duryodhana agreed on one condition, viz. that the Pāṇḍavas fight with him singly and not all of them together. The condition was accepted and a duel followed between Bhīma and Duryodhana with a mace as their weapon.

The duel, with occasional periods of rest, lasted for quite sometime.[3] The fight went on strictly according to the rules, no one showing any inclination to take undue advantage of the adverse situation of the other. On one occasion, for instance, Bhīma forced Duryodhana to kneel on the ground and, on another occasion Duryodhana even fell on the ground. On both these occasions, Bhīma did not hit Duryodhana while he was unconscious. Only when Duryodhana regained consciousness and was in a position to continue fighting, the duel was resumed.[4] Similarly, when Duryodhana had an upper hand and he succeeded in felling down Bhīma and in breaking his armour he did not hit Bhīma as long as the latter lay down on the battlefield.[5]

By that time, however, Kṛṣṇa noticed that the duel had reached the stage when Duryodhana had an edge over his opponent. Bhīma had lost his armour. Kṛṣṇa realized that that was the time to throw some hint to Bhīma. He plainly told Arjuna that if Bhīma continued the fight as he was doing, i.e. fighting strictly according to the rules, there was no chance of his coming out victorious. Bhīma must take recourse to some unlawful act.[6] Arjuna too realized the need and he secretly stroked his thigh hinting what Bhīma should do. Bhīma understood the hint and when he found an opportunity he threw his mace at Duryodhana. Duryodhana, however, succeeded in dodging the hit. When Bhīma showed his inclination to hit Duryodhana again, the latter planned to jump up to avoid the hit. Bhīma guessed correctly what Duryodhana intended to do and threw his mace exactly at the point where Duryodhana's thighs would be if he really jumped up. This time Bhīma did not miss the mark. The mace broke Duryodhana's thighs and he lay on the battle field, his thighs broken.[7]

Thus came to an end the duel. Bhīma violated an important rule of the

fight, viz. that one should not strike the opponent below the navel (*adho nābhyā na hantavyam iti śāstrasya niścayaḥ* 9.59.6).

Now according to the epic narrative, Bhīma, on an earlier occasion, had vowed to break the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace. This incident which occurred in the *sabhā* of the Kauravas is wellknown. When Duryodhana bared his left thigh in the *sabhā*,[8] Bhīma vowed to break it.[9]

Duryodhana was also cursed by the sage Maitreya for his misbehaviour. According to this curse Bhīma was destined to break the thigh of Duryodhana in the battle.[10]

However, on reading the detailed account of the battle one gets the impression that none of the epic heroes—not even Bhīma or Duryodhana—had the faintest idea of either the vow or the curse. During the war Bhīma never challenged Duryodhana for a duel with a mace. This is what one would expect him to do if he had vowed to break Duryodhana's thighs.

Kṛṣṇa, on one occasion, incited Arjuna to kill Duryodhana with an *arrow* and end the war, and Arjuna agreed.[11] On another occasion Arjuna himself assured Kṛṣṇa that he would kill Duryodhana with his sharp *arrows* if the latter did not run away from the battlefield. Kṛṣṇa had given his consent to Arjuna's proposal.[12]

On both occasions Arjuna, for one reason or the other, could not carry out his resolve to kill Duryodhana with his *arrows*. But his intention to kill Duryodhana was quite clear. The question then arises, if Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna had known of either the vow or the curse, how could they think of finishing Duryodhana with *arrows*?[13] Could they think of depriving Bhīma of the opportunity to fulfil his vow to break the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace? This only shows that both of them had no knowledge of the vow or the curse.

When Duryodhana came out of the pond where he lay hiding and accepted the challenge of the Pāṇḍavas, Yudhiṣṭhira, on his own, offered three concessions to him. He permitted Duryodhana to choose his weapon. He allowed him to name the Pāṇḍava with whom he would fight. And, finally, he said that if Duryodhana won the duel, the rest of the Pāṇḍavas would accept defeat and that would mean the end of the war. No other Pāṇḍava would continue the fight with Duryodhana.[14]

These concessions were disastrous for the Pāṇḍavas. They prove how reckless Yudhiṣṭhira was. Once before, at the time of the game of dice, he had gambled away everything in a single stake at the game. Now, by making these concessions, he almost handed over victory to Duryodhana for asking. Duryodhana had only to name the weapon—the mace—and any one of the Pāṇḍavas except Bhīma for the duel and that would be the end of the matter.

The concessions clearly show that Yudhiṣṭhira had no knowledge of either the vow or the curse. If he had, he would have asked Duryodhana to get out of the pond and fight with mace with Bhīma so that the latter could fulfil his vow.

Kṛṣṇa took Yudhiṣṭhira to task for his thoughtlessness.[15] The Pāṇḍavas were, however, very lucky. Duryodhana did not take the easy way to victory. He was too proud for that. He no doubt chose mace as the weapon, but did not challenge any one of the Pāṇḍavas since he considered all of them inferior to him for a mace-duel. He, therefore, said: "Let any one of the Pāṇḍavas who could think of fighting with me lift up his mace and step forward."[16] Bhīma took up the challenge and a duel between the two began.[17]

We now come to the two heroes engaged in the duel to see whether they showed any knowledge of the vow (or the curse).

A few days before the duel, there was an occasion for Bhīma to refer to the vow. When Bhīma killed Duḥśāsana and started to drink the blood from Duḥśāsana's chest he declared loudly : "Today I have fulfilled my vow related to Duḥśāsana. I shall also today cut Duryodhana to pieces like a sacrificial animal and give offerings."[18] That is surprising. If Bhīma had taken the second vow he should have rather declared : "Today I shall also break Duryodhana's thighs with my mace and fulfil my vow related to him." He then should have proceeded to seek Duryodhana out and challenge him for a duel. But this did not happen.

In the description of the duel itself we do not find anything that might even distantly suggest that Bhīma was looking for an opportunity to hit Duryodhana's thighs. The description rather gives the impression that he was fighting strictly according to the rules. It was only when Arjuna, at the instance of Kṛṣṇa, gave a hint to him that he threw his mace at Duryodhana's thighs. The vow had nothing to do with it. Bhīma thus had no knowledge of the vow.

Duryodhana too is never seen conscious of either the vow or the curse. He never mentioned it, nor was he ever worried about it. While fighting his decisive duel with Bhīma he is not described taking special care of his thighs. On the other hand, he even once wished to jump up in the air to avoid being hit by the mace of Bhīma.[19] This act meant exposing his thighs and Duryodhana would certainly not have wished to do that if he knew of Bhīma's vow. The way Bhīma had fought the duel must have convinced Duryodhana that he (Bhīma) was not going to violate the rule of the duel and hit him below the navel. Unfortunately for him his understanding of the situation was not correct. Bhīma had decided to act on the suggestion received by him from Arjuna. When Duryodhana, therefore, did jump in the air, Bhīma got his golden opportunity to bring Duryodhana down. The hero with broken

thighs took this as an act of wilful violation of the rule and not as an inevitable result of a vow – (or a curse).[20]

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the above account is that the two episodes related to the vow and the curse must be interpolations. The interpolations occurred very early in the oral epic tradition giving them time enough to spread to all the versions. And since they are now found in all the versions they could not be set aside and have found place in the critical edition of the epic. The critically edited text is no doubt free from the obvious interpolations which were revealed by the comparison of the versions, but the critically edited text is not free of all interpolations. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has asked the readers to take note of this fact. He writes that there are many old and new elements in the critically edited text, sometimes even side by side.[21] It is now for the future scholars to bring to light the hidden interpolations by a careful reading of the text.

The motivation for the interpolation of the vow and the curse is not far to seek. Bhīma's act of hitting Duryodhana below the navel was inevitable on account of his inferiority to Duryodhana in a mace duel. But the act involved *adharma.* In order to absolve Bhīma from the sin of this *adharma* an incident was interpolated in the Sabhāparvan in which Duryodhana bared his thigh to show it proudly to Bhīma. This enraged Bhīma to proclaim his famous vow. Apparently, at some stage, it was felt that the vow was not quite enough to fully absolve Bhīma from the *adharma.* It is true that as a Kṣatriya it was his duty to fulfil the vow. But why did he, even in a fit of anger, take the vow which involved *adharma*? Hence another incident was interpolated in the Āraṇyakaparvan in which Duryodhana stroked his thigh in the presence of the sage Maitreya. Duryodhana was cursed by the sage for his insolence,[22] and the curse of the sage must prove true. Now there was no question whether Bhīma was inferior to Duryodhana or not, or whether he had taken the vow or not. Even if Bhīma was superior to Duryodhana, and could bring him down by fighting strictly according to the rules, and even if he had not taken the vow, Duryodhana's thighs had to be hit by his mace so that the words of the sage proved true.

It was said above that the account of the war as reported in the epic does not show that any one of the principal characters involved in the war was aware of the vow of Bhīma. There are, however, a few exceptions.

One exception is found when Kṛṣṇa suggested to Arjuna that Bhīma must take recourse to some *adharma* to win the duel.[23] He then made a casual reference to Bhīma's vow, but not to the curse.[24] It is quite clear that Kṛṣṇa would have welcomed Bhīma's winning the duel without having to take recourse to *adharma.* He waited for quite some time to see if that could happen. It was only when he realized that that was not possible that he alerted Arjuna.

But if Bhīma were to defeat Duryodhana lawfully, how was he going to fulfil his vow? This shows very clearly that Kṛṣṇa's reference to the vow is secondary and the stanzas in question are interpolated.

Another exception is found in Kṛṣṇa's words addressed to Balarāma to appease his anger. He told his brother that after all the Pāṇḍavas were their friends and relatives. Balarāma should also remember that Bhīma had vowed to break the thighs and it was the duty of a Kṣatriya to fulfil his vow. In addition, there was the curse of Maitreya to the same effect. Finally, what Bhīma did was to some extent due to the fact that the Kali era was about to set in.[25] These words of Kṛṣṇa contain a reference to the vow, as well as to the curse. If Bhīma's act was the result of the vow and the curse, there was no reason for Kṛṣṇa to refer either to the relationship between the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas or to the impending Kali age. The reference to the vow and the curse in the words of appeasement of Kṛṣṇa is therefore interpolated. A reference to the curse, beside one to the vow, in these words of Kṛṣṇa indicates that the curse episode was interpolated after that of the vow.

Finally, we come to an implied reference to Bhīma's vow made by Duryodhana. While criticizing Kṛṣṇa for his role in the war[26] Duryodhana said: "Do I not know what you told Arjuna while asking him to secretly remind Bhīma to break the thighs?"[27] This statement contains an implied reference to the vow since it speaks about reminding Bhīma. But Duryodhana's remark raises various questions. In the first instance, if Bhīma took the vow, is it believable that he needed reminder about it? There was no need, for instance, to remind Bhīma about his vow with reference to Duḥśāsana. Secondly, we know that Kṛṣṇa had said nothing about breaking the thighs. He only said in a general way that Bhīma had to take recourse to *adharma*. The specific nature of the *adharma* viz. hitting the thigh, was the idea of Arjuna. Thus, Duryodhana's accusation has an element of untruth. Thirdly, if Duryodhana knew that a suggestion had been secretly conveyed to Bhīma to hit the thigh, why did he jump up in the air and expose his thighs? Finally, Kṛṣṇa was not so naive as to suggest something to Arjuna so vividly that Duryodhana could understand it. It is, therefore, clear that the stanza of Duryodhana is an interpolation which occurred after the addition of the vow incident.

In order to understand the spuriousness of the vow incident, it is very instructive to take note of the conversation between Gāndhārī and Bhīma. She asked Bhīma how he dared violate the rule. She told him that what had angered her was not the killing of her sons but his striking Duryodhana below the navel.[28] In reply, Bhīma confessed to Gāndhārī that whatever he did was out of fear and in self defence. It was impossible for him to defeat Duryodhana otherwise. If he did not take recourse to *adharma*, he would have died and his brothers would have been deprived of the kingdom. He

implored Gāndhārī to forgive him for his misdeed.[29] Bhīma made no reference to Duryodhana's alleged misdeed in the *sabhā* and his (Bhīma's) consequent vow. Bhīma's own admission to Gāndhārī leaves no doubt about the spurious nature of the vow (and also the curse).

Notes and References

1. 9.28.18, 24-25, 52;9.29.53,61,64;9.30.4.18.
2. 9.30.17,20,27,29-34.
3. 9.56.6,7.
4. 9.56.53,61-62.
5. 9.56.63-64,67.
6. 9.57.4.
7. 9.57.40-45.
8. *abhyutsmayitvā rādheyaṁ bhīmam ādharṣayann iva / draupadyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ savyam ūrum adarṣayat //* 2.63.12. The stanza has been misunderstood. It is taken to mean that Duryodhana bared his thigh to show it to Draupadī. This is not true. The genitive absolute construction *draupadyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ* is intended to convey Duryodhana's disregard for Draupadī's presence in the Sabhā (Paṇini 2.3.38). A similar construction is found in *vaidarbhyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ paṇakālam amanyata* (3.56.8) where Nala is described as agreeing to play the game of dice with Puskara in spite of the presence of Damayantī. In such instances the verbs *prekṣ-, dṛś-, miṣ-* are used only to indicate the presence of the person concerned. The above stanza (2.63.12) really means that Duryodhana bared his thigh to show it to Karṇa, which made him smile *abhyutsmayitvā),* and to Bhīma as if to assail or challenge him *(ādharṣayann iva).* This he did in spite of the presence of Draupadī.
9. 2.63.13-14.
10. 3.11.32-34.
11. 7.77.7, 10,20.
12. 9.23.47;9.26.9,24.
13. For unsuccessful attempts made also by Yudhiṣṭhira and Dhṛṣṭadyumna to kill Duryodhana see 8.20. 6-31; 8.40. 20-38.
14. 9.31.24-25;52-53.
15. 9.32.1-7.
16. 9.31.60.
17. 9.32.15-18.
18. 8.61.16.

19. 9.57.41.

20. 9.63.10.

21. Cr. edn. Vol. 1. Prolegomena, p. CIII.

22. 3.11.28-34.

23. 9. 57.4, 8, 17.

24. 9.57. 6-7.

25. 9.59. 11-16, 21.

26. 9.60. 26-38.

27. *ūrū bhindhīti bhīmasya smṛtiṁ mithyā prayacchatā / kiṁ na vijñātam etan me yad arjunnam avocathāḥ //* 9.60.28.

28. 11.13.16-19.

29. 11.14. 1-4, 6, 11. It is well to remember that when Gāndhārī next asked Bhīma about his drinking blood of Duḥśāsana, Bhīma in his reply did refer to his vow. He, however, assured Gāndhārī that not a drop of blood went beyond his lips and teeth; he only made a pretence of drinking blood (11.14.12-18). How, in that case, Bhīma could be said to have fulfilled his vow is a moot point.

(VI) Miscellaneous

Ahimsā and the Spread of Vegetarianism in India

M. A. MEHENDALE

AHIMSA literally means 'non-injury'. Ideally the concept should mean non-injury of any kind, whether physical or mental, to all living beings. But in practice, the concept seems to have made its greatest impact on killing animals for food and for ritual purposes. The Aryans who came to India from outside did not show, at least in ancient times, any aversion to eating meat as an item of food. Even in the early Buddhist texts we find fish and meat included in the five articles of food. Today, Jains are perhaps the strictest among the vegetarians. Among the Hindus, only a small section of the population is vegetarian as a matter of religious practice; a large number among them, however, is vegetarian for economic reasons.

It is to be doubted whether climate or any other physical conditions in India were responsible for the spread of vegetarianism. On the other hand, a clear relationship can be definitely established between *ahimsā* and vegetarianism. This is seen in the following verse in the *Manusmriti* (5.48): "It is not possible to obtain meat without causing injury to living beings; killing animals does not lead one to heaven; (but obtaining heaven after death is the cherished goal of all); hence meat has to be avoided."

The spread of vegetarianism has not been that easy in India. It had to contend with the ritual partaking of food in sacrifices and other ceremonial occasions which were prescribed by the Vedic texts. The vicissitudes through which it passed are well reflected in the ancient law-books and in many narratives of the *Mahābhārata*. Initially, it seems that even according to the thinkers who were primarily responsible for the spread of

ahimsā, it was enough if one avoided killing the animal oneself or took care to see that the meat eaten as food was not specially prepared for him. If these conditions were satisfied, meat-eating could not be looked upon as *himsā*. In the stage that followed, however, certain animals were totally prohibited from being used as food, whether one observed the above conditions or not; and even the permitted animals could not be eaten during certain parts of the year or of the month. The third stage in the spread of vegetarianism was marked by permitting meat-eating only in sacrifices, *śrāddha* ceremonies, and hospitality to guests. Outside these ceremonial occasions, no meat-eating of any sort was permitted. The fact that the ritual meat-eating continued until the third stage is a clear proof of the great influence exercised by the Vedic injunctions on the minds of people. The final stage in this long history was marked by a total and absolute ban on meat-eating, whether done as a part of a ritual or otherwise, and whether the animal was killed by or for oneself or not. This must have been, for those times, a very bold decision indeed.

The fifth chapter of the *Manusmriti* is an important source for the history of vegetarianism in India. It is curious to find the different historical stages reflected in the 'same' text. In this chapter Manu is shown as giving a discourse on the causes for the God of Death having an upper hand in relation to men versed in the Vedic texts. This happens, says Manu, due to the neglect of Vedic studies and other rules of conduct, due to laziness, and due to faults of food. This gives him an occasion for prescribing what may be eaten and what should be avoided. He starts ruling out as food even some vegetables like garlic, leek, and onion and then goes on to enumerate certain animals and birds which were to be regarded as improper for food. Fish of any sort has been condemned outright because one who eats fish is an eater of every kind of meat. Such a detailed enumeration gives the impression that those animals and birds which are not excluded by the law-giver may serve as articles of food.

The growing influence of the doctrine of *ahimsā* and its practical effect seen in the spread of vegetarianism had its impact on the performance of Vedic sacrifices. These latter, in order to be successful, had to be performed according to Vedic injunctions which prescribed, among many other things, killing

of animals and offering and partaking of meat portions. The leaders of the society in those days had to declare categorically that ceremonial meat-eating was permitted. Thus it has been declared on the authority of Manu (5.41) that animals are to be killed only for guest-worship, sacrifice, and for honouring gods and manes (*pitar*). The obvious implication is that they were not to be killed otherwise for being served as food. The scruples of the common man against the killings in sacrifice had to be set at rest by arguing one way or the other. It was pointed out, for instance, that the creator himself had created animals for sacrifices; therefore killing in a sacrifice amounted to non-killing (5.39). It was even maintained that if one ate meat after honouring gods and manes, it did not matter whether the animal for this purpose was killed by oneself or whether the meat was bought or obtained as a gift (5.32). As for the animals themselves, as also for the plants and trees that were cut for sacrifices, it was maintained that they attained a higher status (*ucchriti*, or *uttamā gati* 5.40, 42) after death and thus, in a sense, were obliged by the sacrificer. It appears that, in spite of all this, there were a few priests who made themselves bold to refuse eating meat in a sacrifice. In order to compel these 'erring' priests to do what was sanctioned by the tradition, it was declared that one who refused meat-eating in a sacrifice was born as an animal twenty-one times (5.35). As an aside it may be observed that if one really believed in what one said, then one wonders whether this can be looked upon as a threat. For, a person born as an animal twenty-one times stood a good chance of being caught hold of for a sacrifice and then, as mentioned above, he was assured of a higher status after death!

In the final stage, which is reflected in a third group of verses (5.45-55) of the *Manusmriti*, we hear of the total ban on meat-eating whether ritual or otherwise (*nivarteta sarvamāṁsasya bhakshaṇāt*). The ban is imposed on the basis *of ahimsā*. Any meat-eating whatsoever, which involves *himsā*, cannot lead one to heaven; hence one should abstain from meat-eating. This must have been in those days a very bold stand, for it contradicted the Vedic injunction which prescribed a *sacrifice* for one who desired for heaven. The old belief that sin does not come to the eater or the seller of meat if he is not himself responsible for killing the animals still lingered on. Hence Manu declares in a

verse (51) that not only the one who actually kills the animal but also one who consents to killing, who cuts it, who sells or buys it, and who cooks or serves it, all share the responsibility for the killing.

The conflict between the spread of *ahimsā* and the Vedic sacrifice is reflected in many passages of the *Mahābhārata*. The story of the pious hunter (3:198-199) (*dharmavyādha*) is instructive in this context. The hunter does not approve of meat-eating outside the sacrifices. But he carries on his profession of selling meat because he sees merit in performing one's destined duties although one may not approve of them. His defence of ritual killing is in part the same as mentioned above, viz. that animals killed in sacrifices are liberated from their lower state of life. But he has also a few other interesting observations to add. He says that sacrifices have to be performed since Fires have loved meat from ancient times. In fact the hunter seems to suggest that the very practice of meat-eating in general had originated in ritual meat-eating (3: 199.10). Secondly, he had come to the conclusion after a good deal of thought (*bahu saṁcintya*) that total *ahimsā* was not possible in practice. One may, with effort, be able to reduce its extent (*yatnād alpatarā bhavet*). Even agriculture, which is looked upon as a good profession from ancient times, involves *hiṁsā*. The hunter seems to imply that if one does *himsā* even without one's knowledge, and for nothing, then why not do it in rituals which have the sanction of the Veda and which, for ought we know, may be beneficial. Even for meat-eating in general, which the hunter himself does not practice, he refers to the law of the big fish swallowing small fish. The hunter, however, seems to forget for a moment that in citing the example of fish he admits that those who live by eating meat are putting themselves on a par with lower animals.

The Gokapilīya episode which occurs in the Śātiparva of the *Mahābhārata* (12: 260) is equally interesting for the history of vegetarianism. Those in favour of ritual meat-eating are here seen as though giving a last-ditch fight against the mounting spread of *ahimsā*. Sage Kapila begins to doubt the correctness of the Veda which prescribes killing an animal. He asks the sage Syūmaraśmi if there was anything nobler than *ahimsā*. Now Syūmaraśmi enters the very cow which was about to be killed and replies that all persons, even animals and the vegetable world, desire for

heaven and heaven cannot be reached without a sacrifice. In fact, everything in this world is created for the sacrifice. The important point to be noticed in this episode is that the justification for a sacrifice is given through the cow herself, and not by a human being, thus adding an edge to the argument.

However, complete victory for *ahimsā* and total vegetarianism is what we find in many other passages of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus in the Anuśāsanaparva (13: 116) Bhīshma advises Yudhishṭhira not to eat any meat at all. He asserts that meat cannot be had from grass, wood, or stones; to obtain meat, an animal has to be killed. But since *ahimsā* is the highest truth and the very foundation of *dharma*, the only conclusion is that eating meat is a sin. In fact, in the Śāntiparva (12: 257) it has been declared that the pious (*dharmātmā*) Manu had prescribed only *ahimsā* in all activities. It was only the rogues who introduced *himsā* in sacrifices which is not what the Vedas really prescribed. The established fact, therefore, was that "*ahimsā* was superior to all other acts of piety" (*ahimsaiva hi sarvebhyo dharmebhyo jyāyasī matā*).

How agonizing the conflict between *ahimsā* and the Vedic religion must have been can be seen from a very ingenious, but hardly convincing, attempt to give a vegetarian interpretation to the Vedic injuction. It was proposed that "*ajena yashṭavayam*" does not mean "one should offer a sacrifice with a goat", but "one should offer a sacrifice with corn which cannot sprout (*a-ja*), i.e. a three-year old corn" (Mbh. 14: 94.16).

We have offered so far a very concise description of a long drawn struggle in which *ahimsā* came out victorious. The question may be raised: how did this come about? How is it that an important section of the people, the leaders and thinkers of the time, came to adopt *ahimsā* and total vegetarianism when this meant the giving up of the ancient and well-established institution of sacrifice? Are there any traces of thought in early times which could later develop in this direction, or did this all come about due to some outside influence?

It is customary to trace the spread of *ahimsā* in Hinduism to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism. It is well-known that *ahimsā* occupies an important place in the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. It would also not be far from correct if one assumed that the propagation of his dharma by Aśoka contributed in no

small measure to the stopping of the killing of animals either for sacrifice or for food. Aśoka was no doubt very tolerant towards other religions. But he did not accept any compromise on the issue of offering animals in sacrifices. In his very first rock edict he proclaimed: "no animal shall be killed here for being offered in a sacrfice". As regards meat-eating as food, he made a very drastic cut in his own kitchen in order to show to the people that example was better than precept.

Not that the good qualities of meat, both as tasty food and as a source of quick nourishment were simply lost sight of by those who favoured vegetarianism. They admitted that nothing can take the place of meat which was invaluable in the treatment of those who suffered from injuries, were emaciated, or grown weary by long journey. But, inspite of this, eating meat was objected to by these people on ethical grounds. They said nobody can be considered more mean and more cruel than the one who wished to increase his own flesh by eating that of someone else (Mbh. 13: 117.6-10). An echo of this reasoning is heard in the fifth Pillar Edict of Aśoka where he says: "one should not nourish oneself by eating a living being (*jīvena jīve no pusitaviye*)." It may be noted that the words used by Aśoka in his edicts are *vihimsā* and *avihimsā* and not *himsā* and *ahimsā*.

Some scholars have observed that the Hindu aversion to killing animals for sacrifice is not to be traced either to Buddhism or to Jainism. They feel, and on quite good grounds, that as far as the Jains are concerned their main concern was to wage a comprehensive struggle against the Brahmanical religion and Brahmanical arrogance on the whole. Their attacks on Brahmanical sacrifice formed only a part of it and hence the main emphasis, at least in the beginning, was in no way on *ahimsā*. They interpret this fact as suggesting that Jainism—and the same holds good *a fortiori* also for Buddhism—was not the real source of *ahimsā* which is supposed to have been later transferred to Brahmanism. They argue that the origin of the aversion to killing animals in sacrifices must be sought in the pre-Aryan, or what we may in a sense call the "original Indian", elements[1]. It has already been shown that such non-Aryan characteristics of Hinduism as *phallus* worship or the sacredness attached to the *pippala* tree have to be traced to the pre-Aryan Indus culture. Similarly, *ahimsā*, or more especially a taboo on killing animals for religious practices, is to be

looked upon as a pre-Aryan, or a "really" Indian element that has crept into Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism alike.

The above conclusion is a plausible one. However, it has already been suggested that the concept of *ahimsā* can be explained as a generalisation of the ideas which lie behind the recitation of certain *śānti* mantras in a sacrifice which are recited after an act of injury, actual or imagined, done to the sacrificial animal or the plant.[2] Moreover we find some indications in the *Yajurveda,* a Vedic text more intimately related to sacrifice than any other, which lead us to feel that *ahimsā* with its far-reaching influence on animal sacrifice and meat-eating, would have appeared in the post-Vedic Indian thought even in the absence of the pre-Aryan elements assumed in the conclusion referred to above.

Although the available Sanskrit lexicons record the word *ahimsā* in the sense 'non-injury' from the Upanishads onwards, the word in this sense is available in the recensions of the *Yajurveda*. A *yajus* formula 'oh plant, protect him, oh axe, do not injure him' (*oshadhe trāyasva enam, svadhite mā enam himsīḥ*) is repeated in a sacrifice when the sacrificer is being shaved, or when a branch is being cut from a tree, or when the animal, after having been killed, is being cut open for taking out the limbs for sacrifice. On these occasions, when a razor, an axe, or a knife is used for these purposes, the above formula is repeated in order to ensure that the objects with which these sharp instruments come into contact do not suffer any injury. It was felt that the injury could be avoided if a blade of *darbha* grass was placed at a point where the razor or the knife came into contact with the man, the (dead) animal, or the tree. First, this blade of grass was addressed as *oshadhi*, an address significant in itself for bringing into play the healing properties of the plant, and then was appealed to for the protection of the person or the object from the impact of the instrument; next, the sharp instrument itself was commanded not to inflict injury. If one takes into account this concern to avoid injury (*mā himsīḥ*) reflected in the formulas, it is possible to feel that it could contain the seed of that great feeling which in the course of time developed into the full-fledged doctrine of *ahimsā*. While this doctrine took root in Buddhism and Jainism, its presence in the Brahmanical thought itself had such an impact on the Vedic religion that it completely pushed the

animal sacrifice into background and played a substantial role in the spread of vegetarianism.

NOTES

1 Cf., for instance, L. Alsdorf, *Beitraege Zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, pp. 47-54. The present writer has been much benefited by this monograph.

2 See H. P. Schmidt, *aghnya*–, Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 78.46, n. 1 (1963).

Dr. M.A. MAHENDALE

MEDHĀTITHI ON MANU IX, 256

The *Manusmṛti* IX, 256 runs as

द्विविधांस्तस्करान् विद्यात्परद्रव्यापहारकान् ।
प्रकाशांश्चाप्रकाशांश्च चारचक्षुर्महीपतिः ॥

This stanza mentions two kinds of 'thieves' who deprive others of their property. They are referred to as *prakāśa* and *aprakāśa* (or *pracchanna*) in the *Manusmṛti* (IX, 257). As becomes clear from the following verse, by *prakāśataskara*[1] (or *prakāśavañcaka*)[2] are meant traders *(paṇyopajīvinaḥ)* etc., and by *aprakāśataskara*[3] (or *pracchanna-vañcaka*)[4] are meant thieves, forest-dwellers, etc. *(stenāṭavikādayaḥ)*.

While explaining the verse cited above Medhātithi makes a remark which does not become clear at first sight. He says:

प्रकाशतस्कराणां[5] नातितस्करव्यवहारो यथा लोकेऽन्येषामटवीरात्रिचराणा-
माप्तस्तैः सामान्योपादानं तद्वन्निग्रहार्थं क्रियते ।

The expression *atitaskaravyavahāraḥ* is not quite clear. It seems to mean 'dealings or acts *(vyavahāra)* which are beyond i.e., which are different from those of a thief'. The best course to understand the whole sentence would be to start from the end. (i.e. अप्रकाशैः: explained by Medhātithi as अटवीरात्रिचरैः:). (प्रकाशानां तस्करा इति) सामान्योपादानं तद्वन्निग्रहार्थं क्रियते.

---

1. I.e. the daylight 'thieves'.
2. As they are called in Manu IX, 257.
3. I.e. the night 'thieves'.
4. As they are called in Manu IX, 257.
5. The printed editions have प्रकाशस्तस्कराणाम् or प्राकाशस्तस्कराणाम् for which see below.

This means that the प्रकाश (thieves) and the अप्रकाश (thieves) both are referred to in a similar way (सामान्योपादानं) as *taskara* in the stanza (द्विविधांस्तस्करान्विद्यात्) so that the प्रकाश thieves can be arrested (निग्रहार्थम्) like the अप्रकाश ones (तद्वत्). Hence in what precedes this part of the passage one expects to find the reason why both the प्रकाश type of परद्रव्यापहारक and the अप्रकाश type of परद्रव्यापहारक are referred to as तस्कर.

The commentator says the reason is that the dealings of the प्रकाश type (i.e. traders and others who might indulge in cheating the customers), are not beyond those of a thief, i.e. they are, in effect, similar to those of a thief. The activity (व्यवहार) of this latter type (i e. the forest-dwellers and others who act at night) is of course well known in the world (यथा लोकेऽन्येषामटवीरात्रिचराणामासः). The activity of the former, in so far as it results in depriving others of their wealth, is similar to these. Hence both are called by the common name तस्कर.

That the परद्रव्यापहारक of the अप्रकाश type who, in IX, 257, are specifically mentioned as स्तेनाटविकादयः is called तस्कर in our stanza needs no explanation. What requires explanation is the calling of the deceitful merchants etc. as तस्कर. Medhātithi justifies this by pointing out that the dealings of the latter are not at all different from those of the former. न अतितस्करव्यवहार thus, in effect, means तस्करसदृश-व्यवहार.

The line, with a few additions in the parenthesis for the sake of clarity, may be read as प्रकाशतस्कराणां न अतितस्करव्यवहारः। यथा लोके अन्येषां (तस्कराणां) अटवीरात्रिचराणां (व्यवहारः) आसः (तथैव तेषां प्रकाशतस्कराणां व्यवहारः)। तैः (अटवीरात्रिचरैः सह प्रकाशानां 'तस्कर' इति) सामान्योपादानं तद्वन्निग्रहार्थं क्रियते।

In the above discussion, the printed text as given in the editions of V.N. Mandalik (प्राकाशस्तस्कराणाम्) and Ganganath Jha प्रकाशस्तस्कराणाम्) has been emended to प्रकाशं तस्कराणाम् on the line of the word प्रकाशं वंचकाः used in the next stanza (IX, 257). If we, however, retain

the readings in the printed editions, we shall have to interpret the passage as प्राकाश: (or प्रकाश:) तस्कराणाम् (meaning प्रकाशे भव: तस्कराणां व्यवहार:) न अतितस्करव्यवहार: । यथा लोके etc.

In the end it is good to examine the translation of Ganganath Jha of the above passage of Medhātithi. His translation runs :-

> "Though the action of the 'open' thief does not stand on the same footing as that of the 'concealed' one – such as those who prowl about at night, in forests etc. – yet both have been mentioned together for the purpose of indicating the equality of the punishment to be meted out to them "

This interpretation, however, is not likely. For, apart from the fact that it requires the addition of two crucial words "though ..... yet", it is well to remember that in the very next verse (IX, 257) Manu characterizes both the types as *vañcaka*. Thus, according to Manu, the activity of the *prakāśa* type is similar to that of the *aprakāśa* type and not different. Hence Medhātithi is not likely to say that the action of the one 'does not stand on the same footing' as that of the other. If the punishment to be meted out to them is to be equal, their actions have to be on the same footing and not different.

Did Ashoka Ban Cow-slaughter ?

A FEW YEARS after he embraced Buddhism, King Ashoka issued what are known as " rescripts on morality" (*dhammalipi*). He caused them to be inscribed on rocks and pillars throughout his empire for two reasons : he wanted to give them a sort of permanency so that his children and grandchildren could know what he wanted them to do and, secondly, to make his views easily available to the people.

Ashoka's *dhamma* which he tried to propagate through these edicts had nothing specifically Buddhistic in it. His *dhamma* meant, in effect, practising certain virtues like obedience to parents, proper courtesy to servants, liberality, but above all, *abstention from killing animals*. This he emphasises time and again in his rescripts. The king admonishes his administrative officers that while touring the districts under their charge, they should give moral instruction to the people. They are to tell the people that "non-injury to animals is meritorious". The king himself had substituted the pleasure tours of the former kings by his religious tours. Earlier, the kings in their pleasure tours used to indulge in hunting and other practices which resulted in injury to animals. King Ashoka, on the other hand, in his religious tours instructed the people in his *dhamma* and enquired how far they had progressed in the practice of the virtues since he visited them last.

In the seventh Pillar Edict Ashoka says that in respect of the promotion of morality among his subjects he has succeeded where his predecessors had failed. The king attributes this singular success to his having taken recourse to two measures, viz. issuing of rescripts on morality and, secondly, persuading the people to give up their old practices in favour of the *dhamma* recommended by him. The king is on record that he found the method of persuasion much more effective than the issuing of rescripts. It was by persuasion that the king was able to wean away his subjects from causing injury to animals.

The bilingual inscription of Ashoka in Greek and Aramaic found at Kandahar in Afghanistan gives the impression that the king was successful in turning his empire into a virtual welfare state for the animals. It says that in the king's dominions hunters had given up hunting and fishermen fishing. The people had followed the king's example and had become vegetarian. There may be some exaggeration in this statement which has been inscribed at a place far away from the capital and some misunderstanding of the text was possible while translating the original edict

into foreign tongues. But the fact remains that it testifies to the growing enthusiasm of the people to put the king's *dhamma* into practice.

The fifth Pillar Edict of Ashoka, issued twenty-six years after his coronation, is devoted primarily to the protection of animals. The king, first, gives a long list of birds and animals which are on no account to be killed. These include parrots, mainas, geese, pigeons, porcupines, bulls set at liberty, also certain kinds of fish, and tortoises. There are certain names of animals in this list like *nandīmukha* and *getāta* which are not intelligible. The list ends with a general statement that all the quadrupeds which are *neither useful nor edible* are not to be killed.

Ashoka, next, orders through this edict that she-goats, ewes and sows are not to be killed when they are either with young or in milk. Their young ones also were not to be killed if they were less than six months old.

He further forbids nourishing of living animals with other living beings.

On certain specified days fish were not to be killed and were not to be sold.

He put restrictions on the castration of animals since this involved injury. Thus he enjoined that whereas cocks shall not be caponed at all, bulls, he-goats, rams, boars and whatever other animals are usually castrated shall not be castrated on certain specified days. Similarly, on certain days, horses and bulls shall not be branded.

The first Rock Edict of Ashoka, no less than the fifth Pillar Edict, is significant for his concern for the sanctity of animal life. The Rock Edict may be said to have three parts and the pronouncements the king made in them affected to a very large extent the people's religious and social life, and his own personal life.

In the first part of the edict the king orders a blanket ban on the slaughter of animals for the performance of the sacrifices : "Here, no animal of any sort whatsoever shall be killed and given as an offering." Although king Ashoka is rightly known for his religious tolerance -- his twelfth Rock Edict is remarkable for his catholic spirit -- he does not hesitate to put a complete stop to the animal sacrifices which must have meant in those days an interference with the religious practices of those who followed the Vedic injunctions. In fact, this is the only pronouncement in the Ashokan inscriptions which may be characterized as specifically Buddhistic. As rightly observed by the late Professor Alsdorf (*Beitraege zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinder-verehrung in Indien,* p. 52), it is very difficult to imagine a Hindu king of Ashoka's time ordering, "Here no animal shall be killed for sacrifice". But the attempt of Professor Alsdorf to try to bring this order, at least to some extent, in accord with the king's religious tolerance by interpreting the word 'here' to mean only 'in my capital, Pāṭaliputra', and not 'throughout my empire,' is not convincing. It has rather to be admitted that on this basic issue the king was, clearly, in no mood to compromise.

In the second part of this edict the king asks his subjects not to indulge in certain social entertainments (*samāja)* which he does not approve, for he sees many objectionable things in such festivities. Ashoka does not elaborate this point, but it will be a reasonable guess to suppose that by prohibiting such festivities the king wanted to put a stop to the suffering caused to animals on such occasions.

In the last part of this edict the king announces that he had ordered almost a total ban on killing animals for the royal kitchen. Whereas, formerly, many animals used to be daily slaughtered for preparing curry (*sūpa),* now, since the edict had been issued, only two or at most three animals were being killed for this purpose. Since the king has shown honesty in making a public admission of this exception, there is no reason to doubt that the small number of animals mentioned by him (two or three) is correct.

It should thus be clear that the Buddhist king shows, both in precept and practice, great regard for the sanctity of animal life.

The question arises, does the king in all his efforts to save animal life show any special regard for the cow? Does he specifically ban cow-slaughter? The answer to the question has to be a plain 'No'. Professor Alsdorf (*op. cit.,* p. 59) points out that the cow does not find a place in the fairly long list of animals which are declared inviolable by the king in his Pillar Edict V. The explanation sometimes offered of this omission, namely, that the cow has not been listed among these animals since it was even otherwise not killed in those days, will hardly stand scrutiny. On the other hand, the king's declaration : "I have made inviolable ... all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible" shows that if a cow (or a bull) was edible or useful for therapeutic and other purposes, the king had not made it inviolable.

It is possible that owing to the various measures taken by Ashoka--ban on animal slaughter for sacrifices, ban on objectionable social festivities, almost total prohibition of meat-eating in his own household, and his repeated exhortation to abstain from injury to animals -- cow-slaughter was considerably reduced in his days. But this must have been true of other animals as well. The king in this respect made no distinction between a cow and a goat and had not issued a total ban on cow-slaughter leaving other animals to their own fate.

M. A. Mehendale

THE MITANNI NAME *ŠATTIU̯AZA*-

In his book *Die Arier im Vordern Orient – ein Mythos*? M. Mayrhofer mentions (p. 25) a Mitanni royal name *Šattiu̯aza*- which, according to him, reflects Indo-Aryan **sāti-vāja*- 'Kampfgüter erlangend'. In support of his view he mentions some Old Indo-Aryan compounds such as *vāja-sáni-*, *vāja-sā́-*, *vā́ja-sāti* (also *vā́jasya sāti-*), in which we have a combination of *vā́ja*- and a derivative of *san(i)*-: *sā*. He also refers to the fact that in Old Indo-Aryan we often come across expressions where *vā́ja*- happens to be the object of *san(i)*.

In all the attested compounds cited by Mayrhofer *vā́ja*- occurs as the first member, not as the second. He is, therefore, compelled to interpret **sāti-vāja*- as 'Kampfgüter erlangend', as though the compound were *sanád-vāja*-. The attested word *vā́ja-sāti*-, however, he renders as 'das Erlangen von Gütern'.

The difficulty can be avoided if the Mitanni name is considered a reflex of Old Indo-Aryan **satya-vāha*- 'that which carries truth, vehicle of truth, truthful one'. *Satyavāha*- (*Bhāradvāja*-), as a proper name, is attested in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad 1. 1. 3, *Satyavāhana* in the late Rājataraṅgiṇī 4. 100. As for the older period, we have a 'Textfigur' in which not *satyá*-, but its near-synonym *ṛtá*- occurs, which lends itself very well to composition. As an expression for a 'hymn' we have *ṛtásya vā́has*- 'vehicle of truth' in the ṚV. 8. 6. 2 (Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 442). And the compound itself, *aša-vāzah*-, is attested in the Avesta (Y. 10. 14) as an epithet of Haoma.

Since, however, *šatti*- for **šattiia*- (cf. *našattiia*-) constitutes a difficulty, **saptivāha*- 'one whose draught-animal is a horse' may be preferable. Cf. RV. *sáptī . . . vahato rátham* (8.33.18), *sáptayo . . . vahantu* (1.47.8, cf. 1.85.6), etc. Late parallels would then be the adjectives *saptivāhana*- (Kalkipurāṇa 3.8.1) and *saptivāhin*- (Paramānandakāvya p. 88 verse 4).

Deccan College, Poona M. A. MEHENDALE

GALAYAṢṬI-

In an article 'Lexicalische und grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Aśoka-Inschriften' contributed to *Ludwig Alsdorf Memorial Volume*, Thieme cites (p. 298) the following stanza from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati 3.2.9:

calatkāmimanomīnam ādātuṁ cittajanmanaḥ /
galayaṣṭir ivābhāti bālāveṇī guṇojjvalā //

In this stanza the braided hair of a young girl are compared to a *galayaṣṭi*. Thieme remarks that the meaning of the word *galayaṣṭi* is not immediately clear. He tentatively suggests 'fetter, shackle' (Fessel ?), or 'net' (Netz ?) as the meaning.

But it seems that *galayaṣṭi* can only mean a fishing rod to which the hook is attached. We have in Pāli *gaḷa*, in Prakrit *gala*, and in some of the modern Indian languages *gaḷ* or *gal*, which mean 'a hook, a fish-hook'. Turner, in his etymological dictionary, traces these words to **gaḍa* (3971).

In the text of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati edited by P. Peterson (Bombay, 1988), where the above stanza is numbered 3290, occurs a variant reading *jālayaṣṭi*. This would mean a stick which holds the fisherman's net.

M. A. MEHENDALE

THE INDO-ARYANS, INDO-IRANIANS AND THE INDO-EUROPEANS

M. A. MEHENDALE

I. Indo-Aryans

The term 'Indo-Aryan' is applied to a specific group of languages spoken primarily in North India and in some countries around India, e.g. Pakistan (Sindhi and Lahnda or Western Panjabi), Nepal (Nepali), Bangladesh (Bengali), and Shri Lanka (Simhalese). The forefathers of the present-day speakers of these languages are supposed to have entered India from Iran along the North-western mountain passes. This event may have happened c. 2000 B.C.

The designation 'Indo-Aryan' serves a two-fold purpose : in the first instance, it distinguishes this group of languages from Old Iranian together with which it forms the easternmost Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages; and (2) it distinguishes this group of languages from the other three families of languages spoken in India, viz. the Dravidian, the Munda, and the Tibeto-Burman.

The term 'Indo-Aryan' has two components : the former component has its justification in the fact that these languages are spoken mainly in a large part of India (before partition) as distinguished from Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia etc., where other languages of the Indo-European family are spoken. The second component 'āryan' used in the term 'Indo-Aryan' needs clarification. It must be understood that it has nothing to do with any particular race. The use of the word '*ārya*' does not mean that the speakers of these languages belong or belonged to any one race called 'Ārya'. It is well known that the speakers of these languages today represent a mixture of races. And as for the past, we have no justification to assume that the speakers of the languages at the Indo-Iranian stage belonged to a single race. The word *ārya* has its justification in the designation 'Indo-Aryan' in the fact that the speakers of the languages in the oldest attested stage in India (as well as in Iran) called themselves '*ārya*'. But this word refers to certain quality or qualities and not to race.

The word '*ārya*' has left no trace in the name of our country where these languages are presently spoken. The country today, as in the past, is called 'Bhārata (varṣa)'. At one time, however, as witnessed by Patañjali, the word '*ārya*' appeared in the name *Āryāvarta* which was then applied to northern India. In answer to the

question *kaḥ punar āryāvartaḥ* 'what is Āryāvarta', Patañjali on Pāṇini 6.3.109 says : the country bounded by Ādarśa[1] in the west, Kālakavana[2] in the east, Himavant in the north, and Pāriyātra (i.e. Vindhya) in the south is known as Āryāvarta. According to *Manusmṛti* 2.21-22 it is the land between the two seas (in the west and east) and between the Himavant and the Vindhya. Today the word *ārya*, through Pāli and the Prākrits, survives only in the word ājā (m.) ājī (f.) meaning 'grand-father' and 'grand-mother' respectively in some of the north Indian languages.

The story of the *ārya* is different in Iran. There it continues in the name of the country, Iran, which is derived from *airyanam* (gen. pl. of *airya*) = Sk. *āryāṇām* 'of the Āryas' with the word for 'country' supplied. 'Iran' thus means '(the country) of the Āryas'.

The history of the Indo-Aryan branch of languages in India is conveniently divided into three broad stages--Old, Middle and the New. The oldest attested stage of the Indo-Aryan is found in the Vedas -- particularly the *Ṛgveda*. The text of the *mantras* as composed by *ṛṣis* has been substantially well preserved except for making some phonetic changes of the type of vowel *sandhi*. Although the *mantras* of the *Ṛgveda* have been composed by various authors, we do not find in them dialectical variations. The language of the *Ṛgveda* gives us an impression of a homogenous language. Later we see successive developments of this language in post-Ṛgvedic texts like the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtras*. This late Vedic stage approaches closely to the *bhāṣā* -- 'spoken dialect' -- described by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and which bacame the model for the writers of the Classical Sanskrit. The old Indo-Aryan has more or less maintained without change its linguistic character since the days of Patañjali (2nd cent. B. C.). In the classical period the language does not show the types of changes which are seen earlier from the period of the *Ṛgveda* to that of the *sūtras*.

This difference between Vedic Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit is not in phonology. The vowel and the consonantal systems are the same except the disappearance of the intervocal *ḷ* and *ḷh* found in the *Ṛgveda*. The difference lies chiefly in grammar and vocabulary. In grammar, many forms like the nom. pl. in *-asas*, infinitives in *-tavai*, *-dhyai* etc. are lost. In vocabulary we see some old items like *jálāṣa* (?), *céru* (?) disappearing, some others being retained with a difference in meaning, cf. *Kratu-*, *ram-*, *kup-*. But more important is the addition of many words which are borrowed from languages, either Middle Indo-Aryan, cf. *ḍohada*, *muktā*, *utsuka*, *akṣauhiṇī* etc. non-Sanskritic, cf. *pūjā*, *valaya*, *kuṇḍala* etc.

The second stage of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages, viz. the Middle Indo-Aryan, is represented by the Pāli and the literary Prākṛts. There is no doubt that certain middle Indo-Aryan tendencies like the disappearance of the vowel *ṛ* and the emergence of the retroflex sounds had started as early as the Vedic period.

This is witnessed by the presence of such words as (vi) *kaṭa* (already in the *Ṛv*) *naṭa, bhaṭa* in the late Vedic literature. The spoken languages of those times must have considerably differed from the languages of the educated and the cultured people. The distinction between the standard, the polished, the hieratic and the substandard forms was expressed by the terms *saṁskṛta* and *prākṛta* applied to them. The term *prākṛta* as opposed to *saṁskṛta*, is to be understood either as 'natural, unsophisticated' form of speech as opposed to *saṁskṛta* which is 'refined, polished' form of speech; or it can be understood as the grammarians do it : *Saṁskṛta* language is the *prakṛti* 'basis' and *prākṛta* is the one 'derived from this *prakṛti*' (cf. Hemacandra 1.1 *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam/tatra bhavam, tata āgataṁ vā prākṛtam*). It must be remembered that this *prākṛta* could not have directly come from the late literary or standard Sanskrit, but from its earlier spoken variety in the Vedic period. This explains why in Pāli we have *ḷ* and *ḷh* in place of *ḍ* and *ḍh* exactly as in the *Ṛgveda* but not in the classical Sanskrit, or why we have the instr. pl. endings *-ehi* (Pāli) or *ehiṁ* (Pkt) < Vedic *ebhiḥ*, or the nom. pl. ending - *āso* (Pāli), *āho* (Mg.) < Vedic - *asaḥ*; the classical Skt. does not have these terminations but has *aiḥ* for instr. sg. and *-as* for nom. pl.

The period of the middle Indo-Aryan stretches roughly form the 5th cent. B. C. to 1000 A. D. It could be fairly easily assumed that these languages played a distinct role as means of communication in the everyday life of the people since both Buddha and Mahāvīra favoured the use of these, as against Sanskrit, for teaching their messages, The earliest attestation of this middle Indo-aryan stage is found in Pāli, the language of the Buddhist canon and in the inscriptions of Aśoka. It is believed that the Buddhist canon was first formulated in the eastern dialect, the dialect of Buddha himself, and that it was later translated into Pāli. The assumed eastern canon is no longer available. The Aśokan inscription reflect at least two varieties of the MIA stage, the eastern (with/and nom. sg. in - *e*) and the western (with *r* and nom. sg. in - *o*), and perhaps a north-western (having three sibilants *s*, *ś* and *ṣ* and many consonant clusters). The principal languages included in the MIA stage are the *Ardhamāgadhī*, the *Śaurasenī*, the *Māgadhī*, the *Paiśācī* and the *Māhārāṣṭrī*. The *Māhārāṣṭrī* does not represent any regional variety of MIA but a stage of development that lies between the literary *Prākrits* on the one hand and the *Apabhraṁśa* on the other. The *Apabhraṁśa* of about 1000 A. D. marks the close of the Middle Indo-Aryan period.

The new Indo-Aryan or the last stage in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages is said to have commenced in the 11th cent. A. D. and is represented in the various standard and sub-standard regional languages of northern India. These languages apparently grew out of the local *Apabhraṁśas* which, although not attested for different regions, must be assumed to precede and be the starting points of the NIA languages.

II. Indo-Iranian

The language family designated as 'Indo-Iranian' includes the Old Iranian and the Old Indo-Aryan. It represents that stage in the linguistic development of a branch of the Indo-European which is the source-language for the Avestan and the Old Persian in Iran and the Vedic Sanskrit in India. A certain group of people speaking a certain variety of the Indo-European migrated from the original home of the IE towards the south and east. It is supposed to have settled down for some time to the north of Iran and Afghanistan from where one branch came down to eastern Iran and after some time migrated further south through the passes of the Hindukush to reach the north-western forntiers of India. Those who remained behind in the common home to the north of Iran and Afghanistan came later to western Iran and then even occupied the eastern Iran. It is in common home of the forefathers of the later Iranians and Indians that Indo-Iranian is supposed to have been spoken.

The Old Iranian of the settlers of Iran is represented by the Avestan, the language of the holy texts of the Zoroastrians and the Old Persian found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian rulers of Iran. The date of oldest portions of the Gāthās of the Avesta is likely to be c. 1000 B.C., while the old Persian inscriptions date from the 5th century B.C. The Iranian branch, like the Indian branch, can be conveniently divided into three stages -- the old, the middle and the new. The old Iranian is available in two dialects -- the western in the Old Persian inscriptions and the eastern in the Avesta, The middle Iranian is represented by various languages, chief among which is Pahlavi. The new Iranian is represented among others, by modern Persian in Iran, Pušto in Afghanistan and Baluchi in Baluchistan.

Some centuries after the fore-fathers of the Vedic Aryans left eastern Iran, the Iranian prophet Zarathushtra introduced certain radical reforms in the traditional religion and gave a new message to the people of Iran. He recognised one god, Ahura Mazda 'the wise Lord', as against the many in the religion inherited by him, and forbade the killing of animals and offerings of flesh together with those of a stimulating drink of *haoma* (Sk. *soma*) in religious worship. The linguistic impact of the revolution is seen in the meaning of the *daeva* (Sk. *deva*) 'demon, evil spirit' and the establishment of a series of parallel pairs of synonyms, one of which was used in connection with the *ahuras* 'gods' and the other with the *daevas* 'demons' - withness the use of uš 'ear', vaγδana 'head', zasta 'hand', (Sk. *hasta*) etc. used with reference to Ahuric i.e. divine being and the use of karəna (Sk. *karṇa*) 'ear', kamərəδā 'head (Sk. * *ku.mūrdhan*) and 'go', 'hand' used with reference to *daevic* i.e. demoniac beings.

That the forefathers of ancient Indians and the ancient Iranians were at one time one people showing common culture and speaking one language is established beyond doubt due to the close affinity between Vedic Sanskrit and Avestan – an affinity so close as is

found in any other two branches of the Indo-European family of languages. If one glances through the pages of the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* --the extent of which is far too smaller than of a Sanskrit dictionary--one meets with many vocabulary items which have cognates in Sanskrit and hence prove their common origin-- examples chosen at random: Sk. *hiraṇya*, Av. *zaranya* 'gold', Sk. *vṛkṣa*, Av. *varəša* 'tree'; Sk. *mátsya*. Av. *mašya* 'fish'; Sk., *senā*, Av. *haenā* 'army'; Sk. *yajñá*, Av. *yasna* 'worship, sacrifice'; Sk. *hótar* Av. *zaotar* 'priest'; Sk. *Mitrá*, Av. *miθra* 'name of a deity', etc. etc. the similarity between the two languages is not restricted to the vocabulary items in large number; it is witnessed even more strongly in grammer -- that is in the manner of root alternation cf. Sk. *gam: gacch*, Av. *gam:jas*, in the use of *vikaraṇas* to form stems , e.g. Sk. *su : sunu*, Av. *hu : hunu;* and in terminations, e.g. Sk. *bhárāmi, bhárati*, Av. *barāmi baraiti*. Not only this. Both these branches have made common innovations in the parent Indo-European language, e.g. they have merged IE ā, ē, ō > ā, and changed IE m̥, n̥ > a; both show palatalistion before front vowels as in *ca-kāra, ja-gāma* and the introduction of *n* before gen. pl. term, hence Sk. *devānām*, Av. *daevānam* against Gk. *hippon*, Lat. *deum=deorum* etc. The similarity between Sanskrit and Avesta is best illustrated by showing how an Avestan line like *təm amavantəm yazatəm sūrəm dāmohu səvištəm miθrəm yazāi zaoθrābyo* (Yt. 10.6) can be easily rendered into Sanskrit – *tam amavantam śūram dhāmasu śaviṣṭham mitram yajai hotrebhyaḥ* (for *hotrebhiḥ*) 'that strong, brave, bravest among the creations, Mitra, I worship with oblations'.

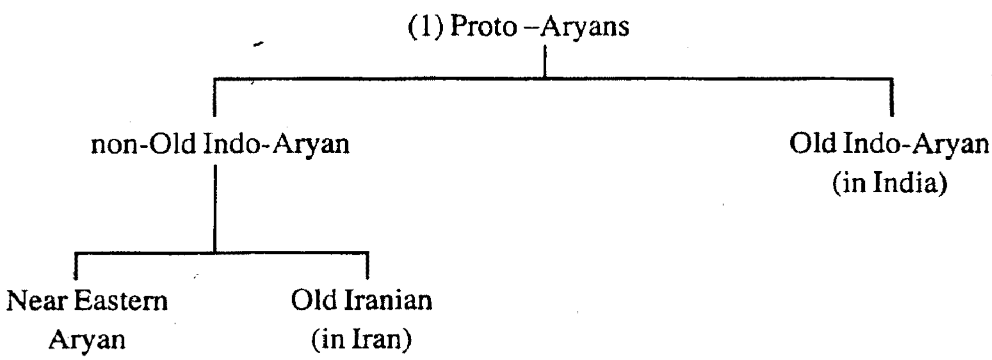
It is very likely that the Indo-Iranians, after they left the original home of the Indo-Europeans, came to Iran and Afhganistan from South Russia. The common view regarding their coming to this new land together and the subsequent migration of a part of them to India has to be a little modified on account of certain linguistic evidence brought to light from the Near East. There, in upper Mesopotamia, Mitanni Kingdom was established by people who spoke a language very similar to the Indo-Iranian or the Old Indo-Aryan. These people are supposed to have come to Mesopotamia between 1741-1600 B. C. The Cuneiform inscriptions discovered in this area reveal certain terms and names of deities which are unmistakably of the Indo-Iranian branch. Some of the names of the Mitanni princes also show closeness to Indo-Aryan, e.g. *Šuvar-data* = Sk. *svar-datta* or *svar-dhāta* 'given or created by the sun'; *Indrauta* = Sk. *Indra-ūta* 'protectd by Indra'. In a treaty concluded in 1360 B. C. by the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma with Mattiwaza of the Mitanni people when the latter was made a king and was given his daughter by the Hittite king, we have the mention of the names of deities as witness to the treaty. In this list of gods we find, by the side of a number of non-Aryan deities, such names as are easily identifiable with Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyā. Then in a Hittite text composed by one Kikkuli on horse-training we find such numerals as *aika* 'one', *tera* 'three', *panza* 'five', *satta* 'seven', *na (va)* 'nine', and such words as

ašu̱a 'horse' and technical terms like *u̱artana* 'circular course (in which a horse moves when under training).'

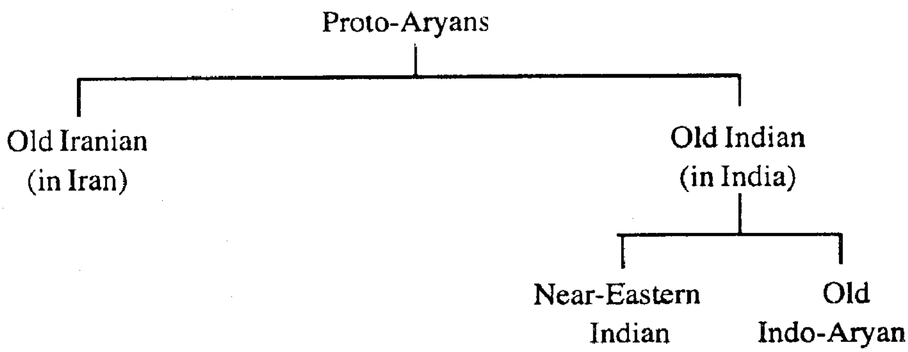
The question raised by this unmistakable Aryan evidence in Asia Minor is from where did the people speaking the language akin to the Indo-Iranina reach there. Did they go there sometime during their migration before or after the Indo-Iranian broke into Iranian and Indian, that is did they go there as Ur-Aryans, or as Iranians or as Indians?

At one time it was felt that some of the speakers of the Indo-Iranian language separated from the others who later became proto-Indo-Aryans and went to Asia Minor from south Russia along the Caspian sea. Some of them remained there to establish the Mitanni kingdom in south but others went to Iran. This theory is, however, not acceptable because the Aryan remains in Asia Minor are more akin to Indian than to Iranian or to Proto-Indo-Iranian, e.g. we have *s* and not *h* in *satta*, the word for 'seven' (Sk. *saptá* : Av. *hapta*), in *našatya* 'the name of the deity' (Sk. *nāsatyā, Av. nāηhaiθya*), and the word for 'one' is *aika* with *-k-* as in Sk. *eka*, as against Av. *aiva* which has *-v-*. This should force us to admit that those who established the Mitanni kingdom were not Iranians but Indians who may have gone to the Near East from India. Between these two extreme theories, a compromise theory is proposed because the Aryan evidence from Mitanni is not exactly identical with Sanskrit either, but occaisonally shows an older stage of development as witnessed in the word for 'one' *aika* which shows a diphthong *ai* as opposed to the monophthong *e* in Sk. *eka*. According to the compromise theory the speakers of the Mitanni Aryans went to the near east after the proto - Aryans separated from the Indo-Iranians but before the forefathers of the Indo-Aryans came to India. T. Burrow chooses to call this stage of separation as proto-Indo-Aryan.[3]

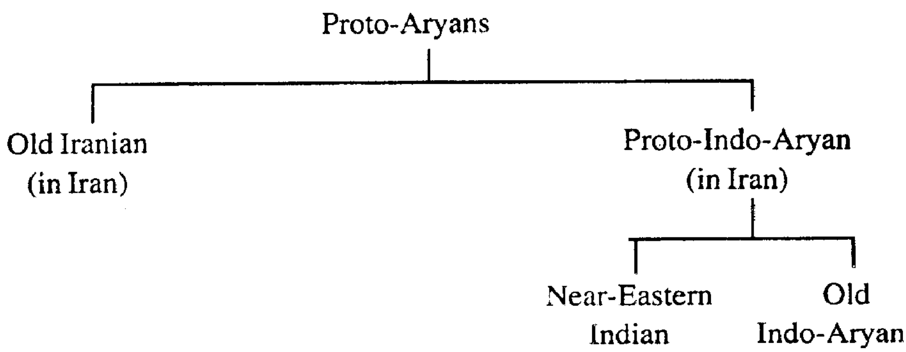
Thus we do not imagine the relationship of the Near-Eastern Aryan, Old Iranian and Old Indo-Aryan as something like –



(2) nor as –



(3) but as –



Such a view permits us to say that the cluster *pt* became *tt* in Near-East, but was preserved in India; but the diphthong *ai* > *e* in India was preserved in the Near-East. This happened after the branching off of the Near-Eastern from Proto-Indo-Aryan.

III. Indo-European

The Indo-Iranian family together with many other languages or language-families like Greek, Latin, Germanic etc. which were once spread over large parts of Asia and Europe form a family of languages known as the Indo-European family, as distinct from such other families of languages as Dravidian, Munda, Tibeto-Burman (in India) and Semitic, Finno-Ugrian etc. (in Europe and Asia).

Similarities between the vocabulary items of Sanskrit and some other languages like Latin or Iralian were long recognised by the missionaries who arrived in India. But they remained more or less as curiosities. The credit for the formulation of the theory of a common origin for these languages goes to Sir Willian Jones who made the now famous pronouncement in 1786 A. D. It was he who for the first time declared that the linguistic similarities between the languages now grouped in the IE family of languages can be

explained only on the assumption of their having sprung from a common origin which, perhaps, no longer exists.

Today no one is in doubt that the common source, which was once called Indo-Germanic and which is now know as Indo-European, no longer exists, which means that none of the attested language like Hittite, Sanskrit, Greek and others, however old they may be, can be looked upon as the 'mother' language of this family.

The languages, or the language families, comprising this large family of languages are : (1) Indo-Aryan, (2) Iranian, (3) Armenian, (4) Albanian, (5) Balto-Slavic, (6) Greek, (7) Latin, (8) Germanic, (9) Celtic, and the two more recently discovered, (10) Hittite and (11) Tokharian.

It is likely that the Indo-European common speech had already started showing dialectal variations within its 'home' before its speakers migrated into different lands. This means that not all the characteristics which distinguish these languages from one another developed after their separation from each other. Thus the augment *a-* in the preterite forms like Sk. *ábharat*, Gk, *éhpere*, Arm. *eber* is seen only in these three languages and at one time must have formed a common feature of these three, as distinct from others. Later when the Greek was separated from this group, there occurred another innovation, viz. the change of the Indo-European palatal *k'* to *s* in certain languages like Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian, Albanian and Balto-Slavic, but its continuation as a velar sound *k* in the rest. This distinction is widely known as a satəm-centum division based on the words for 'hundred' in Avestan satəm on the one hand, and Latin centum on the other.

On the basis of the comparison made between the different languages comprising the Indo-European family, it has been possible to reconstruct the 'common origin' of these languages. The technique of such a study was first formulated by Franz Bopp in 1816 in his work : *Über das Conjugations-system der Sanskritsprache* and was further developed by August Schleicher in 1852 in his work : *Formenlehre der Kirchenslawischen Sprache*. Now it is possible to assert that the 'similarites' between these languages are one-time "identities" and demonstrate what that "identity" could look like.

When one compares the sound systems of the different languages of the IE family with the sound system of the reconstructed original language it is observed that Greek and Latin of the centum group have better preserved the vowel system of the original language (it has preserved the original *a, e, o* vowels while Sanskrit has merged them into a single vowel *a*) while Sanskrit of the satəm group has better preserved the original consonant system (Sanskrit has kept the distinction between voiced unaspirates and aspirates like *d* and *dh*, *b* and *bh*, while this distinction has been lost in other languages).

While[4] it is not likely that the community speaking the original IE language was a *racial* community, it must certainly have been an *economic* and a *cultural* community. The people of this community used a common language, Indo-European, for their

intercourse. As far as the social organisation of this community is concerned it can be said that it was patriarchal in character. The people of this community had some definite ideas about the gods who ruled over the lives of human beings, and about death and the other world. They used some form of worship for these gods and knew the art of composing poetry in which they praised their gods.

The question about the original home of this community from where it spread to different parts of Europe and Asia has been discussed for a long time and many theories have been proposed. The two of these which gained some currency were those which placed them in Central Asia or in South Russia and the Kirghiz steppe. The latter theory is mainly based on the assumption that a part of the agricultural terminology which is common to other IE languages is lacking in Indo-Iranian. This means that one section of the community lived a more or less nomadic life which can be only in steppes. Therefore the home of the community must be found at a place where steppe and agricultural land come together. The land whén boundaries of Southern Russia and the Kirghiz steppes meet was considered as ideal to fulfil these requirements.

P. THIEME who has examined this theory in his *Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache* points out (p. 25) that P. SCHRADER himself who had advocated this theory had to admit in the first instance that not all, but only a few, IE items related to agriculture were missing in the Indo-Iranians and hence we have to admit that the Indo-Iranians too knew agriculture. It is of course likely that, as compared to the other IE communities, agriculture did not play at that time an important role in their life.

Among the items considered missing, it is mentioned that the Indo-Iranian group does not have a cognate for the IE root * *se / sei* 'to sow'. But J. Bloch[5] has demonstrated that it, in fact, is to be seen in Sk. *śīra* (nt.) 'sowing, a plough for sowing *śītā* (f.) 'furrow' (originally 'the bedecked'). From the explanations of J. Block it also become clear why there is no correspondance in Sanskrit for Gk. *árotron* 'a plough'. This is because the forefathers of the Indians in their wandering came to know a new type of plough which was equipped with an arrangement of simultaneous sowing. This kind of plough was known in Mesopotamia already in the 3rd millenium B. C.

SCHRADER similarly missed the words in Indo-Iranian for IE words meaning 'to grind', 'demestic pig' (according to him Indo-Iranians knew only wild pig. cf. *sūkara*), and 'salt'. It is not necessary here to go into the details of the arguments. It is sufficient to note that these objection have been successfully met and the knowledge of agriculture and pig-breeding can be definitely assumed for all branches of the IE family including the Indo-Iranian. Such people, unlike the nomads, could not have occupied a large territory as, for example, the one stretching from the Baltic sea in the north to the Kirghiz steppe in the south.

It is, therefore, necessary to narrow down this region as far as possible. THIEME, with his now famous 'Lachs (salmon) theory' demonstrates how this narrowing down can be achieved. His argument can be briefly stated as follows: Old HG *lachs*, Anglosaxon *leax*, old Norse *lax* etc. point to a common origin IE * *laks* - / *lakso*- for 'salmon fish'. This kind of fish is to be found only in the rivers which flow into the northern oceans (the North sea and the Baltic sea) and their tributaries. There is no salmon in Greece and Italy. Hence we have no correspondences for IE **laks* - / **lakso* - in Gk. and Latin, and also in south Slavic. The Celts had their own word which was later borrowed as 'salmo' in Latin. That the Old HG *lachs* and the related words are not an innovation in the Germanic and in the north Slavic is demonstrated by the fact that Tokharian, discovered in east Turkestan, has a correspondence in *lakṣi* meaning 'fish'. That the word in Tokharian does not mean 'salmon' is understandable, since there are no salmon in Central Asia. The Tokharian branch has thus preserved the old IE word but gives it a more general meaning 'fish'. The presence of *lakṣi* in Tokharian clearly shows that the speakers of this branch came from the region where salmon was the fish par excellence.

If IE had a word like * *laks*- / **lakso* - its correspondence in Sanskrit would be *lakṣa*, but obviously it cannot have the meaning 'salmon' since that kind of fish is unknown to India.

Now Sanskrit does have a word *lakṣa* which means a very large number. In many languages there are words for things which appear in large number or in great mass and therefore are themselves expressive of large numbers. For example, in Avesta the word *bāevar* meaning 'ten thousand' is derivable from a word which means 'a bee' (cf. Gmc. *im-pi*- 'swarm of bees'). In Sanskrit itself the words *jaladhi* or *samudra* 'ocean' and *abja* 'lotus' signify large numbers. One of the characteristics of the salmon is that they appear in large numbers. Thus we can argue that Sanskrit has preserved the IE word **lakso*- in the form *lakṣa*-, not in the meaning 'salmon' but in the meaning 'one hundred thousand'.

A second characteristic of salmon is the red colour of its flesh. An adjective in IE from **lakso* / **lakso* would be * *lākso* and would mean 'salmonish, red'. This corresponds exactly with Sanskrit *lākṣā* attested since the *Atharvaveda*, which means red lac tree which originally could have meant 'the red'.

In Ossetic, an Iranian dialect, we find a word läsäg which means 'trout', a variety of fish, similar to salmon, found in the Caucasian rivers.

All this evidence points to the north-central Europe as the probable home of the Indo-Europeans and not to the south Russia and the adjoining Kirghiz steppe.

On the basis of the evidence given by the IE word for the salmon, it is thus possible to narrow down the limits of the original home of the IE: in the east one does not have to go beyond the beach boundary (from Kalinigrad on the Baltic to Odessa on the Black sea). In the west we need not go upto the river Rhine. This leaves the area of the salmon

rivers Vistula, Oder and Elbe, roughly the area where the eastern IE languages like Baltic (Lithuanian) and Slavic (Polish) and western Indo-European (Germanic) meet, or the area corresponding to Poland and eastern part of Germany.

In this region we have trees and animals, words for which can be reconstructed for the IE on the basis of correspondences in the related languages. All these trees and animals are characteristic of this region and there is not a single item in the list which is not compatible with the region. These can be listed as :

A. Trees : birch, beech, aspen, oak, pin, fir.
B. Animals (domestic) : dog, fox, sheep, horse, pig, goat.
C. Animals (non-domestic) : wolf, bear, fox, stag, hare, mouse, serpent, turtle.
D. Birds : eagle, haron, owl, crane.
E. Acquatic birds : goose, duck, diver.
F. Insects : fly, wasp, bee, louse.

THIEME asserts that there is in the above list no animal, domestic or otherwise, that we cannot assume for the later stone-, bronze-, and copper-periods in the German low level land.

It seems to me that THIEME has very cogently argued his case. Just as on the basis of the linguistic evidence which consists of finding out words which can be reconstructed for the Indo-European and which designate animals and trees which are characteristic of a given region -- in this instance, particularly the words for salmon fish and for beech and fir trees -- he has pointed to the north-central Europe as the home of the Indo-Europeans, he has excluded other countries whose most characteristic plants and animals have no parallers in other languages and hence cannot be considered for being the home of the Indo-European people. All these words must be looked upon as later borrowings in those respective languages which the speakers of these families came to know after they arrived in those lands. He thus excludes India as the home of the IE due to the impossibility of reconstructible words for elephant, tiger, monkey, fig-tree etc; Iran, because there are no IE words for camel, donkey, lion etc; the Mediterranean countries like Greece, Italy, Albania, France, Spain for the absence of IE words for donkey, lion, olive, vine, cypress etc.

The case for India can be excluded further on the basis of the available language situation in this country -- the concentration of Indo-Aryan languages in the north and of Dravidian languages in the south with some pockets in the north, -- the geographical knowledge from the *Ṛgveda* downwards showing gradual expansion towards east and the south from the north-west, and ancient legends pointing to invasions of the people speaking Sanskritic languages towards south rather than the other way round.

The Ṛgvedic singers seem to be more or less settled down in the land of the river Sindhu and that of the seven rivers, that is the north-western part and Punjab of the undivided India. They knew the river Gaṅgā, but the river had not then assumed the importance which it did in later Sanskrit literature. They had yet no knowledge of the lotus, the *nyagrodha*, the tiger and rice, which are all foreign to the north-west of India.

The authors of the *Atharvaveda* hymns show further advance towards east and the south. The tiger now appears as the most feared beast of prey and his skin becomes the sign of king's power.

When we come to the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* we notice that the land known as *Brahmāvarta* or the land of Kurus *(Kurukṣetra)* lying between the rivers Sarasvati and *Dṛṣadvatī* and of the Pāñcālas, the land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (the Doab) assumes importance.

The story of Videgha Māthava as narrated in the *Śat. Br.*[6] clearly points to the expansion of the Vedic Indians to the east. The fire which came out from the mouth of Videgha Māthava started from the river Sarasvatī in the west towards the river Sadānīrā (modern Gaṇḍak?) in the east. The Brāhmaṇas had never crossed the river Sadānīrā before this incident. But now they settled down[7] even to the east of the river Sadānīrā.

Similarly the legends of the sage Agastya who first burnt the Rākṣasas in the north and then destroyed those who had taken shelter in the southern direction[8], and his crossing the Vindhya mountain and settling down in the south[9] point to the expansion of the Vedic Indians to the South.

This gradual expansion of the Vedic people taking them to the newer and newer lands and their getting to know new animals and grains show clearly that they came to India from outside. If the Vedic Indians were the indigenous people there is no reason why they should not mention anything peculiar to the central, eastern and southern parts of India in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.

REFERENCES

1. *Ādarśa* is probably a mistake for *adarśa* = *adarśana* or *vinaśana* which is identified with Kurukṣetra.
2. Identified with Allahabad in D. C. *Sircar's Studies in the Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 40, 172, 173, 241 but with Rajmahal Hills in Bihar in N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionery.
3. "The Proto-Indoāryans", *JRAS*. 1973, 123-140.
4. The information from her upto p. 44 of this article is based on Paul *THIEME's Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprasche*, Wiesbaden, 1954.

5. *BSOS* 8 (1936), p. 411 ff. 6. 1.4.1.10 7. *Ibid.* 1.4.1.14-15

8. *Mbh.* 13.140.7-13 9. *Ibid.* 3.102

REFERENCES :

1. *Ādarśa* is probably a mistake for *adarśa = adarśana* or *vinaśana* which is identified with Kurukṣetra.
2. Identified with Allahabad in D. C. SIRCAR's *Studies in the Geography of Ancient India,* pp. 40, 172, 173, 241 but with Rajmahal Hills in Bihar in N. L. DEY's *Geographical Dictionary.*
3. "The Proto-Indoaryans", *JRAS,* 1973, 123-140.
4. The information from her = upto p. 44 of this article is based on Paul THIEME's *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache.* Wiesbaden, 1954.
5. *BSOS,* 8 (1936) p. 411 ff.
6. 1.4.1.10
7. *Ibid.,* 1.4.1.14-15
8. *Mbh.* 13.140.7-13
9. *Ibid.,* 3.102

WHEN KĀLIDĀSA NODS

M A. MEHENDALE

When Kālidāsa nods, he forgets to describe an important feature of a woman's face.

Kālidāsa has, on many occasions, found opportunities to describe the charms of the physical features of women. While doing so he has paid attention to practically every part of her body from hair on the head to the nails on her toes. Some of the physical features like the lower lip, the breasts, or the hips figure more frequently in his descriptions than the others, the neck (*kaṇṭha, Kumāra.* I.42) and loins (*jaṅghā. Kumāra.* I. 35) figuring probably only once.

It is therefore very surprising that Kālidāsa on no occasion makes even so much as a passing reference to a woman's nose in any of his works.

Kālidāsa's references to the limbs of women may broadly be divided into four types : (1) A limb is compared with some object, e.g. a face is said to be like a lotus (*Kumāra.* VIII.19, 23, 58[1]), the eye-brows are said to be like waves (*Megh.* 110; *Raghu.* XVI.63), the thighs appear like the trunk of a banana tree (Raghu. VI. 35; Māla. III.10), etc.; (2) A particular form or a particular quality of a limb is stressed : broadness of the eyes (*Śāk.* III.5; *Kumāra.* I.46), thinness of the waist (*Megh.* 88; *Māl.* III.17), depth of the navel (*Vikra.* IV.7; *Raghu.* XVI.63), red colour of the fingers (*Kumāra.* VII.76). etc.; (3) Describing the decoration of particular limb : a leaf or a flower is placed on the ear (*Kumāra.* III.62; IV.8), a mark of sandalwood or some other ointment is put on the forehead (*Kumāra.* V.55; VIII. 40), the feet are dyed with the *alaktaka* juice (*Vikra.* VI.16; *Kumāra.* V.68), etc.; and (4) Mention of the condition of a limb in certain situations : shoulders drooping due to fatigue (*Śāk.* I.29), breasts losing their compactness due to grief (*Śāk.* III.9), body bending down a little due to the heaviness of breasts (*Megh.* 88; *Kumāra.* III.54).

Of the different types of references noted above, it is understandable if a reference to the nose is not made in the context of decorating or ornamenting the limbs. A flower cannot be placed on a nose, nor is the nose to be dyed with red colour. Scholars are of the opinion that nose-rings or other similar ornaments for a woman's nose were not common in India before 1000 A. D.[2] But this does not mean that even the existence of the nose which forms a notable feature of the face should have been completely ignored. We find many occasions, especially in the *Kumārasaṁbhava,* where a reference to Pārvatī's nose could have easily come up.

When the religious rites in connection with Pārvatī's marriage were in progress, she leaned forward, as instructed by the priest, to bring her face close to the smoke. At that time the smoke which went past her cheek and reached the ear appeared to the poet like a blue lotus adorning it (*Kumāra.* VII.81). In this description Kālidāsa has made a reference to Pārvatī's ears, and cheeks, but not to her nose. He says that the smoke was of 'desirable fragrance' (*iṣṭagandha),* and yet he is not inclined to say that Pārvatī's nose found full satisfaction due to the agreeableness of the smell, or that, she made a little extra effort with her nose to have some more fragrance.

Pārvatī desired to have Śiva for her husband. In order to achieve this objective she began rendering service to Śiva when he was practising austerities.On one occasion, when Pārvatī was on her way to the place of Śiva's austerities, the poet found that a certain bee,whose desire was whetted by the sweetness of Pārvatī's breath, began to hover round her *bimba*-like lower lip (*Kumāra.* III.56). In this way, the closest that Kālidāsa took his bee to Pārvatī's face to have the sweet smell was her lower lip,but not a little beyond, to her nose, the very source of the fragrance!

When Pārvatī realized that mere service to Śiva was not enough to obtain him as her husband, she started practising severe austerities herself under the open sky. When rainy season arrived, the first drops of rain which fell on her head, in their downward journey, stopped for a while on her eye-lashes; next, they struck against the lower lip, and were shattered when they hit against the elevation of her breasts; from there they stumbled on the folds on her stomach, (as if on the speed-breakers) and finally reached her navel (*Kumāra.* V. 24). Thus ended the long journey of the rain-drops from head to navel with four stations in between. The description is charming no doubt. But no drop took a slightly different course to trickle down from her nose to the lower lip!

The bee in the *Śākuntala* also, like its counterpart in the *Kumārasaṁbhava,* is inclined to neglect the nose of a woman. A certain bee dared go so close to Śakuntalā's face as to touch her eyes, to hum sweetly in her ears, and even to kiss her lower lip (I. 23), but never turned its attention to her nose (to have the sweet smell which must have issued from her breath).

When a heroin of Kālidāsa, e.g. Mālavikā (IV.9) or Pārvatī (V.74), got angry her lips throbbed. In fact in the town where Pārvatī grew up, all women, when angered, twisted their eye-brows and threatened their lovers with fingers, besides expressing their emotion with throbbing lips (*Kumāra.* VI.45). But neither any of Kālidāsa's heroines, nor any other woman figuring in his works, got her nose red due to excitement!

On one occasion Kālidāsa has gone dangerously close to making a reference to his heroine's nose, but has, in fact, not. The Yakṣa of the *Meghadūta* experienced an imaginary embrace of his wife during which he felt her warm breath. Here was

an opportunity for the poet to say, if he wanted to, that their noses met. But the only thing he says is that their 'limbs met' during the close embrace (*aṅgenāṅgam ... uṣṇocchvāsaṁ samadhikatarocchvāsinā dūravartī saṁkalpais tair viśati ... Megha*. 99 (108).

The only place where Kālidāsa has actually made a direct mention of the nose, not of a female but of a male, is when, while describing Śiva practising austerities, he says that Śiva concentrated his eyes on the nose (*netraiḥ ... lakṣyīkṛtaghrāṇam ... Kumāra* III. 47; cf. *Gītā : saṁprekṣya nāsikāgraṁ svam* VI. 13).

Kālidāsa's silence on a woman's (or a man's) nose as contributing to the charm of her appearance is strange in view of the fact that in India attention was paid to nose since the Vedic times. The Dasyus are referred to as 'noseless' (*anās* RV. V. 29.10), apparently in disapproval. In Pāṇini's times the nose having a bent was called *avaṭīṭa*, *avanāṭa*, or *avabhraṭa* Pāṇini V. 2.31). A Person having the opposite of it, according to Patañjali, was a *tuṅganāsa* (on P. I. 3.2) 'having a prominent nose' or *kalyāṇanāsikī* or °*nāsikā* (fem.) (on P. IV. 1.55) 'having an agreeable nose'. In the *Mahābhārata*, Upamanyu describes Aśvinā deities as *sunasau* 'having handsome noses' and Yudhiṣṭhira is distinguished as *cārughoṇa* (I.180.20) 'having a pleasing nose'. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha assigns first place to the *nāsikā* 'nose' while giving his idea of the six limbs of Sairandhrī (Draupadī) which were 'prominent' (*ṣaḍunnatā* – Mbh. IV. 8.10 : Bom. Ed. IV. 9.10). The epic poet does not fail to call attention to the 'beautiful nose' even of a fallen hero. Indrajit's falling head is said to be *sunāsa* (Mbh. III. 273.23) as also of Aparājita, son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Mbh.VI.84.21), and Nīla (Mbh. VII.30.25).

In the light of this information it is not understandable why Kālidāsa has totally ignored a woman's nose in his works.

NOTES :

1. These references are only illustrative and not exhaustive.
2. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, 1956, pp. 301-303; P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, 1960, Vol.II, P. 153.

Some Reflections on The Raghuvaṁśa

M. A. Mehendale

1 Raghuvaṁśa 4.80 reads as : *tatrākṣobhyaṁ yaśorāśiṁ niveśyāvaruroha saḥ | paulastyatulitasyādrer ādadhāna iva hriyam //* Mallinātha interprets the stanza as follows : Raghu established a heap of his fame, which was unshakable, on the Himavant and descended from it. He thereby, as though, put to shame the Kailāsa mountain which was moved by Rāvaṇa, by not marching on it. The idea is that since the Kailāsa mountain was once moved by Rāvaṇa it had sustained defeat at his hands. Raghu did not want to invade it again since he thought it below his dignity to defeat someone who was defeated before. By the very act of non-invasion Raghu, as, though, put the Kailāsa mountain to shame *'Kailāsam agatvaiva pratinivṛtta ity arthaḥ| na hi śūrāḥ pareṇa parājitam abhiyujyanta iti bhāvaḥ|*); Shri M. R. Kale, in his edition of the Raghuvaṁśa, while elaborating the suggestion of Mallinātha remarks : "Raghu thought it beneath his dignity to advance against Kailāsa as the mountain was once overcome by Rāvaṇa who was a *Brāhmaṇa*, and therefore was not worthy of his superior prowess as a *Kṣatriya*" *(p. 102).*

This interpretation is extremely unlikely. In support of his interpretation Millinātha should have shown that all the kings who were assailed and defeated by Raghu in this expedition were such as were never defeated before by any one else. But this was not the case. Moreover it is extremely unlikely that Raghu even otherwise would be intending to attack the Kailāsa, the seat of Śiva. In addition, the above interpretation does not take into account the very significant epithet *akṣobhya* 'unassailable' used by Kālidāsa to describe Raghu's *yaśorāśi* 'heap of fame'. What the poet really intends to say is that the heap of fame established by Raghu on the

Himavant was not shakable, while the Kailāsa mountain was. This is how he put the mountain to shame.

2. Raghu. 4.72 reads as : *śaśaṁsa tulyasattvānāṁ sainyaghoṣe' py asambhramam / guhāśayānām siṁhānām parivṛtyāvalokitam //*

Mallinātha takes *avalokitam* to be the subject *(kartṛ)* and *asaṁbhramam* to be the object in the above sentence. He takes *śaṁs-* to mean 'to tell' and hence is required to supply another object 'army' (*śaśaṁsa kathayāmāsa / 'sainyebhy' ity arthāl labhyate*). Accordingly the stanza is understood by interpreters who follow Mallinātha to convey the following meaning : In spite of the din created by Raghu's army the lions' looking back by turning their necks conveyed to (the army of Raghu) the absence of any agitation of their minds (*antaḥkṣobhavirahitatvam*).

This interpretation, though grammatically possible, is extremely unlikely in the context. For, in almost all the stanzas starting from 28, either Raghu himself is the subject or something is told about him. In very few stanzas where this is not the case something is reported either about his soldiers (30, 42, 53, 55, 65, 74), or about the elephants in his army (47, 48, 57, 76), or his horses (56, 67). Hence it is not likely that in an isolated stanza the poet would choose to make the lions the subject and not Raghu.

This is avoided if we understand that it is Raghu who is the subject of *śaśaṁsa* and that *śaṁs* means 'to praise, to admire'. The stanza would then mean that Raghu praised the undisturbed looking back of the lions in spite of the din created by his army.

According to the infromation supplied in some of the editions of the text, the interpretation suggested above is, in fact, adopted by some commentators. One of them, Dinakara, for example says : *prakaraṇāt sa ity adhyāhriyate / sa Raghuḥ ... asambhramaṁ sadhairyaṁ yathā tathā parivṛtyāvalokanaṁ śaśaṁsāstauṣīt.* This interpretation is definitely to be preferred to the one given by Mallinātha for the reason stated above.

3. Two possible variant readings in canto 2.

(i) one of these variants is suggested by the commentary of Mallinātha. Its presence is felt in stanza 53. The first line, which is intended by Kālidāsa to explain the formation of the word *kṣatra*, reads as : *kṣatāt kila trāyata ity udagraḥ kṣatrasya śabdaḥ bhuvaneṣu rūḍhaḥ*. While commenting on this line Mallinātha starts with the derivation of the root noun *kṣat* from the root *kṣaṇ* 'to injure' (*hiṁsāyām*) and then adds, to explain the compound, "one who protects from destruction is *kṣatra*" (*kṣato nāśāt trāyata iti kṣatraḥ*). It is thus clear that Mallinātha looks upon the two constitutents of the compound to be *kṣat* + *tra* and not *kṣata* + *tra* as implied by the reading of the stanza given above. Mallinātha in his commentary is completely silent about the formation of the word *kṣata*. Hence we must say that he either overlooked the word *kṣata* used by Kālidāsa, or had before him a different reading of the stanza, viz. *kṣataḥ kila trāyata* ... That in his commentary as printed today the words *kṣatād ity ādinā* and *kṣatāt trāyate* also occur could be explained as an addition made by some later scribe who wanted to bring the commentary in line with the usually accepted text. That this in fact must have been the case is made clear by the fact that the scribe forgot to carry out this 'correction' a few lines later where we still read *kṣatas trāṇam* (and not *kṣatāt trāṇam*) *akurvataḥ*, which is in conformity with the suggested reading.

(ii) Another possibility of a variant reading is felt in stanza 59 of the second canto. The stanza reads as follows : *tatheti gām uktavate dilīpaḥ... haraye svadeham upānayat* ... This is naturally understood as : "To the lion who had said the words 'be it so' Dilipa offered his body". The word *go* has to be taken to mean 'speech, words'. But in the principal incident that is described in this canto we hear what is happening to Nandinī, and in that description we come across, besides of course the word *dhenu*, the word *go* to refer to her (29, 48, 61).

It is therefore very unlikely that Kālidāsa would choose to use the word *go* in this description in another sence 'speech'. Moreover, there is

no necessity to add the words *gām uktavate* after *tatheti*. This is shown by 5.59 which reads as *tathety upaspṛśya payaḥ pavitram ... saḥ ... astramantram jagrāha*. Here, after *tatheti* some other act viz. sipping the water done by the person who said *tatheti* is narrated. This is also what we expect in our stanza to take place. Hence it is suggested that the original reading possibly was *tatheti gāṁ muktavate dilīpaḥ* ... which would mean "to the lion who having said 'be it so' had released the cow ...". The lion, having said *tathā* proceeded to do something else, viz. releasing the cow. This reading also gives better sense. The lion who had agreed to Dilīpa's suggestion by saying 'be it so' had immediately acted on it and released (*muktavate*) the cow. Now it was Dilīpa's turn to fulfil his obligation which he also did by instantly offering his body to the lion.

(B) REVIEWS

Gujarāti par Arabī Phārasīnī Asar : (In Gujarātī. The influence of the Arabic and Persian Languages on Gujarātī), Part I, by C. R. NAIK, Gujarat Vidya Sabhā, Ahmedabad, 1954, pp. 12 ; 438. Price Rs. 4/8.

The modern Indian languages have been greatly influenced, particularly in vocabulary, by the Arabic and Persian languages due to the continuous Islamic rule in this country for several centuries. However, the number of words in the different Indian languages which could be traced to Perso-Arabic influence varies in different regions owing to various circumstances.[1] In the present work Dr. NAIK makes an attempt to assess the degree of the influence exerted by these foreign languages on Gujarātī. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha may be congratulated for having brought out this publication so valuable for the cultural study of Gujarat.

In the first three chapters of the book, the author describes the history, language and literature of Iran, and the arrival of foreigners in Gujarat—the topics which supply the background to the main subject. In the fourth chapter he gives his evaluation of the Perso-Arabic element in the language of Gujarat. While doing so he has not merely given the lists of borrowed words in Gujarātī. Instead, he has classified these words under suitable heads like words referring to Administration, Law, Revenue, Medicine, Agriculture, etc., and preceded each one of these lists with introductory remarks discussing at times the causes which led to these borrowings. A glance at these lists will enable the reader to appreciate the wide influence exerted by the foreigners on the life and culture of the people of Gujarat. In the last chapter we find the treatment of some topics of morphological interest such as the foreign influence on the noun-formation in Gujarātī, the use of foreign indeclinables and suffixes. There we also get a discussion of the semantic aspect in so far as the

1. In course of time many of these words became difficult for understanding and attempts were made to compile lexicons of Persian words with Sanskrit equivalents. Efforts in the other direction *viz.* to avoid the use of foreign words in a language and replace them by old indigenous words were also not unknown. For a description of these Lexicons, cf. Infiltration of Persian words in Indian Languages by Dr. M. R. MAJUMDAR, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1.89-92.

author cites instances to show how the original meaning of some foreign words was changed in modern Gujarātī. Quite interetsing is the collection of some of the Gujārati sayings which are either translations of foreign sayings or which show foreign words in their present form.

A few remarks may be made. For a proper and thorough treatment of the subject it was necessary to make a distinction between such foreign words which have completely replaced the words proper to the language and such as are used alongside the indigenous words. It does not again suffice to list together borrowed words of varied frequency in their use. In fact on a proper study it will be observed that in some cases a foreign word is used in a limited context and hence is used less often, whereas the local word finds wider employment. To take only a few instances from amongst those that have been listed together as referring to the parts of the body (pp. 277-278) we may consider such pairs: *kadam* : *pag*[2]; *kamar* : *kēḍ*; *khūn* : *lohī*; *caṣm* : *ā̃kh*; *jābān* : *jībh*; *badan* : *śarīr*. It is by no means the case that such pairs are restricted only to the words referring to the parts of the body. They can as well be formed with words given in the other lists by the author. Then again in certain cases it may be found that a borrowed word has found inclusion in the language vocabulary not because it expresses a foreign idea, but because the local word has changed its meaning or has come to be used in a narrow sense in the course of its development. Thus, for example, the word for garden *bāg* (p. 243) may have found acceptance in the language, as the derivative of the inherited word *ujāṇī* was used in the restricted sense of a picnic. Unless such careful distinction is made in the borrowed words, a casual reader is likely to overestimate the foreign influence on the language and culture of Gujarat.

The author's citing of *jāṅgh* (the printed text gives *jāṅg* which is not given in the *Joḍaṇīkośa*) by the side of Skt. *jānu* (p. 312) is not correct—the former has to be traced to Skt. *jaṅghā*. On p. 321, the author cites *raṅg* (*a*) as common to all the three languages, *viz*. Persian, Sanskrit, and Gujarātī; but this is in contradiction to the author's earlier observation in footnote 2 on p. 272 where he asserts that *raṅg* ' colour ' is a Persian word, and that Sanskrit *raṅga* is altogether a different word.

The absence of a word-index is a great handicap. The utility of works such as the present one would be greatly increased when it is supplied with a good index. As mentioned on the cover page, the present volume is the first part; but the introduction does not make clear in how many parts the subject is going to be handled, and what we may expect to read in the subsequent parts.

M. A. MEHENDALE

2. The second word in each of these pairs has not been cited by the author; he only gives the first one as a borrowing.

The Etymologies of Yāska. By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA, with the assistance of BHIM DEV SHASTRI, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series No. 5. Hoshiarpur, 1953. pp. xii, 248.

It is now generally recognised that for a proper understanding of the Ṛgveda, it is also necessary to take into account the indigenous attempts towards Vedic interpretation. Though the Nirukta of Yāska is one of the important contributions to Vedic exegesis which old Indian tradition has preserved for us, it was once customary to brush aside the testimony of Yāska as fanciful and ridiculous. Prof. VARMA has therefore rendered a signal service to the cause of Vedic studies by undertaking a very painstaking and scholarly examination of the etymologies of Yāska and by telling us which of these etymologies may be regarded as acceptable and which not from the stand-point of comparative philology. The present work is not a mere restatement of Yāska's etymologies, not a hasty decision on them, but a careful evaluation of Yāska's views in the light of Indo-European parallels. All things taken together, the author gives his judgment that the Nirukta may be called a treatise ' on primitive Vedic etymology '.

When one reads the etymologies of Yāska one cannot help feeling that the whole science is reduced to the following—a given number of words to be necessarily derived from a given number of verbs on the basis of the similarity of meaning or that of the letters. The bad results which arise out of such mechanism have been well demonstrated by the author on p. 19 ff. The second chapter of the book, of which these pages form a part, show in the first instance "that Yāska's etymologies had a sound scientific basis. He (*i.e.* Yāska) has evinced a considerable grasp of phonological principles which formed the background of the Vedic language." But the analysis in this chapter also reveals that "on the whole, the etymologies of Yāska are of primitive type, bearing the stamp of the age in which he lived and, consequently, showing no trace of that comparative historical outlook which crowns the achievements of modern linguistics."

The third chapter forms the basis of the whole study as it goes on to classify the etymologies of Yāska under various types such as (*i*) etymologies based on contamination, (*ii*) etymologies betraying mechanical nature, (*iii*) etymologies indicating Yāska's poverty of imagination, etc. This whole classification is based on a critical and systematic examination of the data, and it speaks volumes for the scientific outlook and the learning of the author. This chapter shows that roughly 1/6 of the etymologies of Yāska are entirely acceptable, 2/3 are primitive, and 1/3 obscure.

The fourth chapter on "Yāska and the Padakāras" was undertaken at the suggestion of Prof. Vishva Bandhu SHASTRI, and written on the basis of the material collected by Prof. Bhim Dev SHASTRI. We are extremely thankful to Prof. SHASTRI for his brilliant suggestion, for this chapter gives abundant material for further research which will lead us nearer to the correct interpretation of the Ṛgveda. The chapter first attempts to give the conventions of the Padakāra observed in the analysis of words and then a discussion of the analysis made by Yāska in the light of these conventions. Yāska knew Padapāṭha no doubt, but he was not a blind follower of the views of its author as can be seen from the few occasions on which he disagrees with the Padapāṭha.

The book includes some very useful indices like an index of words etymologised by Yāska, an index of the basic vocabulary of Yāska's etymologies, and an index of comparative linguistic vocabulary.

While trying to establish that some of the etymologies of Yāska show that he was far in advance of his times (pp. 4-6), the author gives on p. 5 the instance of *kaṇṭaka* which Yāska derives from √*kṛnt* (Nirukta 9.32. This etymology is not given in Rajwade's edition of the Nirukta with Marathi translation). This derivation shows, as it were, that Yāska was aware of the famous law of cerebralisation in OIA. But a little later while demonstrating how Yāska's etmyologies are primitive (pp. 19-22), the author cites on p. 20 the instance *daṇḍa* which Yāska derives from √*dad* and Aupamanyava from √*dam*, which according to the author, betrays the ignorance of the origin of cerebrals. It would therefore be legitimate to regard that the etymology of *kaṇṭaka* from √*kṛnt* suggested by Yāska takes no notice of cerebralisation, but is an etymology based merely on the similarity of sound and sense. Under type C (p. 36 ff.), in the classification of etymologies, are brought together words the etymologies of which show, in the opinion of the author, Yāska's poverty of imagination. Among these we fined *ṛkṣa* (p. 37) which Yāska (3.20) derives from √*ṛ*(*īr*) and √*khyā*. The etymology of Yāska may not be correct; but it should be noted that it is based on the pronunciation of *kṣ* as *khy* known also to the author of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (see, SCHEFTELOWITZ, *IF* 46.249, 1928). Similarly type U (p. 122 ff.) brings togeher words the etymologies of which are pronounced to be obscure. Among these one notices *nāsatyā* (p. 137), for which

three etymologies are mentioned in the Nirukta 6.13. One of these, and perhaps the one preferred by Yāska, says that *nāsatyā* are so-called as they were born of the nose (*nāsikāprabhavau babhūvatuḥ*). The author notes that according to WÜST the word is to be derived from √*nas* to associate, Indo-Eur. *nes-* to return, Gr. *néomai* 'I return home'. But H. LOMMEL has recently shown in an article contributed to Schubring Commemoration Volume[1] (pp. 29-31) that the etymology referring to the birth from nose is based on a myth given in the Bṛhaddevatā and the later Purāṇas, and that the use of the suffix *-tyo* is attested since Indo-European times for the formation of words which show origin or descent. In chapter IV, section d, are collected together words not analysed by the Padapāṭha. We may as well note that *dámūnas* has not been analysed by the Padapāṭha, as it also leaves without analysis *viśpátnī* (like *viśpáti* which is recorded on p. 172).

M. A. MEHENDALE

Prākṛta Bhāṣā (In Hindi) ; A series of three lectures delivered under the auspices of the Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama at the Banaras Hindu University, by Prabodh Bechardas PANDIT. Banaras, 1954, pp. 58, Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The organisers of the Shri Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama may be congratulated for having arranged a series of lectures on a topic connected with Jaina religion and Prākṛta languages as one of their various academic undertakings. They certainly acted properly in securing the known linguist and Prākṛta scholar of Gujarat, Dr. P. B. PANDIT, to deliver the first series of the lectures on the middle Indian dialects. The importance of a scientific study of these dialects now needs hardly any emphasis. For, without such a study, as the publisher observes in his introductory remarks, a proper linguistic assessment of the modern Indo-Āryan languages will not be possible.

In his first lecture the lecturer does well to give the historical background of the Prākṛtas by showing the relationship which Saṁskṛta, as the representative of the Old Indo-Aryan period, has with the other Indo-European languages. In the second lecture we get the description of the several middle Indian dialects in their geographical distribution. At one place the lecturer has rightly stressed the point that it is not proper to differentiate between languages if they differ from one another in only one or two phonetic features. The last lecture is devoted to narrate the

further development of the middle Indian stage. In this regard the lecturer puts forth two important ideas. In the first place the literature available today does not make it possible to get a clear picture of the further development of the Prākṛtas in the various geographical areas. If the literature in those days had not developed in isolation from the people, if it had treated of the subjects directly concerning the people, we would have been fortunate today to receive specimens of many Prākṛtas which must have been in use in those days in different parts of the country. The second point stressed by the lecturer is that the phonetic changes witnessed in the development of MIA (and for that matter also of OIA) are not absolute innovations. Such changes had already started in the language as a matter of natural course. The contact with the speakers of the other linguistic families in India may have only helped the rapid spread of these changes. It is, therefore, inaccurate to say that the middle Indic phonetic changes (and the morphological changes arising out of them) were due to the ignorance or the laziness of the people who spoke them. Before closing the series, the lecturer has expressed hope that it would be possible for the Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama and other similar institutions to take up the publication of good editions of Jaina canonical literature. Such editions should be furnished with an accurate description of the language and a vocabulary which would ultimately lead to the compilation of a broad-based Prākṛta grammar.

On p. 21, the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and the Mānsehrā versions of the Aśokan rock edicts are said to belong to the north-east, which is obviously a mistake due to oversight. On the same page, these versions are twice correctly referred to as belonging to the north-west. The reasons given on pp. 7-8, while discussing as to why the works belonging to the Vedic period were not written down, may not represent the correct state of affairs. The explanation may not be sought in the limited knowledge of the script or in the attempt of the Brāhmaṇas to monopolise the knowledge of the intricate Vedic ritual, but into the fact that written texts easily lead to variations, a thing which had to be scrupulously avoided in order to ensure the efficacy of the sacrifices. In the second lecture, the lecturer has attempted a geographical description of the Prākṛtas on the basis of the Aśokan inscriptions. This may be done, but only after a critical examination of the data enabling us to fix what really constitutes the eastern or the western, etc. In this respect it may be permitted to refer to an article published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 240-44 showing that certain exceptional features occurring in the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa separate edicts are not eastern but north-western.

—M. A. MEHENDALE.

Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons Von Heinrich LUEDERS. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Ernst WALDSCHMIDT. Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 10, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1954, pp. 196, Price DM 19/-.

It is always a matter of great pleasure to get to read a book by LUEDERS. It is indeed to be regretted that a part of what LUEDERS wrote could not be published during his life time. The result is that some of his complete works like the edition of the Udānavarga have been altogether destroyed and even his other works which are now being published by his pupils were damaged in part. The editor's work for the present volume must have been particularly difficult as the work was not finalised by LUEDERS himself. When the Nachlass came to the editor's hands, the pages were not numbered, the book not divided into chapters, and the beginning of the manuscript completely lost. In spite of these difficulties, the editor has done his work exceedingly well and he deserves congratulations and thanks of all lovers of Indological research. He has not simply put the material of the Nachlass into proper shape; he has also made the book more valuable by referring in footnotes to such paragraphs from GEIGER's *Pāli Litteratur und Sprache* as give additional material which was not found in LUEDERS' manuscript. He also gives suitable references to EDGERTON's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary.*

In his Zum Geleit the editor elucidates in short the view held by LUEDERS as regards the language of the supposed original canon of Buddhism. On the basis of the comparison of the Udānavarga verses from the Turfan fragments with their parallels in the Pāli version LUEDERS had come to the conclusion quite early (see references p. 7, footnote 4) that both the Sanskrit and the Pāli texts go back to an original which was composed in the eastern dialect. There has been some controversy regarding this view. Recently EDGERTON in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* has expressed the opinion that we cannot at all speak of an 'original language' of Buddhism. Though LUEDERS had made known his opinion early he had not then published the detailed investigation of the problem which we find in the present work. This collected evidence, well substantiated on facts, should go some way to persuade the opponents of LUEDERS' theory to reconsider their opinion.

The book has been divided into two major parts to which is added a small Anhang discussing some verses from the Udānavarga. The first

part enumerates the various instances from Pāli in which it is possible to discern the eastern influence, and the second part furnishes the picture of the phonology and the morphology of the language of the original canon. As I propose to give a detailed review of the second part at some other place, the present account is restricted only to the first part of the book. It is well known that the most striking elements of the eastern language are nom. sg. ending *-e* and *l* for *r*. In the first part LUEDERS has brought together such instances from Pāli where he finds the influence of these two eastern characteristics and successfully shows that the passages containing these instances yield good sense only when we suppose that they are based on an original eastern version.

The following remarks are therefore offered not in a spirit to controvert the main conclusion of LUEDERS but to elucidate certain points in the material handled by him.

1. § 10, p. 17 : In Jātaka 388,1 we have a word *dāni* in line 1. For this the Simhalese manuscripts read *dāne* and LUEDERS is right in thinking that this is the correct reading. In the translation of the verse, however, LUEDERS renders *dāni* by 'jetzt'. Pāli *dāni* for eastern *dāne* shows a change of *-e* > *-i* probably indicating, as suggested by LUEDERS, short pronunciation of *-e*. This change is witnessed also in the north-western inscriptions of Aśoka. cf. *duvi* for *duve* (*dve*), *aṁñi* for *aṁñe* (*anyaḥ*), *rajani* for *rajane* (*rājānaḥ*). We also get a similar instance from a version of the minor rock edict, probably under north-western influence. cf. *upeti* for *upete* (*upetaḥ*) in the Kopbāḷ version. For Pāli *hemantagimhisu* for *-gimhesu* (cited on p. 17, f.n. 3) we have an exact parallel in *pavatisu* for *pavatesu* in the Rūpnāth version of the minor edict.[1]

2. § 14, pp. 19-20 : LUEDERS has shown convincingly that the Mahāvastu (II. 238. 17) translator had mistaken *aṇumatte hi* of the original eastern version as one word (*aṇumattehi* instr. pl.) and misconstrued it as adj. to *punnehi*. He, therefore, translated it into Sanskrit as *aṇumātraiḥ puṇyaiḥ*. The whole line then read as—

aṇumātraiḥ puṇyaiḥ artho mahyaṁ na vidyati.

LUEDERS further observes that the translator while doing so did not pay attention to the fact that in putting *aṇumātraiḥ puṇyaiḥ* (6 syllables) for *aṇumatte hi punnehi* (8 syllables) he had shortened the first quarter of the line by two syllables. This is true so far as the written form goes. But perhaps this fact may show that the visarga preceded by the diph-

1. For a similar tendency to change *e*>*i* in the Niya Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada see BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, § 1.

thong was pronounced as *hi* (*-aiḥ* as *-aihi*) exactly as it is done today in single words at least in Mahārāṣṭra. Hence even though the two words give six syllables in the written form, they were probably pronounced as *aṇumātraihi puṇyaihi* even in a metrical line in order to get eight syllables. This again seems to have been the reason why no sandhi was made between *puṇyaiḥ* and *artho* (= *puṇyairartho*), for that would reduce the pāda by one syllable. LUEDERS is certainly right when he says that in the Lalitavistara version (261.18) there occurred loss of a syllable when *punnehi* was translated by *puṇyaiḥ* because there sandhi was effected between the visarga and the following *a*. This loss of a syllable was then made good by the addition of *me*. cf. *aṇumātraṁ hi me puṇyair artho Māra na vidyate.*

3. § 15, pp. 20-21 : Among the cases where the eastern nom. sg. *-e* was mistaken by the Pāli translator as loc. sg., LUEDERS lists *kule bhadde* which occurs thrice in Jātaka 531.50-52. On p. 21 he observes that in verse 51 the interpretation of *kule bhadde* as loc. sg. seems justified and that this gave occasion to look upon the two words as loc. sg. in form also in verses 50 and 52 where, in the opinion of LUEDERS, they are not justified and where they have to be interpreted as nom. sg. It is a little difficult to believe that the interpretation which is regarded as justified for the middle stanza (51) should have influenced the interpretation of the stanza previous to it (50).

Hence it may be pointed out that the interpretation of the two words as loc. sg. also seems justified in the first verse 50 (p. 21) which begins with the word *yathassu* (for *yatthassu*? FAUSBOELL gives *yatth' assu*). This word meaning 'where' can be more easily connected with *kule bhadde* as loc. sg. than with nom. sg. (*yattha khattiyānaṁ kule bhadde bherī nadati* etc.). It is even possible that this *yattha* coming at the beginning of the first (50) of these three verses is also to be construed with the following two verses (51, 52). Thus when *kule bhadde* is justified as loc. sg. in the first two verses 50 and 51, it is natural to anticipate that it is justified also in the third verse 52. And this in fact actually seems to be the case. With the supposition of *yattha* from verse 50, *kule bhadde* as loc. sg. give good sense here also. The mistaken nom. singulars in stanza 52 are, therefore, not *kule bhadde*, but *-abhirude* and *-nikuñjite* occurring in line one of that verse because as loc. sg. they make no sense. They are thus to be interpreted not as participles used adjectively qualifying *kule*, but as substantives. What is expressed in the other two verses with the use of verb forms *nadati, nikuñjati, hiṁsati,* and *uparodati* is expressed here with the help of verbal derivatives. *abhiruta* and *nikuñjita* are not noted in the PTS Dictionary as substantives, but it gives *ruta* (and *ruda*) as a noun. In Sanskrit, according to

the PW, *abhiruta* and *kūjita* are attested as nouns since Rāmāyaṇa. The verse is, therefore, to be translated as—"(where) in the happy house of the Kṣatriyas there is the noise of peacocks and krauñca birds and the cries of cuckoos—what is happier than that?"

4. § 17, pp. 21-22 : LUEDERS very ingeneously points out that in the Sutta-Nipāta 453 (= Theragāthā 1229) *atthe* and *dhamme* occur as misunderstood loc. singulars. They should have been *attho* and *dhammo* (both nom. sg.) respectively. However, his reconstruction (p. 22) of the line from the parallel passage in the Udānavarga 8.14 as found in the old C_1 manuscript of Berlin is not quite convincing. Actually the line has been read as—

> [*sa*] *tya*........*rm. ca saṃ*......*pra*[*t*]‿*iṣ*[*ṭh*]*i* . . [*m*]/
>
> LUEDERS suggests the reconstruction of the line as—
>
> *satyām arthe ca dharme ca santa āhuḥ pratiṣṭhitām*/

where *satyām* and *pratiṣṭhitām* appear as fem. This makes it necessary to supply *vācām* (going with *satyām*) from *vācā* occurring in the first half of the verse (*saccaṁ ve amatā vācā esa dhammo sanantano*). But would it not be more natural to reconstruct the line as *satyam arthe ca dharme ca*.... *pratiṣṭhitam* (neut.) since the first word, so far as it is legible, does not show the length of the vowel in the second syllable ? The Tibetan translation noted by LUEDERS on p. 22, f.n. 2 also points to *satyaṁ*....*pratiṣṭhitam.* Obviously LUEDERS suggested *satyāṁ* (*vācāṁ*) *pratiṣṭhitām* (fem.) because in the ms. F he found *vācaṁ*, cf. *satyam arthe ca dharme ca vācaṁ āhuḥ pratiṣṭhitām* as also in ms. x [*ca*] *dharme ca vācam* [*ā*]-. But in these manuscripts *vācam* has nothing to do with *satyam;* it is to be construed, together with *pratiṣṭhitām,* with *āhuḥ* which follows it immediately. Thus *satyam arthe ca dharme ca* (*iti*) *pratiṣṭhitām vācaṁ* (*santa*) *āhuḥ* would give good sense. With *vācam āhuḥ* we may compare *vācaṁ bhāseyya* and *bhāsatī vācaṁ,* Sutta-Nipāta 451 and 454; or *śiṣyaṁ āha sthitaṁ pārśve Bhāradvājam idaṁ vacaḥ,* Rāmāyaṇa 1.2.20.

5. § 21, pp. 24-27 : Under cases of the misunderstood loc. sg. LUEDERS notes *bhūmivaḍḍhano* (Jātaka 538.51), nom. sg., which in his opinion should have been *bhūmivaḍḍhane,* loc. sg. (The line runs as—*nihato nūna me putto pathavyā bhūmivaḍḍhano*). LUEDERS starts from Pāli *vaḍḍheti* which, as rightly pointed out by him, is used about 'Aufhaüfen eines Breis in einer Schüssel'. Therefore, *bhūmivaḍḍhana,* according to him, means 'Erdanhäufung' or 'Grab'. This he connects with *nihato* which in his opinion is either a wrong translation of *nighāde* or a corruption of *nikhāto.* LUEDERS therefore translates the line as—'sicherlich ist mein Sohn in der Erde in dem Grabe eingegraben'.

This interpretation is not quite convincing. In the first instance, it compels us to presume that *nihato* is a wrong translation of *nighāde* or a corruption of *nikhāto*. Secondly, on this presumption *nihato* through *nikhāto* is to be derived from *ni√khaṇa*–[2] which is not very natural, because it seems difficult to separate *nihato* from *nihantvāna*[3] occurring in the first half of the verse (*ayaṁ so sārathi eti nihantvāna mam' atrajaṁ*) and LUEDERS does not seem to object to its derivation from *ni√hana*. Of course it can as well be said that *nihantvāna* is also a corruption of *nikhantvāna*, but this LUEDERS does not do. Thirdly, in this construction *nihato* and *bhūmivaḍḍhane* (actual text –*vaḍḍhano*) which are brought together stand very much apart. It may, therefore, be suggested that √*vaḍḍha* is here used in its usual sense 'to increase'. *vaḍḍhana* can then mean both increasing or causing to increase (Pā. 3.1.134), in the present instance the latter. *bhūmivaḍḍhana*, lit. 'one who increases the earth', may have been used as an euphimistic expression for a person buried in ground as thereby he may be regarded to cause the earth of the ground to increase. This may have been specially said of a person who was regarded as deaf, dumb, and a fool, and otherwise of no use to the people. The expression *paṭhavivaḍḍhanakakamma* which comes at the end of the instructions given by the king to the charioteer can also have similar meaning, 'the act of increasing the earth (by burying the prince in the ground)'. Thus *bhūmivaḍḍhano* as nom. sg. and adj. to *putto* seems quite satisfactory in the present verse.

6. § 37, pp. 38-39 : § 37—§ 86 are devoted to showing the cases where *l* in Pāli may be traced to the eastern influence. In the beginning, however, LUEDERS examines those instances which seem to be doubtful and where forms with *l* could be regarded as regular Pāli forms. To begin with in § 37 he takes the case of *gilati*: *girati* 'to swallow' about which he concludes—"Wie im Sk. können aber auch im Pāli *gilati* und *girati* nebeneinander bestanden haben."

The instances examined by LUEDERS in this article, however, seem to show that the two forms were not promiscuously used. In fact they show that the two forms were used to express opposite meanings. Thus

2. Forms of √*khaṇa* occur many times in Gāthās 3, 4, etc., and also in the prose narration. Hence it may be tempting to connect *nihato* with *ni√khaṇa*. It is, however, a little difficult to say why exactly here the corruption took place when forms of √*khaṇa* have been well preserved at other places in this Jātaka. But even if we regard *nihato* as a corruption of *nikhāto* or a wrong translation of *nighāde* (cf. *nighaññasi* in G. 8) it is not necessary to take *bhūmivaḍḍhano* as a mistake for –*vaḍḍhane*. With the meaning of *bhūmivaḍḍhana* here proposed the line can be translated as 'Indeed is my son, the increaser of the earth, buried in the ground'.

3. *nihantvāna* occurs also in Gāthā 52 and *nihaññamāno* in Gāthâs, 54, 55.

√*gila* (also when prefixed with *o, ni, pari*) was used to express 'to swallow', while √*gira* (with the prefix *ut*) gave the opposite sense 'to vomit, to spit out, etc.'. Therefore the proper Pāli word for 'to vomit' would be √*uggira* (with *r*) cited by LUEDERS from the Udāna II, 6, etc. (p. 39). When against this we get √*uggila* (with *l*) 'to vomit out' in Pāli (cf. Majjhimanikāya 1,393, Saṁyuttanikāya IV. 323, and Jātaka 436.4), then these may not be regarded as doubtful cases. They can be definitely looked upon as coming in Pāli due to eastern influence.[4]

According to the available dictionaries *ud*√*gil* never occurs even in Sanskrit in the sense 'to vomit out, to spit out, eject, etc.', to express which we have *ud*√*gir*. However, *udgāla* in the sense of 'vomiting out' has been noted in the SCHMIDT'S *Nachträge* as occurring in the late work Yaśastilakacampū of Somadeva 1.94 and 3.180-181 (p. 434, line 1). But in both these cases the word occurs with *l* for the sake of alliteration.[5] Cf. *kaṇṭhāntaḥ-pravilagna-śalya-śakal-odgāla-skhalat-kukṣayaḥ* and *ghaṭadāsīnāṁ hi vadanasaurabhaṁ svāmitāmbūlodgālān*[6] *na saubhāgyabalāt*. (This alliteration in end syllables is continued also in the following phrases, cf. *prasūnavanasaṁsargān na nisargāt, bṛhadbhānubhāvān na svabhāvāt*, etc.). From the text, the word has also gone to the commentary while explaining the text-word *vigīrṇa* 1.82. cf. *tena vigīrṇā udgīrṇā udgālitā ye phenāḥ......Yamena pūrvaṁ mṛtakāni bhakṣitāni paścād udgālaḥ kṛta ity arthaḥ*. The word *udgāla* 'vomiting' is further noted in the Skt. lexicon Vaijayantī 183.126 (*udgālo vamathūdgārau*) only.

7. § 47, pp. 47-48 : LUEDERS discusses here *eḷamūga* in a group of allied words. The citations from the Pāli literature make it clear that *eḷamūga* means 'an idiot, a fool'.[7] As LUEDERS points out the word is not attested in Sanskrit literature[8] and the meanings given to *eḍamūka* by the Sanskrit Lexicons[9] do not help us at all in explaining the word. LUEDERS is

4. That seems to be the reason why the Burmese manuscripts show *uggīri* for *uggili* in Jātaka 436.4, mentioned by LUEDERS on p. 39, f.n. 3.

5. It is also possible that *udgāla* was being mixed up with *ud*√*gal* – 'to trickle out, drop out, etc.'That would also explain *uggaliadabbhakavalā miā* (*udgalitadarbhakavalā mṛgāḥ*) in the Śākuntala IV. 12.

6. SCHMIDT's equating *udgāla* with 'Geniessen von Ausgespieenem' with a question mark is obviously wrong.

7. The meaning 'deaf and dumb' given by DUTOIT in translating Jātaka 546 (II) 69 and 20 and seemingly supported by LUEDERS in f.n. 1, p. 48 by referring to Jātaka 546 (II) 13 is not supported as in the last instance the reading is not certain.

8. It may, however, be pointed out that *anelamūka*, as mentioned in the *Nachträge*, occurs in the sense 'taubstumm' in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita 6.10, and probably in the sense 'stumpfsinning' in the Harṣacarita (1936) 28.2.

9. To the references given by LUEDERS may be added Rabhasa cited by the commentator on Amara 3.1.38, who also gives the meaning *śaṭha* for *eḍamūka*.

therefore, favourably disposed towards the suggestion made by BOEHTLINGK-ROTH in PW that Skt. *eḍamūka* contains *eḍa* 'sheep' and therefore it means 'dumb like a sheep'. LUEDERS further observes that the meaning 'idiot' attested in Pāli can be easily had from 'dumb like a sheep'. That is true; but being 'dumb' is not in any way a special characteristic of sheep and hence, while explaining the word it would not be sound to proceed from the meaning 'dumb like a sheep'. In fact the word seems to be definitely not known to old Sanskrit literature. Starting, therefore, from the surer meaning 'idiot' attested in Pāli literature it may be suggested that the latter part *mūga* of the compound *eḷamūga* may not have anything to do with *mūka* 'dumb', but that it may go back to Sk. *mūrkha* 'fool': *eḍamūrkha* > *eḷamukkha* > *eḷamukka* > *eḷamūka* > *eḷamūga*. The word would then literally mean 'fool or simpleton like a sheep'. In that case *eḍamūka* would appear as wrong Sanskritisation of Pāli *eḷamūga*.

So far as the form *mūka* < *mūrkha*[10] is concerned, instances of loss aspiration are witnessed both in Pāli and Prākrit, GEIGER § 62 (also § 40) cites *ikka* < *ṛkṣa*, *Takkasilā* < *Takṣaśilā*, etc.; PISCHEL § 213 gives *saṅkalā* Amg, JM, Ś < *śṛṅkhalā*, but *saṅkhalā* M, Ś, *śaṅkhalā* Mg, etc, and § 302 *sakkuli* and *saṁkuli* < *śaṣkuli; sukka* Amg, JM < *śuṣka*, but *sukkha* M, Amg, Ś, *śuska* Mg, etc. The change *k* > *g* occurs in Pāli, and it has been noted by LUEDERS as an eastern characteristic in § 87 and f.n. 1, GEIGER § 38. He also considers in § 122-§ 132 (see also p. 102, f.n. 2) certain cases of hyper-Pālism in which *k* appears for *g*. Thus from the formal point of view there is nothing objectionable in deriving *eḷamūga* from *eḍamūrkha*.[11]

Under *eḷa* in *eḷamūga* PTS Dictionary observes as follows :—"A rather strange use and explanation of eḷamūga (with reference to a snake "spitting") we find at J III.347 where it is explained as "eḷa-paggharantena mukhena eḷamūgaṁ", i.e., called eḷamūga because of the saliva (foam?) dripping from its mouth, v.l. elamukha." This explanation of the commentator is obviously mistaken. *eḷa* does not mean saliva or foam, and secondly this sounds a very strange description of a serpent. In the Gāthās the serpent is otherwise described only as *kaṇha, uggateja*,

10. LUEDERS does not discuss the loss of aspiration as a regional characteristic. It may be pointed out that in the inscriptions of Aśoka the loss of aspiration is noted in the Girnar version in the forms of the root √*tiṣṭh*–, cf. √*tiṣṭa* G, but *tiṭha* or *ciṭha* in other versions; also cf. *sesṭa* (*śreṣṭha*) G, but *sreṭha* Shah; Man., *seṭha* Kal; *gharasta* (*gṛhastha*) G, but *gahatha* Man., Kal., *grahatha* Shah, *gihitha* Top. The form *idha* in the Girnar version (and once in the Dhauli) as against *hida* of the remaining versions is the case of an old preservation.

11. Ś and Mg give *mukkha* (PISCHEL § 287), and *murukkha* is noted for the eastern language by Mārkaṇḍeya (§ 139) and Śaurasenī (§ 131).

and *āsīvisa*. The commentator was forced to explain away somehow *eḷamūgaṁ* as he took it to be an adjective of *uragaṁ*. The instances collected by LUEDERS in article § 47, however, show that *eḷamūga* at all places means 'a fool' and that it is used to characterise human beings and not animals. The present occurrence cannot be regarded as a solitary exception to the general use and hence it seems very likely that originally the word stood in the Gāthā as a vocative *eḷamūga*, an adjective of Brāhmaṇa.

Addressing the Brāhmaṇa as *eḷamūga* 'a fool' agrees well with the fact that in the Jātaka story the mind of the Brāhmaṇa was worried about the possible cause of his own death or that of his wife when he was himself unknowingly carrying a serpent in his bag. In Gāthā 1 he is, therefore, thus described—*vibbhantacitto kupitindriyo si*, DUTOIT—"Verwirrt ist dir der Geist, ängstlich der Sinn" (whence also the commencement of the Jātaka *vibbhantacitto ti*). The Gāthā in which *eḷamūgaṁ* occurs reads as :

ādāya daṇḍaṁ parisumbha bhastaṁ,
pass' eḷamūgaṁ uragaṁ dijivhaṁ/
chind' ajja kaṁkhaṁ vicikicchitāni,
bhujaṅgamaṁ passa, pamuñca bhastaṁ//

DUTOIT, "Nimm einen Stock und schlage auf den Ranzen;
du siehst die Schlange geifernd, doppelzüngig.
Gib heute auf die ängstlichkeit, den Zweifel;
sieh auf die Schlange, öffne deinen Ranzen!"

But as suggested above *eḷamūgaṁ* should be read as *eḷamūga* 'oh fool' referring to the Brāhmaṇa. *eḷamūga* (voc.) was subjected to the corruption *eḷamūgaṁ* (acc.) possibly because the metre required the fifth syllable to be long and also because the two words *uragaṁ dijivhaṁ* following *eḷamūga* were acc. sg. LUEDERS himself has put forward (§ 125, p. 103) a somewhat similar suggestion while explaining *ajakaraṁ* occurring in Jātaka 427.2. He suggests that *ajakaraṁ* may be regarded as a metrical emendation for *ajakara-* (just as in the present case it has been suggested to treat the reading *eḷamūgaṁ* as a metrical error for *eḷamūga*).

But the commentator's explanation interests us for another reason. How did he come to explain the latter part of the compound *eḷamūga* with the use of the word *mukha* ? For that speaks the v.l. *elamukha* which is the same as *eḷamukha*. Shall we therefore suppose that the commentator had before him the reading *eḷamukha* and hence he offered a curious explanation of the word with the use of the word *mukha* ? Actually, however, this *eḷamukha* in writing must have represented *eḷamukkha* (< *eḍa-*

mūrkha) (note that the metre requires the fourth syllable to be long) and herein we get further support for our suggestion that *eḷamūga* through *eḷamukkha* comes from *eḷamūrkha.*

Under *eḷamūga* (§ 47) LUEDERS does not treat the above passage. Perhaps he wanted to restrict his remarks in the present article to *eḷa* and discuss *mūga* later while dealing with the change $k > g$ (§ 87). This becomes evident from the following remarks of the editor given in f.n. 1 on p. 77—"Auf einem Zettel, der dem Papier und der Schrift nach älter als das eigentliche Manuscript ist, hat Lüders unter der Überschrift ‚*k* wird *g*' *mūga* und *eḷamūga* vermerkt. Für *eḷamūga* hat er dort die Bedeutung, ‚geifernd' gegeben und scheint bei diesem Ansatz an Wurzel *muc* gedacht zu haben." The meaning ‚geifernd' given to *eḷamūga* by LUEDERS obviously refers to the above passage. But this sudden change in the meaning is not warranted, and as shown above *eḷamūga* is used with reference to the Brāhmaṇa and not the serpent.

That *mūga* (< *mūrkha*) 'a fool' is not merely a supposition but has been actually used in Pāli can be shown at least from one passage in the Mūgapakkhajātaka (VI, 538). That in this Jātaka the usual word *mūga* = *mūka* 'dumb' is also used is clear from the following Gāthā 33 (p. 16) :—

nāhaṁ asandhitā pakkho, na badhiro asotatā/
nāhaṁ ajivhatā mūgo ......

DUTOIT, "Nicht bin an Gliedern ich ein krüppel,
nicht taub, weil kein Gehör ich habe,
nicht stumm, weil mir die Zunge fehlt;
...."

The word *mūga* occurs also in many other Gāthās (4, 5, 38, 58) in this Jātaka where it seems to be used in the sense of 'dumb'. The behaviour of prince Temiya as 'dumb' is also assured by the question put to him by the charioteer—*kasmā pituc ca mātuc ca santike na bhaṇī tadā* (Gāthā 32, also 61), DUTOIT, "Weswegen sprachst du früher nicht bei deinem Vater, deiner Mutter?", as also by the use of the expression *vissaṭṭhavacano* (Gāthā 58, 62) 'ganz frei vermag er ja zu sprechen' or 'der Stimme ist er mächtig' (DUTOIT) in describing the prince. But the fact that *mūga* = *mūrkha* 'fool' is also used in this Jātaka becomes clear from the last quarter of the Gāthā 33 cited above—(*nāhaṁ ajivhatā mūgo*), *mā maṁ mūgam adhārayi.* DUTOIT renders the line as "(nicht stumm, weil mir die Zunge fehlt) ; erkenne mich nicht an als stumm". This rendering of *mūga* 'stumm' in the last quarter cannot be correct because there is no point in asserting twice that the prince, especially when he was speaking

the Gāthā himself, was not dumb. That he was not dumb has been already asserted in the first quarter of the second line, and now the word *mūga* coming again in the second quarter must have been used to deny some other supposed drawback in the prince. That this drawback was nothing but his feigned acting as a fool (hence here *mūga* = *mūrkha*) is shown by the very first Gāthā in this Jātaka where a goddess advised the prince to behave as—

mā paṇḍicciyaṁ vibhāvaya, b ā l a m a t o bhava sabbapāṇinaṁ/
sabbo taṁ jano ocināyatu, evaṁ tava attho bhavissati//

DUTOIT, "Nicht deine Weisheit lasse sehen,
als T o r werde geschätzt bei allen Wesen.
Das ganze Volk soll dich verachten;
so wird dein Zweck dir in Erfüllung gehen."

Similarly Gāthā 4 tells us that the prince was not only taken to be physically disabled but also as *a c e t a s a* 'u n v e r n ü n f t i g. Later, when it was discovered that the prince was not really as he pretended to be, he was called *p a ñ ñ o* 'w e i s'. These references clearly show that the prince for some years not only behaved like deaf, dumb, and crippled but also as a fool.[12] That is the reason why having denied crippleness, deafness and dumbness in the first three quarters of the Gāthā, he asked the charioteer not to mistake him for a fool (*mā maṁ mūgaṁ* (= *mūrkhaṁ*) *adhārayi*) in the last quarter of the Gāthā.

Now that the meaning of *mūga* = *mūrkha* has been ascertained for Gāthā 33, it may be examined if in some of the other Gāthās also in this Jātaka *mūga* means not 'dumb' but 'fool'. In Gāthā 4 where *mūga* and *acetasa* both occur, *mūga* definitely stands for *mūka* 'dumb'. But in Gāthā 38 where only *mūga* and *pakkha* occur, though the prince had shown in all four deficiencies, it is possible that *pakkha* stands for the three physical disabilities (*mūga, badhira,* and *pakkha*), and that *mūga* stands for the mental one alone viz. foolishness (cf. *amūgo mūgavaṇṇena, apakkho pakkhasammato*). In Gāthā 58 we read *na so mūgo na so pakkho, vissaṭṭhavacano ca so.* Here if we do not regard *vissaṭṭhavacano* as a further elaboration of *na so mūgo* (*mūko*), then that expression alone

12. The prose portion immediately preceding Gāthā 1 tells us that the goddess told the prince to act as a fool by taking recourse to the three physical deficiencies of crippleness, deafness, and dumbness :—*apīṭhasappī yeva pīṭhasappī viya hohi, abadhiro badhiro viya hohi, amūgo va mūgo viya hohi* (printed as *hoti*), *imāni tīṇi aṅgāni adhiṭṭhāya paṇḍitabhāvaṁ mā pakāsayi* (DUTOIT, ". . . . so werde, obwohl du kein verwachsener krüppel bist, wie ein verwachsener krüppel; obwohl du nicht stumm bist, sei, als wärest du stumm; obwohl nicht taub, stelle dich taub. Indem du diese drei Merkmale zeigst, verrate nicht deine weisheit.")

would declare that the prince could speak clearly. In that case *mūga* (=*mūrkha*) and *pakkha* in the first quarter would be contrasted, as in Gāthā 38, as referring to the mental and physical deficiencies.[13] In Gāthā 5, the meaning of *mūga* is doubtful; but as it stands by the side of *badhira* 'deaf', it may there have meant 'dumb'.

Now as regards the meaning of *mūga* = *mūrkha* in relationship with *eḍa*, it would be good to start with some of the observations of EDGERTON in BHS Dictionary. Under *eḍaka-mūka* we read—"Here perhaps the literal idea, *speechless*, is dominant, tho the parallel jaḍa-samena suggests that overtones of *dull, stupid* must also be present". For *eḍamūka* EDGERTON gives the meaning '*stupid* (lit. *dumb*) *as a sheep*'.[14] But as has been shown above the word just *literally* means 'stupid as a sheep' and not 'dumb as a sheep', and originally at any rate *mūka* (< *mūrkha*) in this compound had nothing to do with *mūka* = dumb. At the close of his remarks under *eḍamūka*, EDGERTON observes, "Sheep are proverbially stupid in other countries than India."

This remark appears to be almost correct as stories showing the stupidity of sheep are ordinarily not known from Indian literature. However, so far as the proverbial stupidity of sheep is concerned we may do well to refer to a popular *nyāya* called *ajākṛpāṇīya* which has been cited in the Kāśikā under P. 5.3.106 (together with *kākatālīya* and *andhakavarttakīya*). It has been taken there to convey the idea of an unexpected happening, a surprising event (*atarkitopanatam citrīkaraṇam ucyate*—Kāśikā).

As regards the interpretation of this *nyāya* we get the following information in the Laukikanyāyāñjali (A Handful of Popular Maxims, Part I) collected by Colonel G. A. JACOB (2nd edn., Bombay, 1907, p. 1): The maxim of *the she-goat and the sword.* It is founded on some story of a goat's being suddenly killed by accidental contact with a sword, and is used to illustrate any surprising event happening altogether by chance. It, therefore, belongs to the same class as *kākatālīya, khalvāṭabilvīya* and others of a similar kind. An excellent illustration of its use is found on page 229 of Śrîharsha's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya* :—*pāṇau pañca varāṭakān pidhāya kaścit pṛcchati kati varāṭakā iti/ pṛṣṭaś cājākṛpāṇīyanyā-*

13. It may further be pointed out that perhaps the title of the jātaka *mūga-pakkha* also is intended to show similar contrast between *mūga* (foolishness) and *pakkha* (physical disabilities) and hence there too *mūga* possibly stands for *mūrkha*.

14. To quote LUEDERS again from the end of § 47 (p. 48), "Die im PW. ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass *eḍamūka* das gewöhnliche Wort für ‚Schaf', *eḍa*, enthält, also ‚stumm wie Schaf' bedeutet, ist daher nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Die für das Pāli gesicherte Bedeutung ‚Idiot' würde sich leicht daraus ableiten lassen."

yena bravīti pañceti/ In a footnote the maxim is thus explained :—*kaṇḍūyanārthaṁ staṁbhādau śithilabandhakhadge chāgī grīvāṁ prasārayati yadṛcchayā ca grīvā chidyate*[15] *tathābhūto 'jākṛpāṇīyanyāyaḥ kākatālīyanyāyasamaḥ/* Vardhamâna puts it differently in his comment on Gaṇaratnamahodadhi iii.196:—*yathājayā bhūmiṁ khanantyātmavadhāya kṛpāṇo darśitas tattulyaṁ vṛttaṁ kenacid ātmavināśāya kṛtam ajākṛpāṇīyam/*"

It appears that both the explanations given above are based on different versions of the same story. The first explanation makes the death of the sheep altogether accidental as it is shown to result from the fall of a sword loosely tied to a post or some such thing. The second explanation, on the other hand, allows the room for accident only upto the point that a sword hidden in the ground was accidentally brought to the notice of some one who was probably looking for it and who having found it killed the sheep with it. The expression *ātmavināśāya* seems to suggest the stupidity of the sheep in being responsible for bringing the knife to light. Both these motifs are brought together in a version of the story which is preserved in the Takkāriyajātaka (481). The occasion at which the story was narrated shows that it was intended to illustrate the foolishness of the sheep. A Brāhmaṇa named Takkāriya had almost succeeded in bringing about the death of the paramour of his wife. But as he foolishly rushed to reveal the plan to his wife he himself fell a prey to his trick. To this foolish behaviour on the part of the Brāhmaṇa a reference is made in the opening line of the Jātaka which forms part of the Gāthā (1) placed in the mouth of Takkāriya. It describes the Brāhmaṇa a *b ā l a* 'a fool'. cf. *aham eva dubbhāsitaṁ bhāsi b ā l o* (DUTOIT, "Ich sagt', ich Tor, was ich nicht sagen sollte"). As Takkāriya stood there with the threat of death on his head, his pupil began to narrate to him how others also had suffered death on different occasions for having acted foolishly or for not having guarded their speech. Among the four stories told by the pupil, the first one describes a merchant's son bringing misfortune to himself by not controlling his tongue and rendering unnecessary advice. In the other three stories death came to those who did some foolish acts. Among these occurs the story of a sheep which was

15. The commentary Padamañjarī on Kāśikā 5.3.106 gives also somewhat similar explanation, but it makes the death of the sheep more accidental as it makes no reference to the scratching of the neck by the sheep, cf. *ajāyā gacchantyāḥ kṛpāṇenādhaḥpatatā yathā vadhas tatsadṛśam ityarthaḥ/ The Pandit*, Vol. XVII.367 (Benares, 1895). Some such explanation was also known to the authors of the Tattvabodhinī and the Bālamanoramā commentaries on the Siddhāntakaumudī. Accidental death of a goat is also referred to in the Jātaka 18, where the mishap is said to have occurred due to a piece of stone which sprang as a result of a lightning-stroke.

stolen by some thieves and which they wanted to kill and eat the next day. The next day, however, when they went to the bamboo-grove where they had concealed the sheep the night before, they forgot to take a knife with them. They, therefore, in a pious mood released this sheep, which in joy began to jump here and there. Just then it struck against a bamboo tree where a bamboo-cutter had kept his knife. The knife fell down and the thieves having come to know of it killed the sheep with this knife and ate it. Thus it suffered death by its own foolish act. The Gāthā (6) referring to this story is slightly different from the above account which is based on the prose narrative. It makes no direct reference to the thieves who are supposed to have made use of the knife to kill the sheep.

ajā yathā veḷugumbasmiṁ baddhā
avekkhipantī asik' ajjhagañchi/
ten' eva tassā galak' āvakantaṁ
ayam pi attho bahu tādiso vā//

DUTOIT, "'Ne Ziege, die in einem Bambusdickicht war
gebunden, stiess beim Hüpfen an ein Messer.
Mit diesem schnitten sie den Hals ihr ab.
Dies bracht' etc."

Apparently a similar story but with a clear reference to the digging up of the knife from the ground (cf. the explanation of Vardhamāna given above) is referred to in the Mbh 2.59.8 (critical edition) and has been discussed by EDGERTON in *JAOS* 59.366-68 (1939).[16] He has also referred to the *ajākṛpāṇīya* and the Jātaka story (481) mentioned above. The verse and its translation as given by EDGERTON run as—

ajo hi śastram akhanat kilaikaḥ
śastre vipanne padbhir apāsya bhūmim/
nikṛntanaṁ svasya kaṇṭhasya ghoraṁ
tadvad vairaṁ mā khanīḥ pāṇḍuputraiḥ//

"For it seems that a certain goat dug up a knife, when the knife was lost, knocking away the earth with his feet,—(and so dug up) a cruel cutting of his own throat. In this manner do not you dig up enmity with the sons of Pāṇḍu!" The purpose of referring to the story of the sheep is clearly to warn the Kauravas not to do any foolish act which would lead to their own destruction. While mentioning the different versions[17] of the story EDGERTON observes (p. 367), "All versions agree in treating the story as

16. I am indebted to my friend Dr. A. M. GHATAGE for his kind information about this article.

17. The Mbh. verse occurs at 2.66.8 in the Bombay edition where Nīlakaṇṭha alludes to two versions of the story. They are, however, not very helpful for our purpose.

an instance of a mishap brought upon its victim by his own *stupid* (italics ours) action."

The basis of the *ajākṛpāṇīya* thus seems to be in a story which was intended to show the foolishness of the sheep. Though later on this maxim came to be classed with others like the *kākatālīya* referring to accidental occurrences, originally it alluded only to the foolish act of the sheep and intended to illustrate deaths brought about by one's own stupid acts. This would, therefore, justify our suggestion to take *eḷamūga* (voc.) as going with the Brāhmaṇa in the Jātaka III.402 (p. 347). The Brāhmaṇa was called *eḷamūga* 'fool like a sheep' because he was likely to bring about his death by his own foolish act of carrying the serpent in his bag.

8. § 82, pp. 70-72 : LUEDERS is absolutely correct when he says that the difference in the forms *sithila* Dhammapada 346 and *susthira* Udānavarga 2.6 can be explained only when we presume, that both of them come from a common base in the eastern dialect. I, however, believe that the explanation of the difference in the two forms has to be given in a way different from the one given by LUEDERS.

In Dh. 346, *sithila* (*śithila*) 'locker' occurs as an adj. to *bandhana* 'fessel'. As in the same stanza this *bandhana* is also described as *daḷha* (*dṛḍha*) 'fest':

etaṁ daḷhaṁ bandhanam āhu dhīrā
ohārinaṁ sithilaṁ duppamuñcaṁ /

LUEDERS regards the use of *sithila* = *śithila* as 'sinnlos'. The explanations of *śithila* given by the commentators are no doubt forced.[18] Moreover LUEDERS points out that *sithilaṁ* is metrically irregular because the fifth syllable in the Pāda is required to be long (*ohārinaṁ sithilaṁ*). Now in the parallel passage in the Udānavarga 2.6, we find *susthira* 'dauerhaft' which agrees well with the adj. *dṛḍha* applied to *bandhana*.

etad dṛḍhaṁ bandhanam āhur āryāḥ
samantataḥ susthiraṁ duṣpramokṣam /

LUEDERS, therefore, concludes that the original text in the eastern language must have had *suṭṭhila* (< *susthira*), written as *suṭhila*. This was probably corrupted to *saṭhila* which the Pāli translator mistook for *sithila*. The mistake of the Pāli translator arose because in Pāli we have *saṭhila* also corresponding to Skt. *śithila*. The Sanskrit translator of the

18. "—— dass eine solche Fessel locker zu nennen sei, da sie Haut und Fleisch nicht zerschneide, kein Blut hervortreibe und die Fesselung nicht empfinden lasse..."

Udānavarga, on the other hand, rendered the eastern form *suṭhila* correctly by Skt. *susthira*.

But let us first look at the nature of the *bandhana* here described. It is the fetter in the form of attachment to worldly pleasures which are detailed in the stanza before (Dh. 345) as *maṇikuṇḍalesu puttesu dāresu ca yā apekhā* (Hängen an äuserem Schmuck und der Sorge um Weib und Kinder) and which are in a general way referred to as *kāmasukhaṁ* in the present stanza (346) or as *kāmasya bandhanaṁ* in the Tibetan version of the parallel passage in the Udānavarga 2.6 (cited by LUEDERS on p. 72). In these two verses it is this *kāmabandhana* then which is sought to be contrasted with the other fetters of iron, etc. mentioned in Dh. 345 and which the wise do not regard to be as *daḷha* as the *kāmabandhana*. cf.

na taṁ daḷhaṁ bandhanam āhu dhīrā,
yad āyasaṁ, dārujaṁ, pabbajañ ca; (345)

Max MUELLER, "Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood or hemp." Then it is said in verse 346 that, *etaṁ daḷhaṁ bandhanaṁ āhu dhīrā* etc. In this context therefore *daḷha* (*dṛḍha*) does not seem to mean 'fixed or firmly fastened', but only 'strong, hard'. It would not then be 'sinnlos' if a *bandhana* is called *śithila* and *dṛḍha* in the same breath. A fetter can be loose and still so strong that it is difficult to break it. It is from this point of view that the *kāmasukhabandhana* in our stanza is called *sithilaṁ*, but at the same time *duppamuñcaṁ*, or as the Tibetan version puts it *śithilam api duṣpramokṣam* where the contrast between *śithila* and *duṣpramokṣa* is clearly brought out by the addition of the particle *api*. That the fetters of love are tender and loose and yet strong as they are difficult to be got rid off is well known from ancient literature. To quote the following verse from the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra p. 390.511—

bandhanāni kila santi bahūni premarajju dṛḍhabandhanam uktam/
dārubhedanipuṇo 'pi ṣaḍaṅghrir niṣkriyo bhavati paṅkajakośe//

Here it would be futile to say that the *bandhana* of the lotus flower is tight or immovably fixed on the bee. It is loose and tender also; but at the same time it is strong (*dṛḍha*) enough for the bee!

That *dṛḍha* and *śithila* are not incompatible can also be seen from the following passages to which reference is made in the PW. The Taitt. Saṁ. 3.2.4 gives certain mantras to be repeated when the sacrificer creeps towards the *sadas*. In the third section (3.2.4.3) occurs a mantra which according to the commentator Mādhava is addressed to heaven and earth. The mantra runs as—*dṛḍhé sthaḥ śithiré samīcī māṁ-*

hasas pātaṁ/[19] "You two who are strong and loose, being united protect me from misery". The commentator explains it as—*he dyāvāpṛthivī upasthānarahitaṁ prati śithile api yuvām upasthātāraṁ prati samīcī anukūle satyau dṛḍhe sthaḥ.* The same two adjectives *dṛḍha* and *śithira* are also used in the Ait. Br. 13.7 with regard to the joints of a human body. Here an explanation is sought to be given for the repetition of the call '*śoṁsāvom*' twice, once before and once after the *dhāyyās* inserted in the Vaiśvadeva śastra. About this it is said—*yathā vai puruṣa evaṁ Vaiśvadevaṁ, tasya yathāvāntaram aṅgāny evaṁ sūktāni, yathā parvāṇy evaṁ dhāyyās, tad ubhayato dhāyyāṁ paryāhvayate, tasmāt puruṣasya parvāṇi śithirāṇi santi dṛḷhāni brahmaṇāhitāni dhṛtāni.* "The Vaiśvadeva Śastra is like a man; just as he has in him limbs, so are the hymns (in the Śastra); just as he has joints, so are the inserted verses; now he repeats the *āhāva* on both sides of the inserted verses; therefore the joints of a man (though) loose, are strong, (because) they are placed on, held together by *brahman* (in the form of *āhāva*)". Sāyaṇa, however, explains —*tathā' sati dhāyyā ubhayapārśvaparvāṇi śithirāṇi pūrvaṁ śithilāni santy api paścāt prayatnena dhāritāni dṛḍhāni sampadyante.*[20]

Having thus seen that *daḍha* and *sithila* are not necessarily incompatible, and that *sithila* is justified in view of the fetter being *kāmabandhana*, we may turn to another adjective *ohārinaṁ*[21] given to the *bandhana* which will also support the view that *sithila* = *śithila* was really intended. For the use of these two adjectives together, support is given by the reading *ohariṇa śiśila* in the Kh. Dh. and by *ohārinaṁ sithilaṁ* occurring in the Saṁyutta-Nikāya 1.77 and Jātaka 201.2 where the same stanza appears. Thus so far as the Pāli and the Kharoṣṭhī traditions are concerned this reading is confirmed. The expression *ohārinaṁ* as an adjective of *bandhanaṁ* has been translated as 'niederziende' which, according to LUEDERS

19. The Āp. Śr. Sū. 12.20.4 and the Baudh. Śr. Sū. 7.10 give the mantra which has *dṛḍhe sthaḥ śithire samīcī.* But in the mantra given in the Mān. Śr. Sū. 2.3.7.2 we find *aśithire* for *śithire* possibly because it was felt that *dṛḍhe* and *śithire* cannot go together. For references see BLOOMFIELD, *Vedic Concordance* and KEITH's translation of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, part I, p. 242, footnote 4.

20. In the Ait. Br. 28.8, while justifying the recitation of Śilpas at the end of the Nārāśaṁsa Śastra of the third pressing, the word *dṛḍha* seems to be intended in its two senses viz. hard and fixed, so that once it contrasts with *mṛdu* 'soft' and once with *śithira* 'loose'; cf. *athaitan mṛdv iva cchandaḥ śithiraṁ yan Nārāśaṁsam, athaiṣo 'ntyo yad acchāvākas tad dṛḷhatāyai dṛḍhe pratiṣṭhāsyāma iti,* "Now this Nārāśaṁsa hymn is as though soft, (as though) loose. (But) when the Acchāvāka comes at the end that is for the sake of hardness and fixity. (They do it thinking) let us establish it on something hard and firm."

21. This is not found in the Tibetan version which has also nothing to correspond to *daḷhaṁ.*

himself, is 'nicht ganz sicher'. He is, however, prepared to content himself with the explanations of the commentators, viz. that 'die beschriebene Fessel in schlechte Wiedergeburten hinabziehe'. The explanation is far-fetched and is offered in view of the metaphorical sense of the *bandhana* viz. attachment to worldly pleasures. But to me *ohārinaṁ* seems to be a corruption of *oharinaṁ* 'falling or slipping down' which suits excellently with the adjective *sithila*. As the fetter is loose it slips down again and again like a bracelet. With this can be compared favourably the description of the king's golden bracelet in act III.12 of the Śākuntala. As king Duṣyanta had become imatiated his bracelet had become loose and he used to push it back. From there, however, it used to slip down to the wrist and the king was required to push it back again and again—*anabhilulitajyāghātāṅkaṁ muhur maṇibandhanāt kanakavalayaṁ srastaṁ srastaṁ mayā pratisāryate. Oharinaṁ* was slightly changed to *ohārinaṁ* possibly because the metre required the second syllable to be long. Afterwards *ohārinaṁ* was kept on because it was understood in some such manner as given by the commentators. The translator responsible for the Ud. varga probably had before him the uncorrupted form *oharinaṁ*. But since he rendered *suṭhila* of the original by *susthira* 'fixed', he found it difficult to combine it with *oharinam* 'slipping down' and hence he was forced to replace it by an altogether different word *samantataḥ*. This latter word, from the point of view of meaning, is superfluous and it constitutes a major deviation from the Pāli and the Kharoṣṭhī versions as they have nothing to correspond to *samantataḥ*.

Having ascertained that *sithilaṁ*, corresponding to Skt. *śithilam*, represents the original reading, let us look at it from the point of view of form. Pāli *sithila*=Vedic *śithila* have been traced back to **śṛthila*. This would give in the eastern middle Indian dialect *saṭhila* as in this dialect *ṛ* normally becomes *a* and the dental following *ṛ* is cerebralised. LUEDERS is therefore perfectly justified when he considers *saṭhila*, which occasionally appears also in Pāli, to be an eastern form. Now it has been pointed out that the eastern dialect shows a preference for the vowel sequence *u i a* in words having more than two syllables (cf. p. 38 where LUEDERS cites *pulisa*, *munisa* from Aśokan inscriptions). In that case it would not be wrong if we suppose that in the eastern dialect **śṛthila* gave rise also to *suṭhila* (*u i a*) by the side of *saṭhila* noted above. And in fact the Udānavarga reading *susthira* (*u i a*) proves that this was really the case. It is thus clear that the original eastern version used *suṭhila* (<**śṛthila* 'loose') which was mistaken by the Sanskrit translator of the Udānavarga to be *susthira*, but which was correctly understood to represent *śithila* in the

Pāli, Kharoṣṭhī, and also that Sanskrit version which served as the basis for the Tibetan translation of the Udānavarga.[22]

We are thus led to a conclusion totally different from that of LUEDERS. We see that the mistake was committed by the Udānavarga translator and not by the others. It may be added that perhaps the metre contributed to the mistake for it required the fifth syllable to be long and hence *suṭhilaṁ* of the original was in some recension pronounced as *suṭṭhilaṁ* (to make *su* metrically long). The explanation here given of *sithila*: *susthira* has further the advantage that it does not compel us to assume that the original reading was corrupted to *saṭhila*.

9. § 84, pp. 74-75 : In § 84 - §86 LUEDERS gives certain very interesting instances of word-plays which can be better appreciated when one presumes that the original text from which the Pāli verses were translated had certain words with *l*. Thus for example in the Sutta-Nipāta 535, which tells us who, according to the Buddha, can be called *ariya* (*ārya*), LUEDERS points out that in the original eastern text there must have stood the word *āliya* (with *l*) for Pāli *ariya*. This has been suggested because *āliya* is nearer in sound to *ālaya* 'desire' used in the first line of this verse.

This conclusion of LUEDERS may be accepted but we have some other things to suggest with regard to the interpretation of the verse. The first two lines of the verse read—

chetvā āsavāni ālayāni
vidvā so na upeti gabbhaseyyaṁ /

FAUSBOELL, "Whosoever, after having cut off passions and desires, is wise and does not (again) enter the womb........"

But the use of *chetvā* from √*chida* 'to cut off' with *āsavāni* is strange. The root meaning of *āsava* (= **āsrava*) is 'that which flows' and this is not something that can be cut off. It is a thing that is to be destroyed in that it is gradually wasted away. That is the reason why we often get the use of *khaya* (*kṣaya*) 'extinction' and *khīṇa* (*kṣīṇa*) with *āsava*.[23] In conformity with this usage one anticipates in the above verse

22. This is important because as mentioned by LUEDERS himself the Tibetan translation often points to a Skt. text which is older than the vulgate of the east Turkestan manuscripts of the Udānavarga. LUEDERS who believes *suṭṭhila* = *susthira* to be the original reading, finds it therefore difficult to reconcile his view with *śithilaṁ* of the Tibetan version. "Schwerer wiegt" he observes, "dass die tibetische Version des Udānavarga, die zweifellos eine Übersetzung des Sanskrittextes ist, ebenfalls die Lesart *śithilaṁ* kennt."

23. cf. PTS Dictionary under *āsava*, *khaya* and *khīṇa*, and also BHS Dictionary under *āsrava*.

a form of the verb √*khayati* (*kṣayati*) 'to destroy, etc.,' with *āsava*, and in fact it is possible to derive *chetvā* from √*kṣi*. As is well known in the western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka Skt. *kṣ* is represented as *ch*. Hence in that dialect we can get a gerund *chetpā* from √*kṣayati*.[24] The Pāli correspondent of this western *chetpā* would be *chetvā* (or *chetvāna*) which occurs in our verse. In *chetvā āṣavāni* 'having destroyed the *āṣavas*', therefore, the former is not to be confused with *chetvā*, the gerund from √*chida*. Not realising this but feeling at the same time that *chetvā* from √*chida* 'to cut off' does not go well with *āsava*, the Burmese scholars made an unsuccessful attempt to mend the matter by transposing the words *āsavāni* and *ālayāni* and reading the line as *chetvā ālayāni āsavāni*.[25]

Against the proposed derivation of *chetvā* from √*kṣi* in *chetvā āsavāni* it cannot be argued that sometimes we get the expressions *sotaṁ chetvā* or *chinnasota* where *sota* <*srótas* also means 'a stream or flood' and where *chinna* and hence *chetvā* have undoubtedly to be derived from √*chida*. For, in these cases √*chida* does not mean 'to cut off or to destroy', as it has been erroneously assumed, but it means 'to cut across i.e., to cross over, to go beyond, etc.' This is made perfectly clear by a passage in the Majjhimanikāya 1.225-26 where it is said about a cowherd who successfully carried his herd across the current of the river Ganges as— ....*vassānaṁ pacchime māse saradasamaye* ....*titthen' eva gāvo patāresi uttaran tīraṁ*.... . *te tiriyaṁ Gaṅgāya sotaṁ chetvā sotthinā pāraṁ agamaṁsu*. "In the last month of the rainy season, in autumn, he carried his cows to the other shore with the help of a ford. They having crossed the current of the river Ganges safely reached the opposite shore." Here *chetvā* cannot mean 'having destroyed the stream, etc.' Obviously the same meaning of √*chida* 'to cross over' is also intended when on the basis of the above illustration it is told to the assembly

24. For the treatment *kṣ* > *kh* and *ch* in Pāli cf. GEIGER § 56. The eastern counterpart of the western *chetpā* would be *khettu*.

25. This seems to be the real ground for the transposition of the words and not, as LUEDERS observes, while in the verse *ariya* and *ālaya* are brought into relationship by a play on words. cf. "In unserer Strophe wird *ariyo* mit *ālayāni*, den Lüsten, die der *ariya* vernichtet hat, in Verbindung gebracht. Dass es darauf ankommt, haben die birmanischen Gelehrten erkannt, und aus diesem Grunde ist in den birmanischen Handschriften *ālayāni* vor *āsavāni* gestellt worden." The Mahāvastu translator (III.400.3 f.) also seems to have felt the difficulty in connecting *chetvā* (from √*chid*) with *āsavāni* and *ālayāni* and hence he tried to get over it by substituting *hitvā* for *chetvā* and also adding *bandhanāni* as a gloss to *āsavāni* and *ālayāni* (p. 75, f.n. 1). cf. *hitvā ālayāni āsayāni bandhanāni ativṛtto neti*. It may be added that the regular BHS gerund from √*hā* 'to abandon' would be *jahitvā*, cf. EDGERTON, *Language* 13.117 (1937).

of monks—*ye te bhikkhū arahanto khīṇāsavā... te pi tiriyaṁ Mārassa sotaṁ chetvā sotthinā pāraṁ gatā* (M.I. 226).[26]

Proceeding from the above passage it would be legitimate to conclude that as in *sotaṁ chetvā* so in *chinnasota* also *chinna* means 'one who has crossed' and not 'one who has cut off (the stream)'. That this is in fact the case can be gathered from the following occurrences :—

In Sutta-Nipāta 715 we read,

yassa ca visatā n'atthi
chinnasotassa bhikkhuno /

FAUSBOELL, "for whom there is no desire, for the Bhikkhu who has cut off the stream (of existence) ...." However here *chinnasota* does not mean 'who has cut off', but 'who has crossed the stream'. This is shown by the fact that in the preceding verse (714) we read,

na pāraṁ diguṇaṁ yanti

FAUSBOELL, "....they (i.e. the Samaṇas) do not go twice to the other shore...."

Again in Sutta-Nipāta 948 we find,

yo 'dha kāme accatari
saṁgaṁ loke duraccayaṁ /
na so socati nājjheti
chinnasoto abandhano //

FAUSBOELL, "whosoever, has here overcome lust, a tie difficult to do away with in the world, he does not grieve, he does not covet, having cut off the stream, and being without bonds." That here too *chinna* can only mean 'one who has gone beyond' is shown by the use of the expressions *accatari* (from *ati√tara* 'to go beyond, to cross') and *duraccayaṁ* (from *dur+accaya* 'difficult to cross'). (Note also that in the Sutta-Nipāta 945 *kāmapaṅka* is described as *duraccaya* where the commentary explains it as *duratikkamanīya*). This will also be clear from Itivuttaka 5.6 (p. 95) where *chetvā sotaṁ duraccayaṁ* can only mean 'having crossed the stream which is difficult to cross'.

In Dhammapada 383 we have,

chinda sotaṁ parakkamma
kāme panuda brāhmaṇa /

26. We may compare with this *oghatiṇṇa* and *oghātiga*, PTS Dictionary s.v.

Max MUELLER, "Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brâhmana !"[27] However, in this instance we have not to think of the stopping or cutting off of the stream but of its crossing. This is shown by the next verse (384) where the idea of 'going beyond', though in a different sense viz. 'to accomplish, to have perfection in, etc.', is similarly present.

yadā dvayasu dhammesu p ā r a g ū hoti brāhmaṇo/

Max MUELLER, "If Brâhmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation...."[28] Moreover in the same *varga* of the Dhammapada occurs another verse (414) which leaves no doubt about the way in which *chinda sotaṁ* in verse 383 has to be interpreted. Verse 414 reads as—

yo imaṁ palipathaṁ, duggaṁ, saṁsāraṁ, mohaṁ a c c a g ā,
t i ṇ ṇ o p ā r a g a t o, jhāyī, anejo akathaṅkathī,
anupādāya nibbuto, tam ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇaṁ /

Max MUELLER, "Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content".

In the end we may refer to Saṁyutta-Nikāya IV. 291 where *chinnasota* is used as an adjective of a chariot (*ratha*) and hence can only mean 'which has crossed the stream'. cf. *anīghaṁ passa āyantaṁ chinnasotaṁ abandhanaṁ.* Here LUEDERS (p. 49) also follows the traditional translation of *chinnasota* when he renders the line as, 'Sieh den Unerschütterten kommen, der die Flut der begierden abgeschnitten hat, den Fessellosen."

Thus it will be clear that in those passages where *sota* and forms of $\sqrt{}$*chida* are brought togeher the idea to be conveyed is of 'crossing the stream' and not of 'cutting it off or destroying it'.[29] It may then be argu-

27. The same line recurs in Saṁyutta-Nikāya 1.49 which Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS translates as, "Advance with valiant energy, recluse, cut off the stream, scatter desires of sense". (*Kindred Sayings*, I.70).

28. It may be added that the idea of crossing the stream also continues in the following verse (385) which, however, is difficult to interprete. Read—*yassa pāraṁ apāraṁ vā, pārāpāraṁ na vijjati......tam ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇaṁ.//* MAX MUELLER, "He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him....I call a Brâhmana."

29. Where the idea of drying up of waters is to be conveyed we meet with the use of *khīṇa* and not *chinna* with *sota*. cf. *macche va appodake khīṇasote* (Sutta-Nipāta 777), FAUSBOELL, 'like a fish in a stream nearly dried up, with little water'. The use of *ud* $\sqrt{}$*chid* in the sense of 'to break off, to stop, to want' is noted in PW where a passage cited from the Pañcatantra II.92 shows its use with *kusarit*. cf. *arthena tu vihīnasya puruṣasyālpamedhasaḥ/ ucchidyante kriyāḥ sarvā grīṣme kusarito yathā//* But this use of *ud*$\sqrt{}$*chid* does not disprove our argument.

ed that in *chetvā āsavāni* also we may understand 'having cut across, i.e., having crossed the *āsavas*', instead of 'having destroyed the *āsavas*'. But with *āsavas* the idea is clearly not 'to cross' them but 'to waste them away, to destroy them' as shown by the frequent use of *khaya* or *khīṇa* with *āsava*.[30] Hence it seems desirable that in our passage *chetvā* is not to be derived from √*chida*, but from √*kṣi* as explained above.

The attempt of the Burmese scholars to improve matters by transposing *āsavāni* and *ālayāni* has been described above as 'unsuccessful' because just as *chetvā* from √*chida* does not go well with *āsavāni* it does not go well with *ālayāni* either.[31] The new meaning of *chetvā* < √*kṣi* suggested above also does not quite fit in with *ālayāni* because the original meaning of the word *ālaya* is 'abode, house'. This compels us to look for some other gerund which can be connected with *ālayāni*. This can only be the immediately following word *vidvā*. It may, therefore, be proposed to take *vidvā* = Sk. *viddhvā* a gerund from √*vijjha* (√*vyadh*) 'to pierce, etc.' The PTS Dictionary notes a poetical gerundive *viddhā* (*khattiyo brāhmaṇo vesso ko maṁ v i d d h ā nilīyasi*—Jātaka 540.1) which also has to be derived from *viddhvā* by assimilation. EDGERTON (*Buddhist Hybr. Skt. Gr.* § 35.28) notes an absolutive *viddhitvā*, Mahāvastu 1.12.5 which leads to a base *√*viddhati* (cf. § 28.19). *viddhitvā* is obviously a middle Indic gerund in—*itvā* for *viddhvā* as the metre required a word with three syllables.

As regards our form *vidvā* < *viddhvā* by loss of aspiration, one may refer to such parallels as Pāli *ludda* < *luddha* < *lubdha* (suggested by LUEDERS § 77 and already by GEIGER § 62), *khudā* < *kṣudhā* (GEIGER § 40 who also gives a few other instances), and *lodda* < *loddha* < *lodhra* (GEIGER §62). If *vidvā* is taken as a gerund from √*vyadh* it can be easily construed with *ālayāni*, the original meaning of which is 'abode, etc.', and then also 'desire, etc.', With the use of √*vijjha* with *ālaya* 'abode, house, etc.', we may compare Sutta-Nipāta 516—*nibbijjha imaṁ parañ ca lokaṁ kālaṁ kaṅkhati bhāvito sa danto*.[32]

In FAUSBOELL'S translation cited above *vidvā* is rendered 'wise'. Perhaps the word is used in a double sense, once as a substantive and once

30. It is worth noting that in the explanation given on p. 292 of the passage from the Saṁyutta-Nikāya IV. 291 cited above *khīṇa* is used with *āsava* and *chinna* with *sota*. cf. *tasmā khīṇāsavo bhikkhu chinnasoto ti vuccati*.

31. Though in justice to the Burmese scholars it may be said that of the two *āsavāni* and *ālayāni*, *chetvā* from √*chida* would be better construed with *ālayāni*. cf. *chinnālayattā* Jātaka 539.24.

32. Actually the word used in the citation is *loka* and not *ālaya*. With *ālaya* we have also *samud* √*han* in *ālaya-samugghāta* Visuddhimagga 293.9, 25f, 497.27-28, and *ālaya-samudghāta* Mahāvastu 3.200.11.

as a gerund. This is quite in keeping with the play on words common in the Sabhiyasutta. Hence with the proposed derivation of *chetvā* from √*kṣi* and *vidvā* from √*vyadh* the two lines of our passage mean—"Having wasted away the passions (*āsava*), (and) pierced through the desires (*ālaya*), the wise one does not enter the womb (again) . . . ."[33]

The book has been well printed and the editor and his collaborators (mentioned on p. 11) deserve our congratulations for having made it practically free from printing mistakes. If in spite of the great care devoted by them a few mistakes have remained, they only show how rare such misprints are. On p. 26, f.n. 1, line 5, *vaḍḍhetva* appears for *vaḍḍhetvā;* p. 75, l. 17 *duddakhīro* appears for *duddhakhīro;* p. 81, l. 1 *suvo vas uviṁ* for *suvo va suviṁ;* p. 110, l. 2 from below *nvavāya* for *uvavāya.* On p. 127, line 4 appears the short form Ś (among the Aśokan edicts giving the treatment *ny* > *nn*) after Dhau. and Jau. According to the list of the abbreviations Ś stands for Śaurasenī; but that is impossible here. Obviously it should have been Top. which stands for the Delhi-Toprā edict of Aśoka and which, besides the Dhauli, Jaugada and the Kalsi versions, gives instances of the change *ny* > *nn*.

—M. A. MEHENDALE.

33. I would rather like to put forward the following suggestion for consideration. The first line of the Gāthā is metrically defective. The irregularity can be removed if we suppose that originally *vidvā* (absolutive) going with *ālayāni* occurred also in the first line and that *chetvāsavāni* were read together. The first line would thus read—*chetvāsavāni ālayāni vidvā.* Later when the significance of *vidvā* (absolutive) in line one was lost sight of and was regarded as superflous in the presence of *vidvā* (=*vidvān*) in the second line, it was dropped and the line read as at present. LUEDERS (§ 179, pp. 132-133), however, makes a different suggestion to remove the metrical irregularity. He thinks that in the original text *āsinava* (which occurs in the Aśokan Pillar edicts II, III) was used in the place of *āsava.* He, therefore, proposes to reconstruct the first line of the original text as *chettu āsinavāni ālayāni.*

Braja-bhāṣā (in Hindī), by Dhirendra VARMA. Hindustani Akadami, Allahabad (U. P.), 1954, pp. 162. Price Rs. 6-0-0.

The book under review is the Hindi translation of the author's original thesis in French *La Langue Braj (Dialecte de Mathurā)* for which he was awarded the D. Litt. by the Paris University in 1935. Since Jules BLOCH published his memorable work on the Marathi language, there has been a welcome tendency among Indian scholars themselves to attempt a scientific description of Indian languages. Prof. VARMA thus followed the footsteps of such eminent linguists in the field of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics as Siddheshvar VARMA, S. K. CHATTERJI, and Baburam SAKSENA in writing a valuable treatise on a modern Indian language. The author was fortunate to receive guidance from Prof. BLOCH in successfully achieving the task which he set before himself.

The study of the Braj language presented in the work is based on the material drawn from the 16th, 17th, and 18th century Braj literature (which is mentioned on pp. 9-11), and the one which the author himself collected during the years 1928-30 from Braj as a spoken language in various villages. Before proceeding to give a detailed account of his investigations, the author begins with a short treatment of certain general topics, such as the geographical area where Braj is spoken, the people who speak it, the Braj literature since the earliest times, and the like. This account serves the useful purpose of introducing the reader to the real problems connected with the linguistic study of Braj.

From the linguistic point of view the chapters on phonology, morphology, and syntax are very important. As one goes through these pages one notices how admirably the author has achieved his task of giving an accurate and thorough description of the facts connected with the Braj language. He has also taken care to describe the treatment given in the Braj to the sounds of words borrowed from the Persian and

the English languages. Some of the author's important conclusions are summarised on pp. 127-29. He holds the view that the Braj has not undergone any material change, except in some peculiarities of pronunciation and the use of morphological forms (§ 258), during the last three or four centuries. Today the Braj is being greatly influenced by the Khaḍī bolī. With regard to the other modern Indian languages of North India, the author opines that Kanaujī is not different from Braj (§ 75), that Bundelī can be regarded as a southern form of Braj (§ 261), and that among other languages the Rājasthānī is the nearest to the Braj (§ 259).

The value of the book has been enhanced by the addition of two appendices which did not appear in the original French Thesis published by the author in 1935. One of these gives the specimens of the Braj as spoken at various places in the interior and on the borders of the Braj territory. The second appendix gives a list of all the Braj words occurring in the book.

While discussing the name of the language (pp. 16-17), apparently it is not the intention of the author to give a detailed account of all the references where the word *vraja* occurs. However, the following remarks may be made with regard to the observations made by the author. *Vraja* seems to occur either singly or in composition in the sixth and the twelfth major rock edicts of Aśoka. The actual forms that we get are *vaca* or *vraca* (VI) and *vaca-bhūmikya* (or *bhūmika*) or *vraca-bhumika* (XII). In both cases *vaca* has been equated with Skt. *vraja* by some scholars and the forms have been translated as 'cowpen' and 'inspectors of cowpens' (HULTZSCH, *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 12, f.n. 6 and p. 22, f.n. 5). In my opinion though this interpretation is possible in the latter case, it is very unlikely in the former, as the hardening of $j > c$ is not witnessed otherwise in the east (but *vaca* occurs in the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions as well). Even the context renders the meaning 'cowpen' improbable in the Rock edict VI. I am, therefore, still inclined to side with BUEHLER and others and take *vaca* in the sixth edict as coming from *varcas*.

Next it may be noted that the Nighaṇṭu (1.10) includes *vraja* in the list of words meaning 'cloud', and the Nirukta while commenting on this passage (2.21) observes that it may also mean 'mountain'. The Nirukta (6.2) derives *vraja* from √*vraj*, and this derivation has been accepted by the author as well (§ 29). BOEHTLINGK-ROTH, (Wörterbuch, s.v.), however, derive it from √*varj*, which is also the view of WALDE-POKORNY (Vol. I. 290). According to BOEHTLINGK-ROTH, *vraja* occurs also as the name of an area in the neighbourhood of Agra and Mathura in a certain inscription which has been published in the *Zeitschrift für*

die Kunde des Morgenlandes 4.146-202. I have not been able to verify this reference.[1]

—M. A. MEHENDALE.

[1] I am thankful to my friend Dr. W. THOMAS of Göttingen for the following information kindly supplied by him to me about this inscription:—

Der Artikel, in dem sich dieses *vraja* findet, stammt von Chr. Lassen und heisst: "Über eine alte indische Inschrift der königlichen Satrapen von Surâshtra, worin Kandragupta und sein Enkel Acôka erwähnt werden". Er stellt einen Verbesserungsversuch zu Prinsep's Lesung dieser Inschrift dar, die letzterer in As. J. of B. VII 334 veröffentlicht hatte......Die Inschrift ist z.T. auf einer rauhen Oberfläche eingehauen. Sie gehört dem König Rudradāman—der Name ist nicht ganz sicher; Prinsep liest in seiner Ausgabe Aridāman und bemerkt in einer Note, dass man auch an Atridāman oder Rudradāman denken könne—und bezieht sich auf den Bau einer Brücke und anderer Schutzmittel gegen den Fluss Paleśinī. Zeile 11 dieser Inschrift lautet: *janopajanasvavīryārjitānām anuraktasarvaprakṛtīnāṁ pūrvaparākarāvantānūpavrajānartasurāṣṭraśva*................

Zu Zeile 11 bemerkt Lassen auf. S. 171 f.: Das Facsimile richtig *avaṁtyanūpa*, für *vraja* aber wie es scheint *ativraja*........

Zur Erklärung der Namen. *Avanti* ist Ujjayinī, wie bekannt; *Anūpa* aus *anvāpa* "Land längs dem Wasser" ist wohl die Küste Guzerat, das Wort ist sonst bekannt genug; *vraja* ist die Gegend um Mathurā; *ativraja* wäre das Land darüber hinaus;........

REVIEWS

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Language and Literature): Ten Public Lectures by Franklin EDGERTON, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras, 1954, pp. 88.

These are the ten public lectures delivered by EDGERTON in fulfilment of one of the conditions of the Holkar Visiting Professorship at Banaras which he occupied during 1953-54. EDGERTON had already made himself known as a savant deeply interested in the study of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit by bringing his patient research in the subject to a fruitful culmination by publishing in 1953 the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, Dictionary, and Reader in three volumes (Yale University). The Banaras Hindu University, therefore, could have found no better person than EDGERTON himself to speak on the subject so carefully studied by him.

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is the name invented by EDGERTON to describe the language used by the north Indian Buddhists for their religious literature. The purpose of the present series of lectures, as mentioned by the lecturer himself, is not a scholarly and detailed presentation of the subject—that being already achieved in the Yale University publications referred to above—but to offer to a wider public a general survey of the literature and some of the salient features of that language which holds a somewhat peculiar position midway between the standard Sanskrit and a middle Indian dialect. The treatment given to the subject is therefore selective, not exhaustive.

Lectures 1 and 7 are important as they give the lecturer's views on the nature of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and its relationship with the other middle Indic dialects. In this regard, the lecturer has two points to make. The one is that BHS is basically a *middle Indic* dialect, and it is not, as was erroneously assumed by some, a bad or corrupt Sanskrit. It has, however, to be remembered that this applies not to the literary language as we have it preserved today—for in its present form it is highly Sanskritised in many works—but only to the dialect which lies at the bottom of these texts. The next point which the lecturer intends to stress is that this underlying middle Indic dialect is quite an independent one and that it cannot be properly identified with any one of the known middle Indian dialects including Pāli. He has arrived at this conclusion on the strength of certain peculiar characteristics of BHS (summarised in lecture 7), which, in his opinion, are not to be met with

in other MIA dialects. He also now gives up his earlier view that BHS has close relations with Ardhamāgadhī, the sacred language of the Jains (*BSOS* 8.501 ff.)

A useful survey of BHS literature, which represents both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools of Buddhism, is given in the lectures 2-6. Quite appropriately the lecturer devotes some more time to such important works as the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Lectures 8-10 present what the lecturer calls 'the normal grammar' of the dialect underlying BHS. For the sake of convenience he omits here the very rare and sporadic forms which he has already dealt with in his big grammar. The lecturer convincingly shows that the study of metre is very essential if we wish to get a correct picture of the phonology (and also of morphology) of BHS especially in respect of the length of vowels and the pronunciation of clusters at the beginning of the words. The metrical evidence clearly shows that at bottom BHS pronunciation was middle Indic, whatever the form in which the words appear in the manuscripts to-day. An instance of how a systematic study can lead to correct interpretations is to be found on p. 86 where the lecturer points out that the tendency observed in BHS to form denominatives like *buddhati* etc. from the past passive participles shows that the Pāli and the Prākṛta *laggati* cannot come from **lagyati* (as was supposed by GEIGER § 136 (2) and PISCHEL § 488) but from *lagnati*. But what the lecturer says about the genesis of the loc. sg. of *-a* stems in *-esmiṁ* etc. may not be the case. He regards, for instance, a loc. sg. form like *lokesmiṁ* as a blend-form, a cross between the two loc. forms *lokasmiṁ* and *loke*. It might, however, be investigated if the starting point of such locatives was not a frequent use of *loke* and *asmiṁ* together which resulted into *loke(a)smiṁ*.

In lecture 1 as well as on p. 61, the lecturer refers to his theory that it is not possible to speak of one original language of the Buddhist canon. On his own admission "Many of these canonical works no doubt went back to the earliest times, and were carried everywhere in similar forms; but there is, as we saw in our first lecture, no reason to assume linguistic unity even in the texts as they were thus spread by missionaries; there is no reason to assume any single 'original language of Buddhism' (p.61)." However, the attitude of the Buddha towards the use of various languages as vehicles for religious propaganda, to which the lecturer refers in his first lecture, is not against the hypothesis of there being one language of the original canon. It only shows that the Buddha was definitely against this 'original canon' itself being imposed on his disciples at all places in India; he was, on the other hand, in favour of the use of the regional

languages for the further propagation of his teachings which originally could only be in one language. In a recent publication *Beobachtungen Über Die Sprache Des Buddhistischen Urkanons* (edited by E. WALDSCHMIDT), LUEDERS has demonstrated that the original canon was composed in an easternly dialect. The students of the MIA dialects will eagerly await Prof. EDGERTON's reactions to this new data presented by LUEDERS.

—M. A. MEHENDALE.

KĀNHAḌADE PRABANDHA BY PADMANĀBHA (Vol. I–Text), critically edited by Prof. K. B. Vyas and published by the Director, Rājasthān Purātattva Mandira, Jaipur, in the Rājasthān Purātan Granthamālā, Vol. 11, 1953, pp. 1–8, 1–33, 1–275. Price Rs. 9–8–0

Kānhaḍade Prabandha is a mediaeval epic poem composed in V. S. 1512. It describes the heroic fight and the great sacrifice of the Chauhan king Kānhaḍade or Krishna Deva of Jhalor in Rajasthan while struggling against the Muslim invaders of north India. The work is no doubt important from the historical and literary points of view; but it is equally or even more valuable from the linguistic standpoint, for it was composed at an early stage when old Gujarātī and old Rājasthānī were not much differentiated from each other.

The poem was first published by Shri Navalram Pandya in 1877–78 from a single manuscript, of V. S. 1930 discovered by Bühler. It was published later in 1913 in a better form by Shri Derasari with the help of four manuscripts. the oldest among these being of V. S. 1648. Derasari's edition was republished in 1926 without any material change.

The present edition, which embodies the editor's patient labour of 14 years, is no doubt superior to those mentioned above. It is based on all the ten available manuscripts in Government and public libraries and in private collections. The editor has been lucky to have obtained a manuscript (designated by him as A) which is dated in V. S. 1598 and copied at Jhalor, the place of the poet as well as of the hero of the poem. The importance of this manuscript, dated as it is only 86 years after the composition of the poem, can be easily realized. It was therefore not necessary for the editor to try to enhance its value by surmising without adequate evidence— " It is probable that the copyist had access to the poet's autograph or a direct copy of it. " (p. 29).

This first volume comprises the text of the poem. The second volume is intended for giving the historical and linguistic background, a translation of the poem, an Index Verborum, and, if possible, critical and explanatory notes.

On pp. 30-32 the editor gives the principles adopted by him for constituting the text. They will be discussed better by an authority more intimately acquainted with the work of textual criticism than the present reviewer. It may, however, be observed that on the basis of these principles the editor seems to assume that the author was not liable to commit any mistake, or that he could not have used a dialectal form in the place of a norm regarded as standard by the editor for a work of V. S. 1500. The question arises as to what should have been the purpose of the editor,– to give a text which is likely to be as near as possible to the original as written by the author, or which is as near as possible to the one which should have been written by the author?

It is not possible here to comment in details on the readings adopted in the text. In Appendix II we do not find any note on verse 1 in Khaṇḍa I. The very first word *gaurīnandana*, adopted in the text, has a variant *gorīnandana*. It will have to be seen whether the vowel *o* in the first syllable of the variant was used as it was thought to be a near approach to the open pronunciation of the vowel in that syllable. *gaurī* then may be a Sanskritization. It is clear that not all the forms as used in the poem could be current in actual speech. This is easily seen from the instances of *sarasatti* (Sk. *sarasvatī*) and *matti* (Sk. *mati*) in verse 1. The gemination in the final syllable is only due to metrical grounds, and it could not have any relation to the actual pronunciation. This is the reason why the ms. J has mistaken *matti* for *mutti* (Sk. *mukti*) which in the context is quite out of place.

We should, however, be grateful to Prof. Vyas for the great labour spent by him in constituting the text and reserve our final remarks until after the publication of the second volume.

M. A. Mehendale

ALBERT THUMB / RICHARD HAUSCHILD : *Handbuch des Sanskrit.* Mit Texten u. Glossar. Eine Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Altindischen v. A' T'. I. Teil : Grammatik. 1. Einleitung u. Lautlehre. II. Teil : Formenlehre. Dritte, stark umgearbeitete Aufl. v. R' H' (Indogermanische Bibliothek, 1. Reihe : Lehr - u. Handbücher). 8° XVI + 347 / XII + 492 p. Carl Winter Universitätsvlg., Heidelberg (1958/59). DM 32,-- / 44,--.

T's *Handbuch des Sanskrit* first appeared in 1905 in 2 parts : 1. *Grammatik*, and 2. *Texte und Glossar.* When the 1st pt was out of print, HERMANN HIRT brought out a 2nd ed. in 1930. This was mostly a reprint of T's work with some corrections in the text, but all additions were given in the *Nachtrag.* The 2 vol.s under review are the 3rd ed. thoroughly revised by H'. (A 2nd ed. of the 2nd pt also enlarged and thoroughly revised by H' appeared earlier in 1953; cf. the review by C. REGAMEY in *Erasmvs,* X <1957> 214-6.) T' intended to give an introduction to the historical study of Sanskrit since no such book was available for the use of the beginners. There were of course available good descriptive grammars of Sanskrit. But since Sanskrit was studied in the wider circle of comparative philologists, a good and convenient manual giving the position of Sanskrit as a language belonging to the IE. family was called for. The ground for this was already prepared by BRUGMANN'S *Grundriss* and WACKERNAGEL'S *Altindische Grammatik,* I. As regards the usefulness of the further publication of the vol.s (esp. III) of the *Alt. Gr. in* revising T's *Handbuch,* Hirt observed that "*... ich habe nirgends einen Fall gesehen, wo mich Wackernagel veranlasst haötte, von meiner Auffassung abzugehen ...*" H', however, rightly does not agree with Hirt's view and has fully utilised for the 3rd ed. all the available vol.s of the *Alt. Gr.,* DEBRUNNER'S additions to Vol. I, and RENOU'S *Introduction gednedrale.* Not only this. While trying to include in the body of the text of the 3rd ed. whatever was good and useful in Hirt's *Nachtrag,* H' found, "*... dass die Ausbeute aus diesem 'Nachtrag' nicht allzu erfolgreich war, dass ich vieles als zu weit abgelegen ausscheiden musste und mancherlei mir auch gaönzlich unhaltbar dünkte*".

Although H' has preserved the inner arrangement of the material presented in T's book, his revisions and additions give a new appearance and value to it. How meaningful the words '*stark umgearbeitete Auflage*' are can be realised even by a look at the 2 vol.s. The matter which originally comprised a single vol. of 505 pages has now extended to 2 vol.s of 347 and 492 p. H' has wisely discarded in the new edition the superfluous use of the Nāgarī script and the Brugmann's method of transliteration which is now no more in use. So far as the text of the *Handbuch* is concerned, whereas H' has thoroughly revised the *Einleitung* (e.g. in describing the position of Sanskrit among the Indo-European languages H' has widened the scope in both directions by bringing in *Das Mittani-Indische* on the one hand and by taking

into account the Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages on the other. He also takes note of the substrat - influences) and T's text of the *Lautlehre,* his additions in the 2nd vol. mostly pertain to the notes and the literature cited. -- H's contribution mainly belongs to the matters of linguistic explanation in respect of which he had planned to give up-to-date information (... *das Werk auf den wissenschaftlichen Stand der Gegenwart zu bringen).* Here in certain details the experts in the science may not agree with him or find fault with him for not having given the latest view. The book has been already reviewed by F. B. J. KUIPER (*Lingua,* VIII <1959> 424--41), W. P. SCHMID (*IF,* 64 <1959> 287-98, 65 <1960> 297-302), and W. P. LEHMANN (*JAOS,* 78 <1958> 212-13), and the present reviewer does not feel competent to judge the merits or otherwise of their criticisms. However, one wishes that H' had taken note of such standard article as that of F. EDGERTON's "The Indo-Europen Semi-vowels", *Language,* 19 <1943> 83-124, and should not have altogether avoided an account of the laryngeal theory which has occupied the attention of Indo-Europeanists for about 50 years.

The 2 vol.s should, on the whole, be found very useful not only by the students of Sanskrit but also by those who have made some advance in the Indo-European studies. They give a good historical background of Sanskrit with an equally good Bibliography. Much has been written in the field of Sanskritic and Indo-European studies during the last 50 years, and H's is an admirable attempt to give a compact account of these studies. However, a few remarks, not involving repetitions from earlier reviews and mostly outside the field of linguistic explanation, may be permitted.

p. 73 : It is extremely doubtful whether we can draw the conclusion H's has drawn from the occurrence of the Aśokan inscriptions in Mysore (*-ein Beweis dafür, dass zu dieser Zeit arische Sprache und Gesittung dort bereits ein bedeutendes Gewicht besassen).* It is also not correct to speak of the Aryan culture as 'superior' to that of the Dravidians.

p. 104 : Against the derivation of *pūjā* < **pṛñcā* (cf. KUIPER p. 433-4) also S. M. KATRE, *Two Lectures on Linguistics,* p. 32--3 (Agra University, Agra 1959). It may be added for the sake of information that the English translation of P. THIEME's views on *pūjā* has appeared in the *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, 27 <1960> 1--16.

p. 105 : A study of inscriptional Sanskrit is likely to show many Sanskritizations of Persian and modern Indian words e.g. *sphurannāma* for Persian *firman, ghrāṇaka* for modern Indian *ghāṇā,* etc. (oil-mill).

p. 108 : H' translates *ojaḥ samāsa-bhūyastvam, etad gadyasya jīvitam* = "*der haöufige Gebrauch von Kompositis verleiht der Prosa Kraft, er ist ihr Lebensnerv*". Strictly speaking this does not appear to be correct. The translation should be : "Force or Strength consists in the abundance of compounds; this is the soul of prose."

p. 109 : While speaking about the popular form of the epic Sanskrit H' tries to explain the fact that the Sūtas, who did not belong to the Brahmanical circles, did not strictly follow the rules of Sanskrit grammar, because they composed and sang for the princes, the kings, the nobles and the rich, "*also für die weltlichen Staönde.*" This, however, stands in contradiction to what is said earlier on p. 106--7. There H' regards the use of Sanskrit in dramas by kings, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, etc., to reflect the actual conditions. These male characters in the drama speak classical Sanskrit and not epic Sanskrit.

p. 118 : In the enumeration of the modern Indian languages, H' mentions such dialects as Bhīlī, Khāndeśī among the most important ones. On the other hand he puts Hindustānī, Urdū into brackets, which is hardly proper.

p. 120 : The linear development of the Indian languages in the form of a family-tree as shown on p. 120 is over - simplified. The correct picture, when worked out somewhat on the lines of the development of the Romance languages given by ROBERT A. HALL Jr. in *Language* 26 (1950) 6--27, will certainly look much more complex.

p. 136 : About a different view regarding the meaning of upaniṣad (= connection), see L. RENOU, *C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol.,* p. 55 ff., Madras 1946.

p. 140 : If the reviewer understands correctly, it is not very complimentary to call the Bhandarkar Institute's edition of the Mahābhārata '*Eine Art Kritische Ausgabe*'. The principles evolved by V. S. SUKHATNKAR for the critical edition of the epic were upheld by many eminent scholars. H. LÜDERS regarded them as deserving "the highest possible praise". There were no doubt a few who were critical. But to brush aside on that account the great attempt in the above words is not fair. The Baroda edition of the Rāmāyaṇa under preparation is referred to by H' simply as '*Eine Neuausgabe*' (p. 142), whereas it should correctly be described as "a new critical edition".

p. 165 : To name north India as Hindustān and to mention it separately by the side of Bihār and Benares is not good.

p. 193 : One does not understand why the Devanāgarī characters for *du* and *dū* are mentioned as "*besonders zu merken*".

p. 194 : In Devanāgarī, in the ligatures with *na,* there is really no loss of the vertical line of *na.* When the Devanāgarī ligatures are properly understood many apparent exceptions will disappear. In the ligature *dhna,* e.g., what is really lost is the vertical line of *dha* and not of *na.*

p. 197 : In the *Sonstige Schriftzeichen* the a. could have included the use of the numeral three after the long vowel to indicate *pluti.*

II I : What is intended to covey when the early Indian grammarians are called "*indische Nationalgrammatiker*" is not clear.

II 5 : When the ablaut in the suffix is intended to be pointed out, it would be better to show it by writing the examples as *pi-tár-am, pi-tr-eḍ, pi-tā́* instead of *pitáram* etc.

II 12 :When the dat. sg. ending *-e<* -ei or * -ai* we cannot be sure that Skt. *vāce* (for **vāke*) results form the analogical generalisation as stated on I 293. If the ending in this respect was * *-ei*, palatalization is what is expected.

II 356 : Under denominatives, the a. observes that the suffix sometimes appears *as -iya- or - īya-* and gives two meanings for *putrīyáti (or putriyáti)* "*er wünscht einen Sohn*" or "*er behandelt wie einen Sohn.*" According to Pāṇini, however, we have two different suffixes to express these two meanings *kyac* (P. 3, 1.8) for the former and *kyaṅ* (P. 3, 1.11) for the latter.

Bibliographical Notes : As observed by Lehmann (p.212) the instructors will be able to fill the gaps in the bibliography. However, a few notes, not intended to be exhaustive and mostly relating to the Indian publications, may be permitted here.

p. 11 : The correct title is : *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

p. 13 : *Epigraphia Indica* is not printed in Calcutta and published from Delhi.

p. 13 : *Indian Linguistics* is now published from Calcutta-Poona (Linguistic Society and not Linguistics Society).

p.13 : In the section γ one misses some important Journals like the *Journal of the University of Bombay* (since 1932), *New Indian Antiquary* (1938-47), *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* (since 1939).

p. 28 : J. Jolly's work on medicine is translated into English (*Indian Medicine*) and published with supplementary notes by C. G. KASHIKAR, P. 1951.

p. 30-1 : M. R. KALE's *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* appears twice (sections 8 and 8 a) with slight variations. It is also recently published (1960) from Varanasi.

p. 32 : V. S. APTE's *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, revised and enlarged (in 3 parts) by P. K. GODE and C. G. KARVE, Poona 1957-59.

p. 32 ff : Under Dictionaries now add also ARYENDRA SHARMA's *Beiträge zur vedischen Lexicographie*, München 1959, and K. V. ABHYANKAR's A Dictionary of *Sanskrit Grammar*, Baroda 1961.

p. 35 :In the senction 10a where linguistic monographs are brought together one wonders why H. LÜDERS : *Varuṇa* (now also Vol. II) and P. THIEME : *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda*, both undoubtedly excellent works in themselves, are not mentioned.

p. 112 : In the *Literatur* for Pāli one misses H. LÜDERS : *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (Berlin 1954), although on p. 113 his view is referred to.

p. 122 : Among the probable Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit H' gives *toya*. This has been recently shown to be a probable loan from Tibeto-Burman (N. M. SEN, *Indian Linguistics*, 17 <1957> 50).

p. 126: J. BLOCH *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*. An authorised English translation by R. G. HARSHE appeared from the Deccan College, Poona, in 1954.

p. 128 : M. WINTERNITZ : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, Pt. 1 appeared from Calcutta in 1959.

p. 132 : Among the editions of the Ṛgveda, the one (with the commentary of Sāyaṇa) published by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1933-51 (4 vol.s, 5th vol. Indices), certainly deserves mention.

p. 135 : Does not M. BLOOMFIELD's Hymns of the Atharva-Veda (*SBE*, 42, Oxford, 1897) merit a mention?

p. 142 : N. A. GORE : *A Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa*, Poona 1943.

p. 145-6 : *Naiṣadhacarita*, English translation with Notes etc., by K. K. HANDIQUI, published by the Deccan College, Poona 1956.

p. 148-9 : An English translation of the *Mudrārākṣasa* by R. S. PANDIT, Bombay 1944.

P. 157-8 :In the information about the Dharmaśāstras a regrettable lapse is P. V. KANE's monumental work *History of Dharmaśātra*, Vol.s 1-5 (Pt 1), Poona 1930-58.

p. 159 : R. P. KANGLE : A critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* with glossary, Pt. I, Unviersity of Bombay, has recently appeared (1960).

p. 160 : R. S. PANDIT's English translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Allahabad 1935.

Misprints : It certainly does great cerdit to the a. if the reviewer has to say that the misprints are not many. A few like *Devanāgari* for *-nāgarī* (IX), *Śurasenā* for *Śū-* (113), *Assāmī for Asāmī* (118), *aṭāvī* for *aṭavī* (112) *des uns sonst* (*unbekannten*), *Köngs* for *des (uns...)Königs* (147), *dúhitaram* for *duhitáram* (207), IE n̥ once without (245) and once with (246) accent, *Im* for *im* (II 5) for -navant- see § 621 and not *s* 621 *a* (II 189), *ar* for *ār* (II 191), *runádhmi* for *ruṇádhmi* (II 237) are not at all serious.

Deccan College, Poona (India) — M. A. MEHENDALE

Mitra and Aryaman by Paul Thieme. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 41, pp. 1-96. 1957. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

Thieme observes : "The two Vedic gods Mitra and Aryaman—for the Rigvedic poet the two most important figures amongst the Ādityas after Varuṇa—have challenged research again and again." (p. 5). The problem of Mitra and Varuṇa was discussed by G. Dumézil in his book *Mitra-Varuṇa* (Paris, 1940 and 1948). He afterwards took up the problem of Aryaman in his book *Le troisième Souverain* (Paris, 1949). Before writing the present book, Thieme himself had dealt with Aryaman in his *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1938) and also in ZDMG 95. 219-221 (1941). As is well known, two very important volumes by Lüders on God Varuṇa have appeared in recent times (Goettingen, 1952, 1959).

Dumézil, apparently relying on certain identifications in the Brāhmaṇas, has come to the conclusion that there is a sort of opposition between Mitra and Varuṇa. Mitra is "le souverain sous son aspect raisonnant, clair, réglé, calme, bienveillant, sacerdotal", Varuṇa, on the other hand, is "le souverain sous son aspect assaillant, sombre, inspiré, violent, terrible, guerrier......" In fact, to Dumézil, a formula suggests itself : Mitra is *brahman,* Varuṇa is the king of the Gandharvas.

Thieme does not agree with this view. Dumézil himself admits that a large majority of the texts studied by him 'do not permit distinguishing Mitra and Varuṇa by clear features'. Thieme therefore rightly asks : "If there is not even a distinction, how should there be an opposition?" (p. 9).

In the present book Thieme gives his opinion on the views held by Dumézil, and also asserts his own views, which he had already expressed before, regarding these deities. He firmly believes that God Mitra is the personification of an ethical concept 'contract', God Varuṇa that of 'true speech', and God Aryaman that of 'hospitality'.

Thieme has set forth his arguments so cogently that it is difficult not to agree with him. As for the method, he says : "Everybody, of course also Dumézil, is well within his rights when 'throwing an hypothesis'. The value of such hypothesis, however, depends on the accuracy of the experiments that are meant to prove it. If our experiments are arranged in such a way as to be in contradiction to known facts and involve further assumptions which have no justification apart from making our primary assumption possible, our hypothesis remains a preconceived notion .... A hypothesis has sense only when it restricts our imagination and forces us

to try going into a certain direction. It can be disproved when this leads to absurd consequences" (pp. 16 and 17).

While one may fully agree with Thieme regarding the method suggested by him and with the results arrived at by him by the application of this method, it seems possible to offer a few suggestions with regard to the interpretation of certain Vedic passages cited by him. It is hoped that these suggestions will lead to a better understanding of these passages.

1. On pp. 39 and 42, Thieme cites RV 3.59.1a and b : *mitró jánān yātayati bruvāṇáḥ mitró dādhāra pṛthivī́m utá dyā́m* and translates, "Contract, when named, makes peoples array (arrange) themselves [with regard to each other]. Contract has earth and heaven in keeping." While commenting on b Thieme says that it refers to the cosmic function of Mitra and that it is contrasted with his rôle in human society which is spoken of in a. (Also cf. p. 58. Mitra keeps not only earth but also heaven). One is, however, inclined to feel that in the above passage, b is not intended to contrast with a. On the other hand, it gives a concrete example of the function of Mitra expressed by the term *yātayati*. Mitra arranges men (a), as he has before arranged earth and heaven (b). The keeping of earth and heaven is looked upon as an arrangement between them. It may be noted that in the RV 5.72. 2b, where the form *yātayájjanā* is used, it is accompanied by *dhármaṇā* in the instrumental. From this, one is led to suppose that *dhármaṇā* is to be understood also in our passage. When we do this—*mitró jánān (dhármaṇā) yātayati*—, the use of *dādhāra* in b is easily explained, and further, the interpretation suggested above is confirmed.

2. On p. 44, Thieme cites RV 3.59.2, the last quarter of which-*naínam áṁho aśnoty ántito ná dūrā́t*-he translates, "narrowness (anxiety) does not reach him neither from near, nor from afar." From his commentary on this verse it appears that Thieme takes *áṁhas* (anxiety) to refer to the possible lawless attacks in peace. It is, however, not clear why the literal meaning of *áṁhas* 'narrowness' is considered inadequate by Thieme. The line assures the one who keeps his contractual vow (*yás ta āditya śíkṣati vraténa*) that he will never be in the danger of facing narrowness of space. He will always have wide expanses at his disposal. This becomes quite clear from the use of *várimann ā́ pṛthivyā́ḥ* 'on the width of the earth' in the next verse (RV.3.59.3).

3. On p. 49, Thieme cites RV 3.59.4 : *ayáṁ mitró namasyàḥ suśévo rā́jā sukṣató ajaniṣṭa vedhā́ḥ* which he translates as, "Contract, [who is] worthy of (sacrificial) reverence, benevolent, a king of good rulership has been born [now] as this leader (?)". Thieme thus connects *ayám* with *vedhā́ḥ* which is at a considerable distance from it. In his commentary on this verse, Thieme says that *ayám ajaniṣṭa* should refer to fire because fire is occasionally present

at the time of concluding a contract and because fire is elsewhere identified with *mitra*. Linguistically, as pointed out by Thieme, *ayám* must refer to something that is before the eye, and *ajaniṣṭa,* as an aorist form, must refer to a happening that has just taken place. But if we accept Thieme's interpretation, this verse, which occurs in 'the only hymn that is dedicated to Mitra in its entirety' (p. 39), would refer to Agni and not to Mitra. This is not quite happy. Thieme tries to add to the force of his argument by pointing out that the last two quarters of this verse—*tásya vayáṁ sumataú yajñíyasā́pi bhadré saumanasé syāma*—are identical with the RV 3.1.21 cd which are addressed to Agni. But this evidence loses any force it has when one notices that in the RV 3.59 itself in verse 3 the seer says *vayáṁ mitrásya sumataú syāma.*

It is, however, not necessary to interpret this verse as referring to fire in order to justify the use of *ayám* and *ajaniṣṭa*. It can very well refer to the contract that has been just concluded and has been identified with god Contract. This will satisfy all requirements of the linguistic usage, bring about a natural connection between *ayám* and *mitráḥ* which stand close to each other in the verse, and will not force us to assign a verse in the Mitra hymn to Agni.

4. On pp. 73 f., Thieme shows how in a number of passages in the RV it makes perfect sense when *arí* is translated by (1) enemy, and (2) guest. On p. 74, however, he says that there are certain passages in which we *might* translate *arí* by 'host'. In support, he cites RV. 3.43.2 :

ā́ yāhi pūrvī́r áti carṣaṇī́r ā́ṁ

aryá āśiṣa úpa no háribhyām

'Come here, across many peoples! Here, to the blessings of the *host*, to us with thy horses!' In his *Fremdling* (p. 27), however, Thieme interprets *arí* in this verse as 'stranger' and translates *aryá āśiṣaḥ* by "den Segenswünschen für den Fremdling". He adds, by way of explanation, that a stranger, when received with blessings, becomes a friend. It should be possible to agree with Thieme in interpreting in the present verse *arí* as 'stranger', and not as 'host', but it would be difficult to agree with his translation of *aryá āśiṣaḥ* 'blessings for the stranger' (*aryé* dat.). We better take *aryáḥ* as gen. sg. (as in the RV. 8.54.7) and translate the expression as 'the blessings of the stranger'. The stranger, in all probability, is the one who has agreed to act as priest at a sacrifice (cf. the very first and other verses in this hymn which speak of sacrifice). It is to these blessings of the priest given to the sacrificer that Indra is invited to come across many peoples.

5. On p. 75, Thieme cites RV 10.27.8 *gávo yávam práyutā aryó akṣan*. He connects *aryáḥ* with *yávam* and translates, "The cows, let loose, ate the stranger's barely". But it would be better to construe *aryáḥ* with *gávaḥ*. The stranger's cows have eaten the native's barley. The calls, to which reference is made in c (*hávā íd aryáḥ*), are not those raised by the native, the possessor of the barley (thus, Thieme, *Fremdling*, p. 12), but those raised by the stranger, the possessor of the cows. He, with his calls, has let loose the cows in the barley field. The owner of the barley field is the *svápati*, referred to in d, and he wants to know how long he will have to tolerate the nuisances caused by the stranger.

6. A few omissions may be noted in the end. On p. 62, Thieme cites RV 10.89.9. While translating it, he has left out the word *durévāḥ*. On p. 83, he cites RV 2.1.4. While giving the text, he gives *bhavasi* in place of *sátpatiḥ* in the third quarter (probably under the influence of RV 5.3.2a). While translating the line, however, he has translated it as if both the words *bhavasi* and *sátpatiḥ* were present in the text. In d in the same verse he has left out untranslated the word *deva*.

M. A. Mehendale

PHILOLOGY

C[ARL] G[USTAV] HARTMAN : *Emphasizing and Connecting Particles in the 13 Principal Upanishads* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fannicae; ser. B, tom. 143 2).gr.8° 180 P. 3 tables. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki 1966. Fmk 14,5o.

In the oldest attested stage of Sanskrit, the use of particles is rather limited. They become frequent in certain parts of the Brāhmaṇas and in the Upanishads. Their use in the Upanishads is moreover marked by the abundant use of combinations in which the particles occur. This Upanishadic peculiarity concerning combinations "may be ascribed to the educational character of the texts. The teachers regarded their instructions as important and therefore worthy of being strongly emphasized" (p. 123). H' discusses the use of 13 particles in the 13 principal Upanishads (these are those translated by Hume). The particles dealt with are : *api, u, uta, eva, kila, khalu, ca, nu, vāva, vai, sma, svid, ha*. He has chosen to call the particles "emphasizing", rather than "emphatic", because the former word underlines their function of laying stress upon other words (p. 14).

There is a good deal of irregularity in the use of particles in the Upanishads, some paragraphs being practically free from particles while others have a frequent use of them. To the a. (author) this irregularity seems to be as much due to the difference in styles (speculative, descriptive as opposed to narrative) as to the fact that parts of the Upanishads have been written and compiled at different periods and by different authors (p. 165) -- It is often difficult to determine the exact significance of a particle. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the a. has admirably executed his task. The book has 5 chapters, followed by a summary. While the 1st chap. deals with the particles as they occur singly, the 2nd chap. deals with their various combinations; the 3rd chap. points out the relation between the particles and the Upanishadic style; the 4th chap. discusses the particles historically and tries to determine the position of the Upanishadic language; the 5th chap. is devoted to the theories of the Upanishadic particles. The a. holds the view that particles are not to be looked upon as normal words but rather as stylistical signs marking different stages in the narrative or underlining important facts in philosophical instructions. They also serve the purpose of punctuation marks like comma, semicolon etc.

On p. 23 the a. says that in a few cases *yady api* is not used concessively (i.e. meaning "even if", "even though"), but as conditional and hence translated simply by "if." By way of illustration he cites Chhāndogya 5,24,4. The a.'s judgement

in this case is based on the translation of S. Radhakrishnan, but he does not say why that translation is justified. To the reviewer it seems that in this passage *yady api* has the meaning "even if, even when." Moreover, Radhakrishnan's translation of this passage seems to contain another slight inaccuracy which is based on Śaṅkara's interpretation of the passage (Hume's translation of the passage is similar to that of Radhakrishnan). The passage runs as : *tasmād u haivaṁvid yady api caṇḍālāyocchiṣṭaṁ prayacchet, ātmani haivāsya tad vaiśvānare hutaṁ syād iti* = "Therefore if one who known this should offer the remnant of his food to a Caṇḍāla, it would be offered in his Universal Self" (RADHAKRISHNAN). In this translation *asya* is taken to refer to *Caṇḍālasya* and is construed with *ātmani vaiśvānare* (cf. ŚAṄKARA *ātmani haivāsya caṇḍāladehasthe vaiśvānare*). But in keeping with the style of the Upanishads, *asya* should be taken to refer to *evaṁvid* and construed with *hutaṁ*, " that [act] of his [i.e. the one who knows] will be an offering in the Universal Self." For a similar use of the demonstrative pronoun going with preceding *vidvān* one may cite from the same section of the Upanishad, *atha ya etad evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti, tasya sarveṣu lokeṣu sarveṣu bhūteṣu sarveṣu ātmasu hutaṁ bhavati*. Instead of *tasya*, even *asya* is used in the same section, ... *evaṁ hāsya sarve pāpmānaḥ pradūyante, ya etad evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti*.

On p. 30 the a. observes that the use of the particle *u* becomes more restricted in later literature. "In the classical language it occurs only after *atha, na* and *kim*, often quite superfluously." It would have been better if he had mentioned the use of *u* after *yathā* in the Nirukta in such expressions as *yatho etat* or *yatho hi nu vaitat* (1, 14 etc.) which are used to state the view of the *pūrvapakṣa* before refuting it.

Similary on p.40 f, the a. should have noted the uses of *kila*, either singly or in combination with *na* and *nanu* given in the Nirukta 1, 5 : *kileti vidyāprakarṣe evaṁ kileti/athāpi na nanu ity etābhyāṁ saṁprayujyate 'nupṛṣṭe/na kilaivaṁ, nanu kilaivam*. "[The particle] *kila* [is used] to show excellence of knowledge", as in "[it was] in fact like this". Moreover, [*kila*] is used in combination with *na* and *nanu* when questioned again (regarding the veracity of the statement) "not indeed like this", 'yes, indeed, like this."

Deccan College, Poona

M. A. MEHENDALE

Jānakīharaṇam by Kumāradāsa. Ed. by S. PARANAVITANA and C. E. GODAKUMBURA, published by Shri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya (Ceylon Academy of Letters), 1967, pp. i–lxxii, 1–401.

This is an excellent and a complete critical edition of the famous Mahā kāvya by the Sinhalese poet Kumāradāsa who, according to one tradition, was contemporary of Kālidāsa. Apparently this work enjoyed much popularity at one time, since it has been cited in many anthologies and other grammatical and literary works both in India and Ceylon. But in spite of this, the work had remained practically unknown for quite a long time. Even as late as 1947, S. K. DE while writing his *History of Sanskrit Literature* had to say, "The incomplete and not wholly satisfactory recovery of Kumāradāsa's work makes it difficult to make a proper estimate" (p. 187). The *Jānakīharaṇa* was first noticed by AUFRECHT in his edition of the *Uṇādisūtravṛtti* (1859). In 1891, Sthavira Dharmārāma published in Ceylon for the first time the text of the poem upto verse 22 of canto XV (the proper extent of the work, as we now know, being 20 cantos). This text, however, was based not on any manuscript of the poem itself–no manuscript having been known to exist in those days—but was reconstructed from Sanne, a word-for-word Sinhalese version of the poem made in the twelfth century. NANDARGIKAR's edition of the first ten cantos, based on the above reconstructed text, was the first Indian Dévanāgarī edition of the poem published in 1907.

A complete manuscript of the original text of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was discovered by M. Ramakrishna KAVI and S. K. Ramanatha SASTRIAR in Malabar in 1920. A copy of this manuscript is now preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Subsequently a few more manuscripts of the poem, containing the complete text or a part of it, were also found.

The present edition of the complete text in 20 cantos is chiefly based on the Madras manuscript with some help derived from the other manuscripts and the reconstructed version of the Sinhalese Sanne. Apparently the following remark made by S. K. DE in his *Hist. of Skt.Lit.* (P. 186, fn. 2) about the Madras manuscript does not seem to be justified: "The Madras MS existing in the Govt. Orient. MSS Library contains twenty cantos, but it is a very corrupt transcript of an unknown original, and it is not known how far it is derived ultimately from the Sinhalese Sanna." On the other hand, as the editors have pointed out, the text now made available clearly shows that almost all the blemishes, like the use of *khalu* and *iva* at the beginning of a verse, which the critics had noticed in the *Jānakīharaṇa* belong not to the original text of the poem but to its redactions.

The usefulness of the published edition has been considerably increased by one of the editors contributing a number of indexes and some text-critical notes.

The information given about the poet (pp. li- xix) is very valuable. It refers to a tradition current in Ceylon in the 15th century which ascribed the authorship of the

Jānakīharaṇa to a Sinhalese king named Kumāradāsa.[1] The editor critically examines the available evidence and comes to the concluion that the author of the poem was not a king himself but a member of a Sinhalese royal family. The explanation of Kumāradāsa's epithet *atiśayabhūta* given on pp. lxvii–lxviii is not likely to find favour. According to the editor, the epithet is to be explained as based on old Sinhalese **atisa* (= Sk. *adhīśa*) + *aya* (= Skt. *ārya*) meaning ' one who has become heir-apparent or heir-presumptive.''

On p. xxx, the editor has listed some rare words (or rather, in some cases words with rare meanings). It would have been better if the meanings of these words had also been given.

On p. 282, while commenting on II. 52, the editor translates *ajahād* ...... *dhāma* as "abandoned its ...... strength". Perhaps, it would be better to render it as "lost ...... (its) lustre''. This rendering will fit in better with the words *tamaḥsthānaṃ samāsādya* "having encountered the abode of darkness" occurring in this verse.

P. 283, VIII. 39 : The editor's reason for adopting the reading *cakṣuṣā* (instr.) against the manuscript evidence which gives *cakṣuṣaḥ* (abl.) has not been stated. It is also not clear why he refers to WHITNEY 414 end (p. 155).

P. 286, XIII 14 : The editor unjustifiably finds fault with Sanne which quite correctly understands *jahati* as a pl. form agreeing with *mṛgayoṣitaḥ* (also pl.). The editor wrongly looks upon *jahati* as 3rd per. sg. (the sg. form actually being *jahāti*) and then offers an unlikely translation of the verse.

P. 288, XV 62: The editor mentions that the reading *syānnare* which is given by the MSS. can be understood either as *syāṁ nare* or *syāt nare*. He prefers the former; but actually the latter has to be preferred so that *syāt* can be easily construed with *āsthā* in (d). It has nothing to do, as supposed by the editor, with *manye* at (b). The editors should have also accepted the reading *-dṛśi* (loc. sg.), going with *nare* and *vānare*, which is given by two manuscripts (the reading accepted by the editors is- *dṛśī*)

P. 288, XVI. 45 : The editors have done the right thing in allowing the text in (d) to remain as it is and not amend it to *vākyam ūce* following a possibility suggested by them.

In the end a few misprints, not included in the Errata (p. i), may be pointed out[2]: p. xxx, l. 5 (from below) read *vārttika* for *vārtika*; p. xxxi, l. 3, read *śarāsana* for *sarāsana*; p. 223, XX. 57 (d), read *prāyāt* for *prayāt*; p. 283, l. 3 (from below), read IX. 39 for IX. 31; p. 282, IV. 2 and p. 284, l. 2 (from below), read *Ṛśya*–for *Rsya*– and *Ṛśya* ; p. 282. IV. 20, read, 'while L. and M. have' for ' ...... has'; p. 286.. l. 15, read *mugdhadhiyaḥ* for *mugha*–. At a few places, e g. in III 49 (p. 31), *va* is printed as *ba* as in *kalahaṁsaśābam*.

---

[1] It is not clear why in this account on p. lii Kālidāsa has been referred to specially as the author of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Meghadūta*.

Pandit SHIVANARAYAN SHASTRI. Nirukta-Mīmāṁsā, Varanasi; Delhi : Indological Book House, 1969. 476 pp. Price Rs. 25. (In Hindi).
Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

This is an important and very useful publication on Yāksa's Nirukta after The Etymologies of Yāska by Siddeshwar Varma (1953). As the title of Varma's book indicates, his objective was limited. The present book, on the other hand, is more comprehensive in its nature. It discusses at great length, giving much valuable information at each point, many subjects relating to the text, its author, and its contents. The author has, for example, discussed such questions as the authorship of the Nighaṇṭu, the date of Yāska, the nature of etymology, the nature of Vedic deities, and many others which arise in the study of the Nirukta. At the end of the book, the author has contributed three chapters dealing with the state of society as reflected in the Nirukta, the philosophy of Yāska, and Yāska's contribution to grammar and poetics.

An enquiry into the nature of words and their analysis are fascinating subjects. It can be said that they attracted the attention of scholars early, and are well reflected in the Brāhmaṇa texts. Yāska's Nirukta is no doubt an admirable attempt in this direction. His hypothesis that all nouns without exception are derived from verbs has compelled him to set himself the task of deriving a set number of words from a set number of verbs, without taking into account such facts that not all the words in the vocabulary of a language are the result of inheritance and that certain words in the course of history change their form so radically that it would be almost impossible to make any guess about their origin without the help obtained from outside the language. He has therefore at times been drawn into making impossible derivations. The author has no doubt given expression to a balanced opinion (p. 221) with regard to Yāska's etymologies. But at times he has expressed his anger in very strong terms for those who have criticised Yāska which cannot be said to be appropriate in a scholarly work like this.[1]

The author believes that Yāska is the author of the Nighaṇṭu as well as the Nirukta (p. 29 and pp. 292-93, fn. 3). It is true that not all the arguments put forward by those who believe that Nighaṇṭu was composed by some other author before Yāska are convincing. But at the same time it is not easy to convince someone that Yāska was the author of the Nighaṇṭu. The beginning of the Nirukta, and especially the second sentence, *tam imaṁ samāmnāyaṁ*

1. It is perhaps all to the good that the author has seen only Rajavade's edition of the Nirukta (Yāska 1940) and not his earlier edition of the entire Nirukta with Marathi translation and notes (Yaska 1935).

nighaṇṭava ity ācakṣate does give an impression that Yāska was not the author of the Nighaṇṭu. It indicates that the activity of compiling the samāmnāya was completed in the past and that people, in the course of time, had come to call the samāmnāya by the name nighaṇṭus. (Cf. Durga : *nirūḍhā hīyaṁ etasmiñ chabdasamudāye saṁjñety abhiprāyaḥ*). On the other hand it would be possible to reconcile Yāska's statement in 7.3 — *yat tu saṁvijñānabhūtaṁ syāt prādhānyastuti tat samāmane* — with the above conclusion by restricting its scope to the *daivatakāṇḍa* of the Nighaṇṭu and by not making it applicable to the first two kāṇḍas as well.

The author has discussed at some length the question of Yāska's date. It is indeed difficult to agree with him when he considers Yāska to be not only older than Pāṇini but to have lived in the age preceding the Mahābhārata war (p. 79). Although the author has spoken very disparagingly about those who have at times agreed with Western scholars, the reviewer cannot but recommend to the author to weigh carefully the arguments put forward by P. Thieme (1935, 1958) in support of his view that Yāska is posterior to Pāṇini.

On page 10, the author says that the word *samāmnāya* etymologically means "traditionally handed down written document" ("paramparā prāpta lekha"). But how can this be true when we know that the ancient Sanskrit texts were preserved for a long time only in oral tradition ?

On p. 65, the author lists certain etymologies for which he feels that Yāska has relied merely on the similarity of meaning without paying any regard to the similarity of sound. But can we really say this when under this head the author lists such etymologies as *putra* < *puru* + √*trā*-, *alātṛṇa* <*alam* + (*ā*) + √*tṛd*-, *samudra* < *sam* + (*abhi*) + √*dru*-?

On p. 425, the author understands the Nirukta terms *ekaparva* and *anekaparva* (2.2) as referring respectively to the *taddhita* and the *samāsa*. It is not quite clear why he does so. Yāska here is obviously taking note of the *taddhita* forms and the compounds both of which could be of 'one joint' or 'more-than-one-joint'.[2] Skanda-Maheśvara have clearly stated : "nātra yathā-saṁkhyaṁ vivakṣitam/ kiṁ tarhi/ ubhayam ubhayatra/ parva sandhiḥ". It is true that Yāska does not give examples of *anekaparva* secondary formations; but he does give examples of *ekaparva* compounds (*rāja-puruṣa*) and *aneka-parva* compounds (*kalyāṇa-varṇa-rūpa*).

On p. 431, the author points to Yāska's use of the Vedic root √*bhṛ*- for the derivation of *bhara* and *bhrātṛ* and √*grabh*- for the derivation of *garbha*

2. It is not necessary to interpret *parvan* as *pada* as is done by Durga. Skanda-Maheśvara have correctly explained it as *sandhi*.

and says that it indicates that these roots had not gone out of use in the days of Ysāka and hence he could not be considered to be very far removed from the Vedic age. One may point out that the use of the Vedic roots by Yāska for the derivation of the Vedic words (*bhara* 'battle') is quite normal. His using them further for the derivation of words current in later times (*bhrātṛ*, *garbha*) only exemplifies his dictum : *athāpi naigamebhyo* (*dhātubhyo*) *bhāṣikāḥ* (*kṛto bhāṣyante*) 2.2).

The author's conclusion (pp. 432-434) that in the days of Yāska the vowel *ṛ* was pronounced almost like *u* is not likely to carry conviction. The examples listed by him for this do not point in that direction. To take only one case, if Yāska derives *muhūrta* <*muhur ṛtu*, it does not mean that he has in view *muhur* + *utu* > *muhūrta*; it only means that according to him *muhūrta* < *muhur* + $\sqrt{}$*ṛ*-.

The author often cites the views of other scholars, ancient and modern, while discussing many difficult points in the text. At times, however, he has failed to do so. A few of these omissions may be pointed out. While referring to the view of Audumbarāyaṇa (p. 109, 113), it would have been good to look to the interpretation of this passage by Brough (1952). Similarly while discussing the definitions of *ākhyāta* (p. 120), the author could have referred to K. Kunjunni Raja's article (1957). Some of the words and passages from the Nirukta discussed by the author have also been dealt with by the Reviewer (Mehendale 1965). On *pravahlitam* (p. 291, fn. 1) the author inadvertently forgets to mention the view of Skanda-Maheśvara on this word.

REFERENCES :

Brough, John 1952. Audumbarāyaṇa's theory of language. BSOAS 14.73-7.

Mehendale, M. A. 1965. Nirukta notes I. Poona : Deccan College.

———1968. Some aspects of Indo-Aryan linguistics. Bombay : U. of Bombay. Includes summary of Thieme 1935, 1958 (on pp. 4-7).

Renou, Louis 1942. Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrite. Paris. (Published 1957).

K. K. Raja 1957. Yaska's definitions of the 'verb' and the 'noun'. Annals of oriental research. Pp. 86-88.

Thieme, Paul 1935. Zur Datierung des Pāṇini. ZDMG 89. *23-*24* (Published 1936). See Mehendale 1968.

———1958. Review of Renou 1942. Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 46-9. In German. See Mehendale 1968.

Varma, Siddeshwar 1953. The Etymologies of Yāska. Hoshiarpur.

Yāska 1935. Nirukta. Ed. Marathi tr. and notes. Rajavade, Vishwanath Kashinath.

———1940. Nirukta. Ed. Rajavade, Vishwanath Kashinath. With notes, Poona : BORI.

[Received 15 April 1970]

MCDERMOTT, A. C. Senape (ed.). An Eleventh-century Buddhist logic of 'exists' : Ratnakīriti's Kṣanabhaṅgasiddhiḥ vyatirekātmikā. With Introduction, English translation and Notes. Foundations of language supplementary Series, 11. Dordrecht, Netherlands : Reidel, 1969. x + 88 pp.

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

The book under review contains a Romanized transliterated text, which is principally the same as found in *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī* (ed. by A. Thakur, Patna, 1957). Minor corrections and deviations from this text have been indicated in the foot notes. In the Introduction, the editor gives information about the author and his philosophy and attempts a comparison of Ratnakīrti with other 'flux' philosophers of the west. It would not be possible to understand the text with the help of the editor's translation alone. She has therefore added very useful notes to explain the logical and epistemological problems dealt with in this text.

Ratnakīrti, the Buddhist philosopher of the early 11th century A.D., flourished at the University of Vikramaśīlā. He was a member of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school of late Buddhist philosophy. Within this tradition, Ratnakīrti belonged to the sub-school of interpretation of Dharmakīrti's (7th century A.D.) *Pramāṇavārttika* which is "a highly original recasting of the basic tenets of the great Buddhist logician Dignāga (ca. 480 A.D.) into a system of logic and epistemology which became the point of departure for all subsequent developments in Buddhist logic (p. 2, fn. 8). Ratnakīrti defends the theory of nonmomentary reality which is expressed in terms "whatever exists is momentary" (*yat sat tat kṣaṇikam*). The *anvaya* version of this theory has been established by Ratnakīrti in his *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhiḥ anvayātmikā*. What he does in the present book is to establish the contrapositive of it, viz., "whatever is nonmomentary does not exist".

[*Received 22 June 1970*]

SOME ASPECTS OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS, by A. M. Ghatage, Shivaji University Extension Lecture Series-1. Shivaji University, Kolhapur, pp. 1-54, Price Rs. 5.00, 1970

This book includes three lectures delivered by Dr. A. M. Ghatage in the Extension Lecture Series organized by the Shivaji University, Kolhapur, in January 1969. The topics covered by the three lectures are: (1) Linguistics-theoretical and applied; (2) Linguistics and Language Competence; (3) Speech-Technology. The lectures are intended to be introductory in nature and are meant for an audience not of expert linguists, but of scholars forming a wider circle of the academic world.

Dr. Ghatage's plan seems to be first to introduce to the audience the subject of linguistics and then explain to them the relationship this science has to some of the practical problems facing the country today. He, therefore, tells his listeners in his first lecture what linguistics is and what linguistics is not, and then points out to them where precisely linguistics differs from the traditional grammars. In this context he emphasizes that a language has to be looked upon essentially as a system used by a given community for the purposes of inter-communication.

In the second lecture, Dr. Ghatage deals with some specific aspects of applied linguistics like the scope of language teaching and the number of languages to be taught, the medium of instruction, and the use of a foreign language like English in a country like India. He also refers to contrastive linguistics which is comparatively a recent development in linguistics. Dr. Ghatage points out in his discussion what useful part linguistics can play in tackling the above problems. Some of the observations made in this lecture-e. g. "Unless there is a strong motivation in the form of its use in one form or the other, the learning of a language is going to be a mere waste of time and energy and it is likely to be quickly forgotten" (p. 29)-deserve the notice of those engaged in policy-making.

In his third lecture, Dr. Ghatage deals with some technical aspects of the study of speech. He describes the functioning of various instruments like the Kymograph and the Spectograph and the uses to which a language laboratory can be put for teaching a language. He also refers to the use of visible speech for teaching deaf persons and the problems involved in machine translations. Although Dr. Ghatage intended to make his lectures not too technical, he could hardly avoid doing this in his third lecture. The reviewer confesses his inability to follow some parts of this lecture.

On p. 6, the lecturer gives the two words, German *lass* 'allow' and English *lass*, as examples of same words (meaning thereby words similar in sound) meaning different things. But the words are similar only to the eye, and not to the ear. On p. 8, the lecturer referes to 'duality' by which he probably means the duality of patterning in language as a system; but as he does not explain it, this point is not likely to be understood by many. On p. 10, Dr. Ghatage says that a language requires for its proper functioning only a limited number of sound units which should be 'discretely different from each other, easily produced and quickly identified'. But is it not true that the sounds of any language are thought to be easy by the native speakers of that language? On p. 36, Dr. Ghatage says that by the use of Kymograph it is possible to record the vibratory actions of different vocal organs like the vocal cords, mouth, lips, nose etc. But shall we say that in the production of speech sounds we have the vibratory action of mouth and nose as well?

Dr. A. G. Pawar, the Vice-Chancellor of the University has observed in his Foreword that the aim of founding the Extension Lecture series was to create "genuine interest among the University students for higher studies, acquaint the University Research workers with the recent thoughts and developments in different subjects of science and humanities and establish a constant link between the University and the intelligentsia of the region". It is not to be doubted that these objectives have been fully met by the lectures under review.

M. A. Mehendale

BALTS AND ARYANS, by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Indian Institute of Advanced Study Simla, 1968, pp. 1-178 and Plates I-XIX, Price Rs. 20/- (£2 5sh., $8.00)

In this book Dr. Chatterji gives a lucid account of all aspects of the relationship between the forefathers of the speakers of the Baltic Languages and those of the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages. He describes what may be called the 'character' of the Balts and shows how closely their culture and language are related to those of the Vedic Aryans. He elaborates on the beauty of the *dainas*, the national poetry of the Balts, which is preserved by them over the centuries by oral tradition. These songs are supposed to have preserved glimpses of pre-Christian life and culture – 'of a time when joy still walked over the earth'.

The Baltic and the Indo-Iranian, together with some others, belong to the eastern group of the Indo-European family of languages. The Baltic group is now represented only by the dialects of Lithuania

and Latvia in the U. S. S. R. Originally, one more language belonged to this group, old Prussian, which became extinct by the 17th century.

The Baltic languages, especially the Lithuanian, are supposed to be very conservative in character and hence they are very important for comparative linguistics. Lithuanian has preserved even pitch accent, which Sanskrit apparently lost in the classical period, – a feature which Dr. Chatterji seems to have missed to stress in his description of the Baltic languages. A few comparisons will illustrate the close phonetic-semantic resemblance between Sanskrit and Lithuanian : Sk. *sūnúś*, Lith. *sūnùs* 'son', Sk. *devás*, Lith. *dievas* 'god', Sk. *ávis*, Lith. *avis* 'sheep'. In declension, Lithuanian has all the Sanskrit cases except the ablative. But these resemblances, striking though they are, need not lead any one to suppose that a Sanskrit scholar can, without special training, read Lithuanian. This will be borne out by looking at the specimens of old and modern Lithuanian and Latvian literature given by Dr. Chatterji in Ch. XVI.

Dr. Chatterji seems to agree with those who are of the opinion that the original home of the Indo-European people lay in the dry steppe lands of Eurasia to the south of the Ural mountains. It is to be admitted that the present book is not the place where one may expect to find a detailed discussion of the different theories held on this subject. Nevertheless, it would have been better if the author had referred to P. Thieme[1] who, on good grounds, holds the view that the original home of the Indo-European lay in Central Europe, more specifically in the domain of the salmon rivers, i. e. in the region of the rivers Vistula, Oder and Elbe, approximately at the point where representatives of eastern (Baltic-Slavic) and western (Germanic) Indo-European languages meet.

On p. 25, Dr. Chatterji says that the name Balt may mean 'white marsh lands' and then 'the people connected with these lands'. He wishes to derive the word Balt from the IE root **bhē* or **bhā* and see the continuation of this root in Skt. $\sqrt{bhāṣ}$ (< **bhal-s*) and $\sqrt{\overline{bhaṇ}}$ (< **bhḷ-n*) 'to make clear, to speak'. He also assumes in Sanskrit the existence of a word **bhaṭa* 'white, bright', different from the attested *bhaṭa* 'paid servant, soldier', and says that this may have influenced semantically the Skt. word *bhaṭṭāra-ka* 'a god, or the sun'. All this, however, seems doubtful.

On p. 144, Dr. Chatterji observes : "A large-scale palatalized pronunciation of consonants before the front vowels is a point in which there is a noteworthy similarity between Baltic (Latvian specially) and Slavic, and this is not found in Sanskrit or other Indo-European

---

[1] Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache (1954).

languages of antiquity". But he could have noted at this point the fact that the Indo-Iranian branch had, in fact, in antiquity palatalized IE velars and labio-velars in similar environments.

On p. 118, Dr. Chatterji says: "In Primitive Indo-European a regular pantheon with gods of a nett and precise character appears not to have been fully established". One wonders whether he has used here the word 'nett' under the influence of the German language.

The book has a special interest for Indian readers because, as observed by the author, both the Balts and the Indo-Aryans have to some extent preserved certain traits of IE religion and culture. Let us therefore join the author in hoping that his book will serve the purpose of bringing together the Baltic and the Indian peoples "through knowledge and understanding, and sympathy and brotherly feeling". (p. xx).

M. A. Mehendale

THE PENGO LANGUAGE, GRAMMAR, TEXTS AND VOCABULARY, by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, pp. 1-233, Oxford 1970, Price £ 2.60 or 52 s.

The authors of this book are already known to Dravidian scholars as joint authors of a similar book on *The Parji language of Bastar* (1953) and *A Comparative Vocabulary of the Gondi Dialects* published in JAS (Calcutta) 2.73-229, 1960.

The Pengo language is spoken mainly in the eastern portion of the Nowrangpur sub-division of the Koraput district of Orissa. Together with Kui, Kuwi, Konda and Gondi, it belongs to the central group of the Dravidian family of languages. The language was practically unknown till recently. Although it was first noted in the *Census of 1891* (Vol. XIII, p. 186) no material from it was ever made available for inspection. In their book on the Parji languge, the authors refer to Peug Poroja of Orissa as the name of a tribe, but there is yet no word from them about the Pengo language. Even in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* of 1961, although its authors make a reference on p. vi to the discovery of the Pengo language, it was possible for them to use materials from it for their dictionary only in the Supplement published by them in 1968.[1]

The present study is based on the materials collected by the authors while touring in this region at different periods between 1957 and 1966. It is a fairly complete account of the phonology and morphology of the language. The book includes also some texts with translation

---

[1] Another accidental discovery, that of the Maṇḍa language, in 1964, has also been referred to in the Supplement, and in the book under review, on p. viii, the authors have promised to publish a description of it in due course.

and a vocabulary. The treatment is more historical and comparative than descriptive. Hence, while stating the simple fact that in Pengo both *-j-* and *-z-* occur in the intervocalic position, e. g. *bajek* 'much' and *mazi* 'son', the authors add: "Such cases are probably due to differences in origin, e. g. *-j-* may represent earlier *-jj-* contrasting at some period with *-j-*" (p. 5). Or again, on p. 7, we read: "Pe. *h* is unvoiced, as to be expected since it has developed from earlier *s*". A distinction is made throughout the description of the language between inherited and loan words.

The authors say that they found the language to be remarkably uniform and free from large scale dialectal variations. But they have themselves noticed some features characteristic of the eastern Pengo as opposed to the western Pengo. Moreover they state, on the authority of their principal informant, that there exists a section of Pengos called *Mahaŋ Parjas* because they use a past tense form *mahaŋ* for the standard Pengo form *macaŋ* (p. viii).

The eastern Pengo is marked by the use of a single phoneme *-j-* while the western Pengo has two phonemes *-j-* and *-z-*. It is not clear why the authors describe this state of affairs as 'confusion' (p. vii and 5), instead of calling it 'merger' of two phonemes.

The authors observe on p. 4 that although in some of the Oriya loan words they heard the open pronunciation [ɔ], they have not accepted it in their normal method of transcription. It is to be doubted whether this is the correct procedure to follow in the description of a language. On p. 13, the authors note examples of intervocalic *-ḍ-* in Pengo. This being contrary to their earlier statement of the development of intervocalic *-ṭ-* (*-ḍ-*) to *-z-*, and since the examples of the intervocalic *-ḍ-* are numerous, the authors call this an 'alternative development'. This will hardly seem satisfactory to those who still cling to the hypothesis of the regularity of phonetic changes. On p. 48, the authors observe that in Pengo the Dravidian numerals are only the first two. From three onwards, Pengo uses Indo-Aryan numerals. But on p. 50, they record the restricted use of Indo-Aryan numeral for one '*ek*' as a suffix in *koṛek* 'one score' and of two 'dui' in such expressions as *dui koṛi* 'forty'.

The reviewer is not quite familiar with the Dravidian languages and hence it is not possible for him to go into the details of the observations made by the authors regarding Pengo grammar.

M. A. Mehendale

reviews and notices

GOSWAMI, Upendranath. *A Study of Kāmarūpī : A Dialect of Assamese.*
Gauhati : Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam. 1970. Price Rs. 15-00, IX + 312 pages.

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona.*

In the book we find a detailed study of the Phonology and the Morphology of Kāmarūpī, a dialect or Western Assam The author notes that "The people of Western Assam and their speech were looked upon with contempt and the term Dhekeri was applied to them."[1] It is to be hoped that the situation has now changed. The treatment of the Phonology and the morphology is mainly descriptive, but we find that the historical and the comparative aspects have also been considered.

In the Introduction the author gives some useful information regarding the home of the dialect, the relationship of early Assamese and Kāmarūpī, some special features of Kāmarūpī which distinguish it from standard Assamese, and a brief analysis of the vocabulary[2] of Kāmarūpī. The author says that Kāmarūpī has a distinct stamp because Kāmarūp remained as a distinct political entity for a long time and that the means of communication between the east and the the west Assam were poor.

At the end we find an Appendix, which is divided under nine heads, some Specimens of the dialect, a Bibliography, and a Word Index.

On p. 56, the author purports to begin his treatment of 'Initial Vowels'. But his examples, *kar, kalah* etc., make it clear that what he means by initial vowels is really vowels in the initial syllable.

From p. 77 onwards the author gives examples of some ' phonological changes of a general character. Some of the examples cited by him are not quite happy. Thus, for example, he cites *nārāyaṇa* > *nārān* as a case of haplology (p. 81) which is not correct. Any word contraction is not haplology. Similarly the change noticed in *pāṭhaśālā* > *pātsālā* (p. 83) is not a case of assimilation, since the retroflex *ṭh* would have been replaced by *th* even in the absence of a dental

---

1. P. 13. The author does not explain the term ' Dhekeri '.
2. On p. 34, the author cites some words which he thinks are similar to Marathi. I am not able to recognise, except in a case or two, anything specially Marathi about these words.

sibilant *s*. This is a general feature of Kāmarūpī phonoloy. Hence this could be an example of deaspiration (*th* >*t*) which was probably due to the influence of the standard colloquial (p.84). The normal tendency, in the author's opinion, of Kāmarūpī is aspiration (p. 83 § 124)[3]

In many cases the author omits to take into account an intervening phonetic change and hence some of his examples are not immediately in accord with his labellings. Thus his example *sāri-tā*>*sāittā* can fit in his description of the assimilation of *r* plus some consonant only if we assume an intervening stage **sāir-tā*. Under 'unvoicing' on p. 87, the change should have been better formulated as *-ñj-*, *-j-*>**-ñc-*, **-c-*>*-s-*. Similarly, the change *-b* > *-ph*[4] on the same page should have been shown as -**bh* > -**bh* >*-ph*. Some of the examples cited under 'Deaspiration' (p. 86) would have been clear if the author had given the intermediate stage like *ḍh* > **ḍ* > *r*. In effect, however, the change **ḍ* > *r* shows a phonetic shift.

It is necessary to discourage the habit of quoting from authors where such quotations either are out of place or serve no useful purpose. On the page preceding Foreword, the author gives quotations (without proper references) from the works of Bloomfield and Gray. Of these, the former is out of place because in the present book the description of the language is not followed up by an attempt 'to observe a human group' or 'to probe deeper into the ways of the community and understand their historical origin'. On p. 4, in saying that the standard Assamese is being used more and more by the people, the author cites the following from I. C. Ward's *The Phonetics of English*, p 4. : 'should be encouraged since speech is a form of social behaviour.' One fails to understand why the author has found it necessary to give this quotation.[5]

3. But on p. 86 the author gives some examples of deaspiration also from kāmarūpī
4. Not intervocal *-b-* > *ph*—as indicated by the author.
5. The outhor does not give reference to the page number of the book, but merely gives the chapter number.

KELLER, Joseph R. *Linguistic Theory and the Study of English : A Selective Outline.* Minneapolis, Minn. : Burgess Publishing Company, 1968 91 pp. $ 2.75.

Received by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona.*

The purpose of this outline is stated to be, first, to point out that there is a basic coherence in the development of linguistics, from Grimm even to Chomsky and, next, to clarify "the cultural lags within linguistics." It is pointed out that linguistics in its very early stage was prescriptive; from this, after the discovery of Sanskrit, it passed through Comparative Philology and structuralism to transformational hypothesis.

The impact of these developments in linguistics on the study of old and middle English is not to be seen in the available descriptions. The author therefore indicates how this can be achieved. From the late Middle English to the Modern English period, however, the phonological and morphological changes are not so extreme and what one sees in this period is a large-scale borrowing of foreign words into the English vocabulary. The author therefore turns to the problems of style and usage. With regard to the former he refers to the Boas-Sapir-Whorf hypothesis regarding the relationship of world view and language structure; and as regards the latter he mentions the two extreme attitudes of doctrinaire permissiveness and doctrinaire prescriptiveness and rightly observes that "neither extreme is valid".

As an outline, the book will be found very useful. It goes to the credit of the author to have emphasized that although the term structuralism was not invented till 1920, Grimm, while thinking about phonetic changes, thought in terms of changes in the habits of articulation which led to the restructuring of the sound systems. He also aptly points out that the practices of the neogrammarians and the structuralists do not throw each other out.

While pointing out that it would be arrogant to call modern Western European Linguistics as the *only* science of language the author refers to the descriptive thoroughness of Pāṇini and his predecessors who are said to shave analyzed Sanskrit in the fourth century (p. 11). The author here does not ay whether B. C. or A. D. But that he means the fourth century A. D. becomes clear from his later statement: "the Hindu grammarians who described Sanskrit in the first centuries of our era" (p. 85). Since no one has ever thought of bringing down Pāṇini, much less his predecessors, to a date after the beginning of the Christian era, these remarks by the author are very hard to follow.

On pp. 22-23, the author gives dates of the Germanic sound shift. He says that IE bh, dh, gh became Gmc. voiced stops b, d, g, ca. 1000 B. C., and that IE voiced stops b, d, g, became p, t, k, ca. 100-500 A. D. But if the change IE bh > Gmc. b occurred before the change IE b > Gmc. p, the question arises why the Gmc. b, arising out of IE bh, did not become p along with IE b which became p in Gmc. Obviously the change bh > b must be supposed to follow, and not

precede, the change b > p. If the dates are given following E. Prokosch : *A comparative Germanic Grammar* p. 53 (Keller refers to Prokosch on p. 22), then it is worth while to note that Prokosch accepts an intermediate stage b ð ʒ through which bh dh gh passed before becoming b d g, and the date ca. 1000 B. C. given by him may have been intended for the first change bh dh gh > b ð ʒ and not for their ultimate appearance as b d g.

It is rather awkward to see (Bernard) Bloch's name printed as Block (p. 25).

[Received 27 April 1972].

BHATTACHARYA, Gopikamohan, (ed.). *Prācī-Jyoti. Digest of Indological Studies* Kurukshetra, Hariyana : Kurukshetra University, Annual, Vol. VII (1971). l, 281 pp. Subscription : Rs. 30; 50 s.; $ 8 per year.

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona.*

During the last two decades, the number of Journals devoted to Indological studies has steadily grown. There have also appeared during this period a number of felicitation or memorial volumes. While this increase in publications offers frequent opportunities to scholars to publish their research, it also makes it difficult for them to keep pace with the tide of new arrivals. The Institute of Indic Studies of the Kurukshetra University therefore started in 1963 the publication of the *Digest of Indological Studies* — Prācī-Jyoti— in order to enable the scholars to find in one place information about the articles appearing in different volumes. This was indeed a welcome objective. Unfortunately, the Institute, after having published, the first five volumes and part 1 of Vol. VI between 1963-68, had to stop the publication, and this in spite of the fact that the *Digest* "had won universal acclaim all over the world." It is therefore gratifying to see that the Institute has once again found it possible to start the publication of the *Digest* beginning Vol. VII for the year 1971.

The present volume contains the same different sections as in the previous volumes. It also publishes topics on which work is being carried on in different Universities for research degrees. In the end is given an (incomplete) list of Research Institutes and reviews of a few books.

A look at the *Digest* will convince any one of the great amount of labour that has gone into the preparation of the volume. The publication of such a useful reference work becomes possible only as a result of team work. It is pleasant to note that the Editor has found a willing body of workers to help him in preparing the material for the *Digest*.

In the first volume the Editor had said that it was impossible for him to include everything that had appeared in the different Journals and that he was therefore forced to make a "judicious selection of articles". On going through the matter presented in the volume under review one has to say that this principle of 'judicious selection' was not applied rigorously. Again, although one observes that the abstracts of papers published in this volume are on an average shorter than those in Vol. I (where they often extended to the length of a full page, and occasionally even beyond that), it must be said that they could have been still shorter. If both these principles—careful selection-and abstracts of minimum length—are strictly adhered to, it would be possible for the Institute to bring out future volumes expeditiously and at a considerable less cost, without sacrificing its utility.

[Received 29 April 1972]

reviews and notices

SHANKARA BHAT, D. N. *Sound Change*, Poona, Bhasha Prakashan, 1972. 98 pp. Rs. 12; $ 3

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

Ever since the beginning of modern linguistic studies, sound change has, quite understandably, engaged the attention of scholars. More than any other aspect of linguistic change, studies in sound change have produced some very important and interesting results. Owing to a general decline in the interest in historical linguistics in the past few decades the theory of sound change did not receive the attention it did in the 19th and the early years of the 20th century. However, in recent years there have been some refreshingly new approaches to the study of sound change, Dr. Bhat's being one of them.

The author, in the small compass of less than a hundred pages, tries to examine the bases of language change, the characteristics of sound change, the effects produced by sound change on language structure, and the methods employed to recover the sound changes. He has critically examined the well known hypotheses regarding the gradualness and regularity of sound change in the light of the evidence collected by him in his dialect studies in South India. He has offered some good material for a reassessment of these basic notions regarding sound change. But it may be doubted whether it would be good to throw away completely a hypothesis like that of gradualness and regularity which has proved its worth over a long period.

The most important contribution made by Dr. Bhat in this book is to draw attention to the fact that in the history of a given language no novel contrasts are brought about. What was until recently believed to be a new contrast, Dr. Bhat points out, is in effect only a shift of contrast (4-29). Thus, when in Indo-Iranian velar *k* and palatal *c* come to be contrasted, this is really a shift of an earlier contrast between vowels *a* and *e*. But it does not seem correct to state this as: "Sound changes are *incapable* of introducing new sets of contrasts into a language" (p. 82). It would be more pertinent to say : Sound changes are incapable of adding to the number of contrasts already existing in a language.

Equally interesting is Dr. Bhat's remark that "the basis for connecting together various written records of a language belonging to different periods of time is nothing but genetic hypothesis itself..." (p. 20). Dr. Bhat has not elaborated on this point, but he seems to see a similarity of approach in comparing two synchronic stages of related languages and two diachronic stages of supposedly the same language. Both approaches lead us to the establishment of historical relationship. Comparison of OIA *karṇa* and MIA *kaṇṇa* would be on par with the comparison of Skt. *soma* and Avestan *haoma* if the two sets of correspondences are considered as cognates in the sense that they are etymologically related. That in one case the established etymology, *karṇa*, happens to be identical with one of the two items compared makes it no different from the other where the suggested etymology **saoma* is different from both the compared items.

Even in the latter type of comparison, occasionally the suggested etymologies do turn out to be identical with one of the compared items, as with IE *esti* >Sk. *asti*, *Gk esti*. In essence Dr. Bhat's suggestion comes very close to that of Hockett who, while pointing out the reflexive nature of genetic relationship observes: "Consider the limiting case in which we compare a language with itself, Recurring correspondences are then indentities, every form is cognate with itself and from the beginning there is no unexplained residue." (1965 : p. 189).

But there is a contradiction involved in Dr. Bhat's exposition. He looks upon the comparison of two dialects on the basis of genetic hypothesis as an *internal criterion* for observing sound change, and even though he considers comparison of two diachronic records of a language as a case of genetic hypothesis, he looks upon it as *external evidence* for language change (p. 20). A few other comments may be offered :

(1) On p. 31 Dr. Bhat gives three English words *knight*, *knob*, and *knowledge* as examples where childern must have failed to internalize the distinction between *k* and its absence in the initial pre-nasal environment. But whereas in the case of *knight* there is a comparable word *night* where one can imagine a child to have failed to note the distinction between the initial *kn*- and *n*-, there is no such comparable item for *knowledge*. As for *knob*, although a word *nob* exists in English it is hardly likely to come a child's way.

(2) The fact (and not "the assumption") that a lost phonological contrast cannot be recovered through following sound changes is a *limtation* and not the main basis of comparative method (pp. 35–6).

(3) The diagram (p. 61) showing the split of k^w to *k* and *c* is so drawn as to indicate that the velar part of k^w has developed into *k* and the labial part of it has developed into *c*. But this is not correct. It would have been better for the author to indicate the split of a simple velar *k* and not that of a labio-velar k^w

(4) The Sanskrit stem is not *suhṛt* (p. 64) but *suhṛd* .

(5) The alternation *j*∼*k* and *j*∼*ṭ* in Sanskrit cannot be called non-automatic. It is automatic, but non-unique.

(6) The appearence of *v* in *wives* is not in the intervocalic position (although it appears intervocal in spelling) [*wives* was once' wi:vəz.-ARK.]

(7) A few comments regarding examples or glosses: (i) p.53: Pāli *mottia* is incorrect; (ii) p. 69: Hindi *parnī* 'bride' is doubtful; (iii) p.87: German *Bund* 'pocket' is incorrect; (iv) p.57: palatalization of a velar before a palatal vowel *e* as in **keḍi* > *cedu* is not a good example of partial assimilation. A better example would be Skt.* *ud-matta* > *un-matta*.

A word of caution may be given to the reader. Dr. Bhat seems to be specially fond of the phrase 'a number of.' He has used it no less than five times in a single page of preface. It is likely that he does not mean it literally every time he uses it.

REFERENCE

Hockett, Charles F. 1965. Sound change. Lg. 41.

[Received 30 March 1973]

SAKSENA, B. R., CHATURVEDI, S. P. and others, (ed). *Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume*, Part I, being Vol. XXVII parts 3-4 of the Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, 1972, pp. 373.

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona.*

Prof. K. C. CHATTOPADHYAYA is known to scholars as a diligent researcher in the field of Veda and Sanskrit grammar. On account of his long association with Allahabad University and the fact that he was "one of the most brilliant students of Dr. Ganganatha Jha" it is but natural that the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Allahabad has thought of designating one of the Volumes of its Journal as a felicitation volume to Prof. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

The Volume contains many interesting articles. It is difficult to make a detailed reference to all of them in a short notice. L. ALSDORF convincingly points to one more hymn ṚV 5.78 as a "legend-spell" (Legendenzauber). Although he considers this hymn as a 'composite' one, he asserts that "I am far from maining that *every* sūkta of the legend spell type must be a secondary combination of a charm and an existing old legend prefixed to it later." (p. 73). P. N. BANERJEE in his article on Calcutta-Tokyo Language Axis gives examples to substantiate his view that "the Bengali and Japanese languages are strikingly akin to each other. Morphologically, syntactically, lexically, and idiomatically there are striking parallelisms between these two oriental languages...." (p. 35). Ramasvarup CHATURVEDI offers a brief grammatical analysis of the language of Sūradāsa. S. P. CHATURVEDI gives the text of the letters in poetic Sanskrit exchanged between Pandit RAMACHANDRA and an Englishman Lancelot WILKINSON. S. K. CHATTERJI refers to India-Central Asia contacts from pre-historic times. "We may however be justified in assessing that the Hindu.... was face to face with the Altaic Turk long before either of them came to India and the lands of the Middle East...." (p. 129). Dalsukh MALAVANIA makes it perfectly clear that the word *vāri* in the phrase *sabbavārivārito* used with reference to Mahāvīra in the Pali text cannot mean "water" but "sin". H. K. MIRZA suggests to render Sanskrit *āmnāya* used to translate Pahlavi patvand (Pazand paēvand) as 'descendant, lineage, family, succession' (pp. 330-331).

Among other articles mention may be made of Vedic *starya* — and Pāṇini 3.1.123 by M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, On the Sanskrit Literary Genres Paryāyabandha and Saṁghāta by H. C. BHAYANI, An Etymological Note on the word *s'man* by B. B. CHAUBEY, Atharva Saṁhitā and its Forms by H. R. DIVEKAR, Lakṣaṇa, "Grammatical Rule" by Sergin Al-GEORGE, The Adjectives of Early and Middle Oriyā by S. HOTA, Fresh Light on Pāṇini's Sūtra 1.2.32 by A. N. JANI, On the Galitapradīpa of Lakṣmīdharasūri by K. P. JOG, A Critical Study of Ch. V of Epistle I of Manuscihr Gōsn—Jamān by M. F. KANGA.

REVIEWS

H. R. DIWEKAR, V. P. LIMAYE, R. N. DANDEKAR, C. G. KASHIKAR and V. V. BHIDE, Ed., *Kauśikasūtra* Dārilabhāṣya, Post-Graduate and Research Department of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitha, Poona, 1972. pp. xvi, 36, 136 + 136, 59, Price Rs. 50, £ 3, $ 8.

Among the ancilliary texts belonging to the different Vedas, the *Kauśika-sūtra* (*KS*), belonging to the *Atharvaveda*, occupies a peculiar position. It is neither a Śrauta, nor a Gṛhya-sūtra but "a mixture of two distinct kinds of Sūtras, Atharva-sūtrās and Gṛhya-sūtras" (Bloomfield *JAOS* 14·xxi). The text of the *KS* itself is not easily intelligible and hence one is often required to take help from the commentary of Dārila and the Paddhati of Keśava. Until recently only extracts from these two texts, published by Bloomfield in *JAOS* 14, along with the text of the *Kauśika-sūtra*, were available to scholars. It was therefore necessary to publish the entire text of the commentary of Dārila.

This task has now been accomplished by a group of eminent and devoted Sanskrit scholars. Unfortunately they were compelled to base their text on a single manuscript, a microfilm of which was made available to them by the authorities of the University Library at Tübingen (W. Germany). Three other manuscripts of the commentary are known to exist; but these could not be traced by the editors in spite of their great efforts to procure them. The only manuscript, on the other hand, on which the present text is based, is corrupt beyond imagination. The difficulties of the editors in this situation therefore can be imagined. They must have been required indeed to struggle very hard to obtain a fairly intelligible text out of the corrupt manuscript. A look at the original text, which also has been reproduced in the editon by the off-set process, will convince any one about the truth of the following statement of the editors: "The editors had literally to wrestle with many passages for hours together—not unoften, in several sittings—before they could restore them to an intelligible form" (p. xiii). One really admires the patience, the tenacity and the ingenuity expended by the editors in bringing out this excellent edition. It is indeed difficult to express adequately our gratitude to the editors for this devoted work.

The edition first gives the text of the *KS* upto the end of Kaṇḍikā 48. This is followed by the commentary of Dārila—both as it appears in the original and as read by the editors. In the end are given some very useful and informative Appendices. In the Appendix where citations from the accented texts like the *Atharvaveda* are given it would have been better to give those citations with accent. In App. A (p. 12) we have a note (28·6) on *sarvayajñānāṁ cendrabhaktitvāt*. In this note we are referred to the

Nirukta 7·10. But this section of the *Nirukta* does not list sacrifice in general among the shares (*bhakti*) of Indra. In the note 53·3 on p. 31 of App. A. it would have been better to add that the *Nighaṇṭu* (1·12) itself does not list *rajaḥ* among the synonyms of water.

In the note 61·8 given in App. A. p. 24 one could have also referred to H. Lüders : Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien, Phil. Indica p. 106 ff. On p. 61 lines 10–11 of the commentary occurs the word *tālpāḥ* as qualifying *rājaputrāḥ*. Here the editors might have referred to the Śat. Br. 13·1·6·2 where we get the word *tàlpya* qualifying *rājaputrá* (*śatáṁ vaí tálpyā rājaputrā āśāpālāḥ*). The commentator explains the word *tàlpya* as *talpasādhavas talpyāḥ / śayyāgatāḥ talpena samaṁ rātrau ye sādhu rakṣanti*. On p. 107, line 13 Dārila explains the sūtra word *ākarṣa* as *ākarṣaḥ lohakaraṇam / aṅgārākarṣaṇārthaṁ kuṭakaḥ*. One may note in passing that the commentary Tattvabodhinī explains *ākarṣa* as *ākṛṣyate' nena khalādigataṁ dhānyaṁ ity ākarṣaḥ* (while commenting on the example *ākarṣaśvaḥ* given under P. 5-4-97)

On p. 123 of the text, in line 1 occurs the expression *amuṣyāḥ putrasya* as two different words. It is also given as two words in the Padapāṭha of *AV* 10·5·36. In App. B (p. 49) the editors offer the following comment : " But according to P. 5·1·133 *amuṣyāḥputrasya* is a compound-word." This statement, however, does not seem to be correct. P. 5·1·133 (*dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*) only tells us that the suffix *aka* (*vuñ*) may occur after a *dvandva* compound and the words listed in the *manojñādi gaṇa*. Hence we can have forms like *gaupālapaśupālikā* or *mānojñaka* etc. Now the expression *amuṣyapautra* (but not *amuṣyāḥputra*) occurs as one word in the *manojñādi gaṇa* and hence, according to the sūtra in question, we can have a form like *āmuṣyaputraka*. But the Sūtra itself does not say anything about the formation of *amuṣyaputra*, much less of *amuṣyāḥputra*. It would have been therefore better to state simply that *amuṣyaputra* as a compound from occurs in the *manojñādi gaṇa* (P. 5·1·133)

On p. 123 line 3 we read *idam aham akṣabrāhmaṇāyanaputrasya veccikāputrasya prāṇāpānāv apakṛntāmi*. On this, in App. B (p. 49), the editors have the following comment : " It is better to read *akṣasya brāhmaṇāyanaputrasya*." But this may not be justified. The sūtra (44·31) on which Dārila is commenting runs as *idam aham—āmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya...* Thus the Sūtra does not give any scope to name the individual, against whom the black magic is to be practised, by his personal name. The Sūtra wants him to be referred to only by way of his father and mother.

The title of the text as given by Dārila himself is Kauśikabhāṣya. The same could have been retained without change.

reviews and notices

Indian linguistics 36. 63-5 (1975)

SEN, Subhadra Kumar. *Proto-New Indo-Aryan.* Calcutta : Eastern Publications, 1973. viii; 182 pp. Rs. 25.

Reviewed by M. A. MEHENDALE, *Deccan College, Poona*

The present book, a doctoral thesis of Calcutta University, is written to describe linguistically a stage in the development of Indo-Aryan which the author chooses to call Proto-New Indo-Aryan. The title of the work is somewhat misleading. One picks up the book with the thought that one would find in it the description of a linguistic stage which is arrived at by reconstruction on the basis of the oldest recorded stages of some of the New Indo-Aryan languages. But this is not what the author does. He informs us in his Preface that his work is the result of his study of the language recorded in the *Dohākoṣa*s, and the allied *Pāhuḍadohā, Sāvayadhamadohā*, verses quoted by Hemacandra in his *Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsana* ch. 8 and some Jaina works like the *Kumārapālapratibodha*, etc. He considers that the linguistic stage which he describes represents Avahaṭṭha i.e. the later phase of Apabhraṁśa. But because this phase is very close to the oldest form of New Indo-Aryan, the author avoids calling his work a description of Avahaṭṭha, and calls it a description of Proto-New Indo-Aryan. He does it also because the term Avahaṭṭha is not used by major Prakrit grammarians. What, in essence, the author wishes to tell us is about the transitional stage between late Middle Indo-Aryan and early New Indo-Aryan. "This process of transition is neither uniform nor simultaneous in the different linguistic areas. Uniformity in the linguistic structure therefore is not to be expected. But a rough picture can be drawn out and the following pages are an attempt in that direction." (pp. 1-8). According to the author's estimate 'Avahaṭṭha is about 70 per cent Proto-NIA. Of the remaining 30 per cent 15 per cent form the Apabhraṁśa strain and the other 15 per cent are its own peculiarities." (p. 18)

Once we realize exactly what we are going to get from the author, we find in his work a perfectly readable account of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of this 'Proto-New Indo-Aryan'. To make his account more intelligible the author has prefixed to his description a brief sketch of the earlier stages of Indo-Aryan. All this forms part I of the book. Part II is supplementary to the first. The author gives in it specimens, with notes, of the texts on which his thesis is based. One wishes he had not called these specimens Proto-New Indo-Aryan

texts since as he has rightly observed : "No Proto-NIA text marked as such is available to us. It has to be reconstructed from the Avahaṭṭha (and Laukika)[1] texts known as yet." (p. 18) A concise vocabulary follows these specimens of texts.

Some comments follow :

(1) On p. 3, while describing how Vedic and Classical Sanskrit differ in vocabulary, the author cites examples of only vocabulary loss. He could have as well given examples of new arrivals in Classical Sanskrit, especially by way of borrowing.

(2) On p. 7 the author expresses his opinion that there exists "a *perfect* parallelism" (emphasis added) between 'Proto-NIA' and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit because the literary products of the close of the MIA period show some features of late Apabhraṁśa although in point of time they are closer to New Indo-Aryan. But such mixtures are likely to be found in any transitional literature. Moreover, as the author himself points out on the same page, the BHS is "to some extent artificial" while the proto-NIA is "based on colloquial".

(3) On p. 16 the author improperly includes items of lexicon like *ḍola* 'eye', *bani* 'horse', etc. under morphology.

(4) On p. 22 the author notes the retention of geminated *-ss-* in *parassu* and *suaṇassu* as an Apabhraṁśa feature as opposed to the occurrence of a single *-s-* in *tasu* which is an Avahaṭṭha feature. But he also says that the retention of double consonants is due to metrical necessity. If this is true, we cannot point to it as a retention of an old feature.

(5) In chapter 9 on Avahaṭṭha morphology one misses certain features. For example, one does not find on p. 68 the instr. sg. termination *-iṇa* (cf. *sāsanaliṇa* < *śvāsānala* 'hot breath' p. 146 verse 4); the very first item *airattie* in vocabulary does not figure under genitive. The two forms *caijja* and *bhamijja* which occur in verse 1 on p. 146 are not treated under the passive (pp. 89-91).

(6) Under Avahaṭṭha syntax (p. 103) the author mentions the use of the ablative-genitive and gives as an example *guruhũ pasāẽ* 'by (=from) the grace of the guru'. This is not the correct example. The use of 'by = from' applies to *pasāa* and not to *guru*. If at all, the author could have used it as an example of ablative-instrumental.

(7) The second line of stanza 3 cited on p. 146 runs as — ***navari mayaṅku vi taha tavai jaha diṇayaru khayakāli***. The author's translation of ***khayakāli*** 'at the time of mutilation (i.e. in the waning phase)' is not correct.[2] The word ***khayakāli*** goes with ***diṇayaru*** and not ***mayaṅku***.

[1] Of the Prakrit grammarian Puruṣottama.

[2] Prof. P. L. Vaidya's rendering (in his edition of the eighth adhyāya of Siddha-Hema-*Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 683) 'at the close (of the day)' is equally unhappy.

It means '(as the sun burns) at the time of (the world's) destruction'.

(8) The vocabulary at the end leaves much to be desired. For one thing it is not complete. And the words included have not received a uniform treatment. In some cases only the Sanskrit equivalents are given; in others, these are followed by meaning. At times the Sanskrit equivalent is followed by formal identification (*akṣaye* loc. sg.), in others only the form is identified (loc. sg. of *abhra*) without actually giving the Skt. equivalent.

With all this, however, the book is undoubtedly a welcome addition to the available treatments of Indo-Aryan.

[Received 6 May 1975]

REVIEWS

A PRAKRIT READER

[A Linguistic Introduction Based on Selections from Hāla's Sattasaī] H. S. Ananthanarayana : Central Institute of Languages, Mysore, 1973, pp. x; 99, Rs. 6/-

M. A. Mehandale
Poona

As the sub-title of the book states this is a modest attempt to introduce the reader to a dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan as reflected in, the *Sattasaī* attributed to Hāla. The author, first, gives a clear picture of the phonology and the morphology of the dialect as seen from the verses. He treats phonology both descriptively and historically, but makes no historical statements with reference to morphology. The description of the dialect is followed by a selection of some hundred verses and a useful Glossary. In the text of the verses, detailed notes on individual words are given to help the reader to understand the text. But it is not clear why the author has chosen not to translate the verses into English. On the whole the *Reader* will be found very useful by the students of Prakrit for whom it is intended.

A few comments may follow :

1) p. 6 : The remark "The plosives occur medially as geminates and with a nasal" is misleading. It is likely to give the impression that the plosives, otherwise, do not occur medially. How then would one account for the medial plosives in words like *koḍaa*, *kāpurisa* etc. ?

2) p. 10 : The author could have pointed out specifically that as geminates, in the medial position only the semi-vowels *l* and *v* occur, but not *r*.

3. p. 10 : The author looks upon *mv* in *cumvai* as an instance of *v* with a nasal; but he considers *mh* in *gimha* as an example of a

cluster. He should have explained the reasons for the two different treatments.

4) In historical phonology one misses a statement to the effect that intervocalic stops generally tend to disappear as in *pāa,pai* etc., and in descriptive phonology a statement to say that two vowels may occur side by side without coalescence.

5) In morphology one expects to have a clear statement about the loss of the dative.

6) pp. 28-29 : The author notes *ejjā* as an optative marker and then, among the terminations, he gives zero term for 1st sg. and for 3rd sg. and pl. However, in the paradigm there, three forms are shown with a final short vowel *-a* (*hāpejja*) for which no statement is made.

7) Certain words are not taken care of in the notes which occur after the text of the verses. Thus the words *pamkaa*, in verse 1, *tanti* in verse 2, *dūnia* in verse 3, *tog-* (*tog-gaa* > *tvad-gata*) in verse 5 are not explained. The last item does not occur in the Glossary either. In verse 5, the use of the particle *mā* has not been explained.

8) The expression *kāmassa tattatamtim kuṇamti* (p. 35) is a difficult one. The commentator explains *tattatamtim* as *tattvacintām*, but it is difficult to relate *tamtī* with *cintā*. It is, however, true that the word *tamtī* occurs twice in the Sattasaī (1.51, 3.73) where it means *cintā* 'anxiety, thought'. Dr. Ananthanarayana suggests to derive *tantī* from *tantrī* (Glossary under *tattatamtim*) but does not indicate how it can mean 'secrets of love'. One possibility could be to look upon *tamtī* to have the same meaning as *tantra*. The expression then means 'those who formulate the doctrine about the real state of love'.

9) The word *pesio* in verse 101 (p. 67) has not been explained. In the Glossary it is derived from *preṣita* 'sent'. The derivation is possible, but not quite appropriate in the context. The explanation *praveṣita* 'made to enter' would be more to the point. The first line of the verse means 'pride which was made to enter my heart by my friends having some how found on opening'.

As a matter of information it may be added that the *Sattasaī* has been published with Marathi translation and notes by S. A. Jogalekar (1956) and with English translation by Radhagovinda Basak (1971.)

INDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY ; by Claus Vogel (In the series A History of Indian Literature, ed. by Jan Gonda, Vol. V, Fasc. 4), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 303-401.

This is a very useful account of the Indian Lexicons, both general and special, as also bilingual and multilingual, and the commentaries on them. The whole account is neatly presented in a small compass of less than hundred pages. The author gives a brief introduction and then narrates the characteristic features of Indian lexica : the principles followed by the authors of the lexicons in organizing the lexical matter and the method of structuring individual items in this organization. This is followed by systematic information about the individual authors and their works. In supplying this information to the reader, the author has, apparently, brought together all available material on the subject.

In the opening statement the author says that Indian lexicographic work started with the compilation of word-lists (*nighaṇṭu*) giving " rare, unexplained, vague, or otherwise difficult terms culled from sacred writings." The well-known specimen of this kind, however, contains, besides the words of the above description, lists of synonyms and also a section called the *daivatakāṇḍa*.

M. A. Mehendale

HINDĪ-GUJARĀTĪ DHĀTUKOŚA (A Comparative Study of Hindi-Gujarati Verbal Roots) : by Raghuveer Chaudhari. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 380009, 1982, pp. 230. Price Rs. 45/=

This study of Hindi-Gujarati verbal roots is a welcome addition to the linguistic studies in the field of Indo-Aryan linguistics. The study was undertaken by Dr. Chaudhari for the Ph.D. degree of the Gujarat University. The work constitutes, in fact, a historical and comparative study of the Hindi verbal roots. It is historical in the sense that author tries to determine the sources of Hindi roots and it is comparative in the sense that in every respect he tries to ascertain the relationship of Hindi roots with those of Gujarati.

In the Introduction, called Section 1, the author narrates the work done in India and abroad in the field of the investigation of roots. The narration is informative and therefore useful.

The author next lists the Hindi roots with their meanings, indicating their etymology and listing a Gujarati comparable root wherever available. For the preparation of this list the author got his material from the standard Hindi lexicons and some dialectal studies of Hindi. He also includes some obsolete Hindi roots. The total number of roots comes to 4270. But for his further investigation the author rightly excludes from this list such roots which show differences only in phonetic forms and thus obtains the revised number 2981.

This list of Hindi roots, together with notes on them, forms Section 2 of the book though not specifically so described by the author.

The third and the last section consists of two parts. In part 1. the author gives the classification of the roots such as *tadbhava*, *deśaja*, onomatopoetic, *tatsama*, *ardha-tatsama*, and foreign roots. It may be remarked that it is necessary to consider the *deśaja* roots also as those coming from foreign sources, and, as the author rightly emphasizes, it is important to identify, as far as possible, the source which is vaguely labelled as *deśī*. In part 2, the author gives his conclusions based on statistical account.

The entire study has been carefully carried out and neatly presented (misprints are to be regretted). There could be some occasions of disagreement with the author, for example, one may not agree with his listing of *कत्थ (729) in addition to कह (781), or his mentioning of Guj. गम 'to like, to prefer' under Hindi गम 'to lose' (1073). Incidentally, don't we have Guj. गम in this sense ?

The author's use of शब्दकोशीय सामग्री-संरक्षण-शास्त्र for lexicostatistics (p.

205, also पूर्वभूमिका p. 3) may not meet with approval. Lexicostatistics would properly refer to the statistical study of a lexicon for drawing historical inferences or for any other practical purpose. One doubts whether this sense is conveyed by सामग्री-संरक्षणशास्त्र.

It would be easy to find fault with the author's use of abbreviations. These have to be, as far as possible, easily recognizable and are meant to be only to save space. The use of अ for अकर्मकधातु, तु (which one may suspect as standing for तुलनीय) for तुर्की, and many others of similar nature are not happy choices.

M. A. Mehendale

DRAVIDIAN THEORIES : by R. Swaminatha Aiyar, The Madras Law Journal Office, Madras - 600 004, 1975, pp. xlvii, 574, Price : Rs. 30/-

The contents of this book formed originally the subject of a series of lectures delivered by Shri Aiyar over sixty years ago to a selected audience. These were subsequently serially published in 1922-23 in *The Tamilian's Friend*, the Journal of The Tamil Education Society, Madras. Shri Aiyar thereafter continued his research in the subject and wrote a number of articles and delivered several lectures. In the light of this new material Shri Aiyar revised his original lectures with a view to publishing them in a book form.[1] But before the book could be published the author, unfortunately, passed away. Realizing, however, the importance of the work the officers of the Madras Law Journal decided to publish Shri Aiyar's book although it meant a good deal of labour. Some difficulties arose even after the printing was started, but they were got over and the book finally appeared to the delight of all interested in understanding the relationship of the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian Languages.

There was a time, says the author, when it was believed that the Dravidian languages had sprung from Sanskrit. This theory was rightly given up when Bishop Caldwell's monumental *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* revealed a grammatical structure of these languages quite different from that of Sanskrit. But, the author complains, now some scholars have gone to the other extreme and have formulated a theory according to which the Dravidian languages exercised a profound influence on the grammatical structures of the Indo-Aryan languages including Sanskrit. This theory implies that the Dravidian languages were fully developed before the advent of the Sanskrit speakers into India and that they were spoken all over the north.

The author believes that in his research he has tried to avoid the two extremes and has struck the middle path; but, in reality, he too has taken up a position which, although not identical with the erstwhile theory, is very much close to it.

"The aim of the present book" the author states "is to secure a reconsideration of the current theory of Dravidian languages on the ground that the theory is based on a misapprehension of the real facts of the situation, and is supported by assumptions some of which can be easily disproved" (p.

1 P. N. Appuswami in his *A Note on the Book*, p. iv, does not give the date of this revision.

538). The large number of materials collected and investigated by the author have led him to infer that "a very considerable majority, if not all, of the Dravidian grammatical forms have arisen from suffixed elements borrowed from Sanskrit and the Prākṛts during the last twenty or twenty-five centuries, and that the basic portion of the Dravidian vocabulary not traceable directly or indirectly to Sanskrit or other Aryan sources is not very large." (pp. 4-5)

There is no doubt that the author has collected a very large number of details, both regarding vocabulary and grammar, on the basis of which he attempts to base the above inferences. There is also no doubt that the author shows a remarkable control of both the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian languages. Naturally a scholar who has similar qualifications will be in a better position to assess the value of the author's observations. However, a few comments are made here regarding some of the inferences of the author.

As to the grammar, the author infers that most of the tense and modal suffixes used in Dravidian are of Aryan origin. This very important subject the author has dealt with fairly extensively with copious illustrations in chapters VII–XI. As mentioned above this portion will have to be reviewed by a competent scholar. However, it may be pointed out that the following statement made by the author while analysing the Malayalam future form *alikkum* 'will destroy' does not carry conviction. He says: "*ku*<*kṛ* 'do' is an aorist sign of Aryan origin which has latterly lost its force and is now a meaningless addition to the base in some moods and tenses" (p. 41). His further observation in the same context that "*-m* the sign of the future, is also of Aryan origin" without any elaboration leaves the reader very much in doubt. The author's attempt (pp. 211ff; 233–234) to derive the Dravidian interrogative base *y-* from Sanskrit *k-* is, on face of it, not convincing. For, while the *k-* base has overwhelmingly survived in the Aryan languages, its palatalisation before front vowels is conceivable in the Dravidian, but not its further weakening to *y-* (or total loss). If the author has a feeling that the Tamil benedictive endings were borrowed from the 'colloquial Aryan idioms' he should have cited the relevant MIA forms in support of his theory and not be content with citing the Vedic optative forms (pp. 40–41). It is a little characteristic of the author's line of argument that although he himself finds it 'strange' that the masculine ending *-n* and the feminine ending *-ḷ* should have arisen from the same Indo-Germanic present participle ending ***-a-nt***[2] he does not hesitate to accept it (p. 187).

The author does not agree with what the Editors of the ***Linguistic***

---

[2] *d-nt* appears to be a misprint.

Survey of India have said about the periphrastic future constructions and the past active participles. He wants to take these formations back to the Indo-Iranian period by adducing Avestan evidence (pp. 173–175). While doing so he has relied heavily on Kanga's *Avesta Grammar* (§471, §563). Without claiming any finality on the subject it may be pointed out that Jackson in his *Avesta Grammar*, although he notes periphrastic verbal phrases (§§ 722–724), does not give periphrastic future.[3] Jackson also does not give any examples of past active participle. All the Avestan examples given by Kanga as those of past active participle have been treated differently by Bartholomae in his Wörterbuch.[4]

The author has at various places discussed the vocabulary items. Since the book under review was written, we have now good etymological dictionaries and vocabulary studies which were not available to him. In the study presented by the author certain methodological drawbacks are encountered with which do not inspire confidence in his etymological inferences.

1) In considering sound-meaning resemblances it is better to take up items of polysyllabic structure than those of monosyllabic ones. In the latter case chance resemblances cannot be ruled out.

2) In historical studies it is necessary to state when a given item is attested. An item like Skt. *mṛga-* : Tā. *mā* 'deer' can be considered at all if it is shown that the latter is attested only since the post-Apabhraṁśa stage.

3) Wrong generalisations have led the author to unwarranted inferences. He states that the final short vowels of Sanskrit words of two or more syllable are quiescent (p. 17). But not realising that this is not true if the final vowel comes after a consonant cluster he expects the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *uṣṭra-* to become *oṭṭu-* (p. 18). What actually occurs, however, is *oṭṭa-* which seems to be quite in order under the circumstances.

4) The author's etymological speculations are occasionally vitiated by inconsistency. For the derivation of Tā. *aravu* and *aravam* 'serpent' from Skt. **sarpaka-* he imagines the intervention of a glide vowel (**sarapaka*), while for the derivation of Tā. *pāp* from **prasarpa* he apparently assumes assimilation and also certain other things (p. 21).

The result is that the etymologies suggested by the author appear, on the whole, far-fetched.

---

3 Bartholomae (887) treats *pāta ... ahmi*, *nipāta ahmi*, cited by Kanga, quite differently.

4 Cf. anvarštavas-təma (140), stərəθ-wat (1606), vībərəθ-wat (1448, this one having a Vedic parallel vibhṛ́t-van). xśvipta-vat (562) is etymologically doubtful. The author has wrongly read Kanga's *yānavat* as *ṣānavat* (B. *yāna-vant 1286).

There is one item which we may take up for investigation. On p. 20 the author observes that in Vedic Sanskrit *vāc* meant 'mouth' and it is from this word that Tā. *vāy* 'mouth' is to be derived. In support of his contention he cites a passage from the *Śrautapadārthanirvacanam* p. 170. Since in the ritual, the author argues, the sacrificer's wife washes the mouth of the sacrificial animal to the accompaniment of the mantra *vāk ta āpyāyatām*, the word *vāc* in this mantra must mean 'mouth'. The mantra in question occurs in the *Vāj. Saṁ.* 6.15 and it becomes clear that the Adhvaryu and the sacrificer repeat the mantra *manas ta āpyāyatām / vāk ta āpyāyatām* etc. while pouring water on the animal's head, mouth etc. in order to make the mind, the speech etc. 'swell' in the head, mouth and other limbs of the animal. Similarly if the sacrificer's wife cleanses the animal's mouth while saying *vācaṁ te śundhāmi* etc. (Vāj. Saṁ. 6.14) it does not, on that account, mean that *vāc* means mouth, but it only shows, as the commentator says, that the mouth etc. are supposed to be the abodes of the vital airs (*prāṇāyatanāni*). According to the Śat. Br. 3.8.2.6 the purpose of reciting the mantra is to put the vital airs and to revive them (*tat prāṇān dadhāti tat samīrayati*) in the dead animal's mouth, nostrils, and other organs which are considered to be the abodes of the vital airs. There is thus no qusetion of *vāc* meaning 'mouth' in the Veda.

A few sentences in the book like 'It is these particles and letters which are referred to as *tense and mood signs* in the tittle of this book' (p. 5) are unintelligible. On p. v we are told that some material is missing in the manuscript of the book without indicating where the gap occurs. Probably this remark is to be understood in the light of the Editor's foot note on p. 539.

M. A. Mehendale

SEXUAL ETHICS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN THE LIGHT OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA RULINGS: by Bhakti Datta, Asia Publications, London, 1979, pp. 124 + Annexe I – XVII (pp. 11)

In this book the author deals with the question of the evolution of sexual ethics in the light of four stories selected, at the instance of Prof. P. Thieme, from the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. The four stories are: (1) Bṛhaspati and Mamatā, (2) Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā, (3) Śvetaketu and (4) Dirghatamas. The two particular points investigated by the author on the basis of these stories are: (1) whether the stories and their modifications indicate any pattern of evolution of the *dharma* concept, and (2) whether the modifications reveal any attempt to bridge the differences, if any, between the practices observed in the stories and the rulings of the Dharmaśāstras.

For this purpose the author investigates the different stories on the following lines: the author first gives (1) the summary of the story, which is followed by (2) the translation of the relevant stanzas from the *Mahābhārata*. The author then offers (3) criticism of the text of the stanzas, and finally (4) the story is considered in the light of the Dharmaśāstra rulings.

The author's conclusions are given at the end. They are as follows:

1. In the *Mahābhārata* "legends with conflicting sexual ethics appear side by side without any attempt at explanation". (p. 110)

(2) These legends reflect "changing scenes of social values indicating time-related evolution in sex morality" (p. 104). This evolution centres round the following four main characteristics:

a) "Promiscuous situation when women were free outside the period of their *ṛtu*.

b) Privileged intimacy between brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

c) '*niyoga*' ...

d) '*niyoga*' slowly giving way to restricted and chaste conduct of wife". (p. 111).

3. The interpolations in the stories reveal "a strong current of brahmanification emerging within the society." (p. 115)

It is possible to agree with much that has been said by the author. However, it seems that the above conclusions stand in need of slight modifications.

In the first instance, although it is true that these legends with conflicting morals stand side by side in the *Mahābhārata* without any attempt at

explanation, we have to observe that within each story " an attempt at explanation " is to be seen in the changes that are introduced into the legend by way of interpolations or later versions.

Secondly, it is not possible to say that all the stories in their interpolations or later modifications reveal a current of brahmanification. This would have been true if the characters in all the stories had belonged to the non-Brāhmaṇa class and then the changes introduced had shown an attempt to modify the behaviour of the characters so as to make it conform to the prescriptions of the Dharmaśāstras. But this is by no means the case.

Some other observations seem necessary.

1. While dealing with the story of Bṛhaspati and Mamatā the author has not noticed one deviation between the Ādiparvan version (1. 98. 6 ff.) and the Śāntiparvan version (12. 328. 44 ff.). While in the former it is said that the sage, while still in the womb of the mother, had studied the Vedas and the ancillary texts, in the latter he appears to have studied these sometime after the birth. It is possible that the author overlooked this deviation since it did not pertain to any aspect of sexual ethics.

2. The author has already stated (p. 18) that in the third version of the story of Mamatā and Bṛhaspati in the *Mbh.*, Utathya, Mamatā's husband, is made to disappear in order to legitimize Bṛhaspati's behaviour towards Mamatā. But there is one more thing to note. This version makes no mention of Bṛhaspati's having come into physical contact with Mamatā.

3. On p. 29, the author observes : " After a thousand years Yayāti got rid of his desire ... ". But this has no basis in the text (*Mbh.* 1. 70. 44) and, in fact, it goes against what is stated there (*atṛpta eva kāmānām*).

4. On p. 49, the author states that in the *Mbh.* 1. 70. 42 we are told that Yayāti could transfer his decreptitude because of his own power of austerities, but that in the *Mbh.* 1. 78. 38, 40-41 king Yayāti is shown to be quite dependent on the brahmin Śukra for this purpose. This modification, in the opinion of the author, is an example of the rising brahmanic supremacy.

In fact there seems to be no modification. In the version of the story as it appears in the *Mbh.* 1. 70 we are told that the king's fulfilment of *kāma* had remained deficient due to the curse of Uśanas, but the details of the curse are not given. But we have no reason to assume that they were different from those narrated in the next version in the *Mbh.* 1. 77–78. There, the reason for the curse is said to be the king's flirtation with Śarmiṣṭhā. Śukra makes it possible for Yayāti to transfer his old age to anyone of

his sons by intently thinking of the sage (*mām anudhyāya ca bhāvena* 1. 78. 40). This cannot be said to contradict the statement of the earlier version where it is stated that the king transferred his old age by resorting to the strength of asceticism (*tapovīryasamāśrayāt* 1. 70. 42). The author has wrongly assumed that this *tapovīrya* belonged to Yayāti. But that could not be the case. The king had, no doubt, performed many sacrifices but that was not *tapas*. The king's resorting to the *tapovīrya* in the earlier version is the same thing as his 'intently thinking of the sage' in the later version. Hence this does not seem to be an example of the growing ascendancy of Brahmanism. (Yayāti practised penance only later in life 1. 70. 694*).

5. It appears that the author has misunderstood the significance of the *maryādā* on the behaviour of women laid down by the sage Dīrghatamas (*Mbh.* I. Appendix 1. 56). His 'restriction' has to be understood in the light of the story told there. Pradveṣī, the wife of Dīrghatamas, refuses to accept any money won by her husband and at the same time declares her intention no longer to maintain her husband as she did before. This means that she either wanted to take to another man or remain without a man. The purpose of the *maryādā* proclaimed by Dīrghatamas was only to prevent Pradveṣī from taking recourse to any of these two alternatives. There is no mention that the *maryādā* was intended to forbid any kind of *niyoga*. Hence the conclusion drawn by the author (p. 114) in this regard seems to be unwarranted.

6. On p. 116 the author states that Pāṇḍu appointed brahmins to raise issues on his wives. But this is not correct. It is true that in the *Mbh.* 1.111. 32, 36, Pāṇḍu says that he would like his wife to give birth to sons from some one either equal to him (a kṣatriya) or one superior to him (a brāhmaṇa), but in fact, he permits Kuntī to invite the gods (1.113.39) as suggested by her.

7. The author makes a mention of the 'shady profession' (pp. 116-117; also p. 97) carried on by Pradveṣī, the wife of Dīrghatamas. But it is not clear where the author got any evidence to cast such aspersions on Pradveṣī's character. In the text cited by the author there is a passage which makes reference to the manual labour (*śrameṇārtā*) which Pradveṣī had to do to support her husband and children. But nothing more than that. If the wife had to do *śrama* to maintain her husband it does not mean that she led an immoral life.

8. Another example of reading too much into the text is offered when the author says about Dīrghatamas that he "learnt the 'practice of cattle' and continued to do so in public" (p. 110). Now it is gross exaggeration to

use such an expression on the basis of the words *vitathamaryāda* or *bhinnamaryāda* used about the sage in the *Mbh.* 1.98. 1038*. Violating the socially accepted norms of sexual behaviour does not mean that such acts were carried on 'openly' (p. 89), or 'in public' or, 'public cohabitation' (p. 99) was practised.

The author has rightly decided to translate the relevant Sanskrit passages for being used in the text and not rely on the translations of other scholars (p. 5). The author's translations are, on the whole, accurate. But occasionally we meet with lapses. One may neglect a few cases of omissions, e.g. the word *kāmī* of st. 1.98.12 is not translated on p. 12, or the word *prakṣipya* (st. 1.98.18) is omitted in the translation on p. 86[1]; one may also neglect slight inaccuracies like the translation 'holy' of *dhīmān* (1.98.6 on p. 11) or 'charioteer' (in its usually accepted sense) of *mahāratha* (st. 1.111.35 on p. 82). But one cannot say the same thing when the author translates *avindat* of st. 12.328.44 as 'appeared there before' (p. 14) instead of 'obtained' or even 'married'. *yajato dīrghasatrair me śāpāc cośanaso muneḥ* (st. 1.70. 38) is rendered as "through a curse of the hermit Uśanas (at a time) while (I was) sacrificing in 'long session'" (p. 31). What is really meant is "(of me) who was sacrificing with long sacrificial sessions *and* by the curse of the sage Uśanas".[2]

The same is true of the author's translation of the *Mbh.* 1.77.10 given on p. 34. *aśokavanikābhyāśe śarmiṣṭhāṁ prāpya viṣṭhitaḥ* can impossibly mean 'having come near Śarmiṣṭhā by the 'Aśoka-wood' (the king) emptied his bowels'. The author should have at least thought about the propriety of the translation when thereby the king is required to do an act near the wood in the presence of Śarmiṣṭhā which he should have done in private. The line simply means '(the king) having found Śarmiṣṭhā near the Aśoka grove stood there'.

On p. 41 while translating *mām anujñātum arhasi* (Annexe X, line 237) the author adds into the brackets the words '(to go away)'. But the context[3] shows that what we have to add is '(to enter fire)'. The author uses (p. 71) the expression 'for your sake' to translate *tvatkṛte* of the *Mbh* 1.113.30[4].

[1] Or, alternatively the word *samavāsṛjan* is overlooked.

[2] Thus the reasons given by Yayāti for his *kāma* having remained deficient are *two* (cf the use of *ca*), and not *one* as the author's translation makes out.

[3] *āvāṁ ca sahitau devi praviśāva hutāśanam* Rāmā. Uttarakāṇḍa. App. I, No. 8, line 235.

[4] *tvatkṛte 'haṁ pṛthuśroṇi gaccheyaṁ putriṇāṁ gatim.*

This translation is not accurate if 'for your sake' means 'in your interest'. In the context, *tvatkṛte* is better rendered 'when this is done by you (i.e. when you have given birth to sons)' or 'on your account'.

The book is no doubt a welcome contribution to the understanding of the development of the notion of *dharma* so far as it relates to sexual ethics. As such it deserves a careful study. It is hoped that the author will continue to work in this field and study a larger number of the epic narratives.

M. A. Mehendale

MAHĀBHĀRATA – 1 Ādiparvan translated into Marathi and edited by R. S. Walimbe, published by the Vidarbha Marathwada Book Company, Pune, 1982, pp. 778, Price Rs. 120/-

Quite a few Marathi translations of the great Indian epic are already available, and of these two have recently appeared as reprint editions : 1. the Chiplunkar Mandali's translation (1967–1972) and, 2. the one by Shri Bhalba Kelkar (1982). The publisher of the book under review has justified the appearance of one more Marathi translation on the plea that the language used for the earlier translations is rather literary, used by the Pandits in their writings, and that those early translations tend to be unintelligible, when they are too literal or they are loose, because they strive to convey only the purport of the original text.

The publisher therefore set himself the task of providing a new translation to the reader which is faithful in the extreme to the original text and yet is written in a style that will make it readable. He no doubt found in Prof. Walimbe the person most suitable to execute this task. As he points out Prof. Walimbe is known for his scholarship in Marathi as well as Sanskrit. He has already to his credit Marathi translations of some well-known classical Sanskrit texts.

The translator on his part informs the reader in the preface that while translating the epic he has tried to avoid the two dangers noticed above, viz. unintelligibility and laxity. His principal aim, he says, is to lay bare in his translation what the author of the epic wished to convey to his audience. He assures the reader that while executing this task he has taken utmost care to see that he does not say anything that would go against the original text.

With these assuarances in mind when the reader goes through the translation he is no doubt satisfied with the readability and the intelligibility of the translation. But when one compares it with the original text one feels that the translator had at many places, perhaps, better done otherwise. In a brief review like this it is not possible to list all such places. Only a few examples can be given by way of illustration.

To start with very simple things, it is not clear why the words like *āyatanāni* (1. 12)[1], *sarveṣām ca mahīkṣitām* (1. 13), *Kurukṣetre* (3. 1), *vāgbhir ṛgbhiḥ* (3. 56), *aprameyam* (88. 8) are left out in the translation. It is also not clear why the translator takes such small liberties with the text

[1] The references in this review are to the Chitraśāla press edition followed by the translator.

when he renders the word *spṛhaṇīya-* (88. 10) as *atulanīya*, or *janmanā* (89. 2) as 'due to birth in a noble family' (when what is meant is, as shown by the context, *vayasā*).

As examples of wrong construeing may be cited the following : (1) The translation of 89. 1 presupposes the text to be *surasiddharṣilokāt prabhraṁśitaḥ ataḥ alpapuṇyaḥ*. But actually *prabhraṁśitaḥ* and *alpapuṇyaḥ* are to be separated and the latter is to be taken together with *prapatāmi*. (2) The last two quarters of 88. 7 belong together and form one sentence. But the translator makes two different sentences of them, as if the author of the stanza wanted to compare Yayāti in point of lustre and appearance also with the sun, as he compares him with Indra and Agni in the first two quarters of the stanza. (3) In 175. 2 the sentence really runs as *idam ākhyānaṁ sarveṣu lokeṣu purāṇaṁ paricakṣate*. The translation, however, runs as " this story, handed down by tradition since very old times, is famous in the three worlds ". (4) In the next stanza (175. 3) the construction is *pārthivaḥ gādhīti viśrutaḥ loke*. But the translation runs as " The king was named Gādhi. He was famous in the world ".

These are trifling little things, no doubt. But could they not have been easily avoided ?

More regrettable is the translator's slip of the pen when while translating the very first line of the epic he says that Lomaharṣaṇa arrived at the Naimiṣa forest. In fact it is Ugraśravas, the son of Lomaharṣaṇa, who arrived there. The translation of this line suffers from other defects too. The text of the original says that Ugraśravas who came to the Naimiṣa forest was well-versed in the Purāṇas (*paurāṇikaḥ*). But the translator, relying entirely on the fanciful explanation of the word given by Nīlakaṇṭha, credits the visitor also with the knowledge of the secret doctrine of the Upaniṣads. The translator renders the text word *sautiḥ* as 'sūtaputra' and yet he retains the word *sauti* in his translation. It is well known that this first line occurs again in the Mahābhārata (4. 1). The translator has rendered the line there correctly. It is difficult to understand why the same line has been rendered differently at two places not far removed from each other.

The translator informs the reader in the preface that he has made full use of the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha. He is convinced that Nīlakaṇṭha has made a careful attempt to reveal the mind of the author of the Mahābhārata. The translator has therefore found it fit to follow him to a very great extent.

While no one will deny the advisability of consulting a commentator,

one wonders whether it was necessary to follow him to the extent the translator has done. This can best be exemplified by pointing to the translation of the twelve stanzas (3. 57–68) in praise of Aśvinau. The stanzas have been composed clearly in imitation of a Vedic hymn, but this bearing is completely lost in the translation which is based on Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation. The well known reference to Aśvinau with words like *nāsatya* and *dasra* (3. 58) lose all their Vedic background when they are rendered as 'those in whom unreal and perishable things are totally absent'[2]; this is also true of the epithet *citrabhānū* (3. 57) rendered as 'who appear in the form of the diverse universe'.[3] The allusion to the Vedic myth according to which the Aśvinau saved a *vartikā* from the mouth of a wolf is completely missed when *vartikā* (3. 59) is rendered as '*jīva* in the form of a female bird'[4]. The stanza 3.66 is not even translated fully.[5] All in all one forms the impression that the translation of this piece is not that strict and faithful as it should have been.

There is one advantage for a translator when he undertakes to render a Sanskrit text in an Indian language. He can conveniently retain in his rendering such words from the original text as *kulapati* or *satra*. There is no objection to the translator's doing this, but since one cannot always be sure what ideas such words would evoke in the mind of the general reader, they are better explained in the notes. Moreover one has to be on one's guard. While translating the expression *prastāvayan kathāḥ* (1.6) the translator says 'while doing the *prastāvanā* of stories' which will be taken to mean 'while introducing the stories'. What is actually meant in the text is 'while initiating the conversational talks'.

The notes meant for nearly the first half of the translation are given at the end; the rest appear in the form of foot-notes. Most of the notes are on proper names. While these in themselves are useful, it would have been better if the translator had extended the scope of his notes. His last note is on 125.31 relating to the cremation of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī's ascending the funeral pyre[6]. He points out that the account given here is not in harmony with what is said a little later in 126.4. There it is said that the dead bodies

---

2 *asatyaṁ rajjubhujaṅgādi dasraṁ upakṣayadharmakaṁ ghaṭādi tadubhayābhāvarūpau*—Nīlakaṇṭha.

3 *vicitraprapañcākāreṇa bhāsamānau*—Nīla.

4 *vartikāṁ (suparṇasarūpāṁ) jīvapakṣiṇīm*—Nīla.

5 The word *nāsatyau*, therefore, which occurs twice in this stanza, is not translated.

6 The translator describes this as Mādrī's jumping into the funeral pyre, which does not exactly reflect what is found in the text. The original simply says *anvārohat* which can impossibly mean 'jumped'.

were taken to Hāstinapura. To resolve the contradiction, Nīlakaṇṭha interprets the word *deha* as *asthīni* (bones) and the translator finds this interpretation quite satisfactory. He, however, admits that this whole account is very confusing. Instead of agreeing with the commentator, the translator could have referred to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's remarks on this passage in his Prolegomena (p. LXXXVII).

The translator has taken for his basis the Chitraśālā press edition of 1928[7]. He does not state the reasons for his choice. One therefore does not know why he did not give preference to the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. One reason can be that the translator chose that text which is widely known in Maharashtra. But since the B.O.R.I. edition offers the reader the critically constituted text it would have been better if the translator had accepted the critical edition as his basis and popularised that text among the general readers. A golden opportunity, one feels, has been regrettably lost.

M. A. Mehendale

MadhuVidyā/659

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA - THE STORY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE : by S. L. N. Simha, Birla Academy of Art and Culture, 108-109, Southern Avenue, Calcutta 700 029, 1983, pp. xii, 182. Price: Rs. 25/-, $ 5.

As indicated by the sub-title, the book narrates, first, the story of the *Mahābhārata* (pp. 8–73) and, next, tries to make clear the significance of the epic for the present day. For this purpose, the author describes briefly but pointedly the chief characteristics of the principal figures in the epic, narrates some important fables and moral tales, and then informs the reader what the *Mahābhārata* is as a Dharmaśāstra and a Yogaśāstra. This is a very readable account.

It is well known that the *Mahābhārata* contains much matter that is not essential to the main narrative. Yet there is no doubt that this is considered by many to be the most important aspect of the epic. The author shares this view and is not prepared to accept that the didactic portions in the epic are interpolations. He puts it the other way round : " the story is subservient to the didactic theme " (p. 79). As regards the homogeneity of the book the author is quite emphatic : " the *Mahābhārata* is not a lose collection of various themes, but a book of remarkable unity of conception and treatment " (p. 80). It would be difficult to agree with this view.

While writing on the *Mahābhārata* as a *dharmaśātstra*, the author rightly emphasizes that it is necessary to consider the term *dharma* in its widest sense. While writing on *dānadharma* the author says that the *Mahābhārata* wants to stress that " Giving is not charity, but an act of duty. Disinterestedness is its main quality " (p. 137). Although the author has great reverence for the *Mahābhārata*, he does not fail to point out that as far as *strīdharma* is concerned, the prescriptions of the epic are one-sided, making it appear that " women exist only for the benefit of men, whom they should serve with the utmost devotion and loyalty " (p. 136).

The author on various occasions, especially while delineating the principal characters of the *Mahābhārata*, has sought comparisons with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This forms an interesting feature of the book. In order to enable the general reader to appreciate these comparisons the author gives at the end of the book the summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 163–182).

The author has made it clear in the Preface (p. ix) that for the purpose of writing the book he has almost wholly relied on English and Kannada translations of the epics.

M. A. Mehendale

MadhuVidyā/660

SECONDARY TALES OF THE TWO GREAT EPICS : by Rajendra I. Nanavati, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad - 380009, pp. xii, 195. Price : Rs. 50/-

Shri Nanavati discusses fully in this book some 'secondary' tales in the two epics - the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. By the word 'secondary' he means 'any narrative that does not form part of the original story' (p. 15). A little later (p. 27) he wishes to define the term as that tale 'which is complete in itself, independent of the original tale'. This has been elaborated towards the end of the book (p. 163) as 'that tale or episode may be called secondary which is not original, which is not connected in any way with the principal characters, or more correctly, with the central event of the epic, or again, shows stylistic differences or creates internal contradictions or unnecessary duplications etc.'

The author has restricted himself in this book to the tales in the Bālakāṇḍa and the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and those in the Ādiparvan and the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. In the author's opinion these tales 'represent nearly all significant varieties of tales' (p. 27) in the two epics.

The author has taken great pains to make a full study of all the implications of the tales. He seems to adopt in his treatment a historical, a functional, and where pertinent, a comparative approach. His view is that such a study "must be related to its (i. e. the tale's) mythical, ritualistic, traditional, linguistic aspects so as to decide whether it yields any real historical data or has ritualistic iconisation, or symbolises some philosophical concept or metaphorises some actual event" (p. 165). As a result of a full-scale study of the tales on these lines his conclusion is : "Cumulatively speaking the epic-stories are more often than not personifications or concretisations of some Abstract Vedic ideas. Philosophical concepts or sacrificial rites are often put in the concrete form of a story" (p. 166).

It will not be possible to enter into a detailed discussion of the tales and say whether or not the author has succeeded in proving his point of view. One may only note that the author occasionally makes statements which may not carry conviction. On p. 26 the author points out what he thinks to be the basic similarity in the motif-pattern of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Nala story. According to him, jealousy of the antagonist is the pivotal emotion in all the three tales. But the jealousy of Kaikeyī, or for that matter of Kali, for Rāma, and Nala is not the same as that of Duryodhana for the Pāṇḍavas. Again he says that the jealousy makes the antagonist use some trick against the protagonist. But neither Kaikeyī, nor Kali, nor Śakuni

made use of a trick (Śakuni won the game by his great skill and we have Yudhiṣṭhira's testimony to the effect that Śakuni did not employ trick *na manyate tāṁ nikṛtiṁ mahātmā* 2. 60. 42). The author's statement " Duryodhana asks Vidura to bring Draupadī in the assembly-hall to receive commands from her new masters " (p. 153) does not agree with the text of the epic. When Duryodhana asks Vidura *draupadīm ānayasva* (2. 59. 1) he does not mean 'get her (to the assembly-hall)'. This is made clear when Prātikāmin conveys Duryodhana's message to Draupadī with the words *sā prapadya tvam dhṛtarāṣṭrasya veśma nayāmi tvāṁ karmaṇe yājñasenī* (2. 60. 4). It is only when Draupadī raises the question of her social status that Duryodhana asks her to come to the Assembly to get the answer to her question (2. 60. 10).

It would have been to the author's great advantage if he had utilized the treatments by H. Lüders of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga episode and of the concept of *ṛtá*.

A list of abbreviations would have been useful.

The book is happily free from glaring misprints. An occasional slip like " The word Ṛṣya, spelt more correctly as Ṛṣya " (p. 41) leaves the reader guessing.

The author's work is admirable. The L. D. Institute of Indology may justifiably feel happy about its publication.

M. A. Mehendale

THE BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA : translated and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1983, Part I, pp. lxxxii, 1–389; Part II, pp. xiii, 395–719; Part III, pp. xv, 721–953; Part IV, pp. xv, 957–1223, Part V, pp. xxiii, 1225–1399.

The present publications in five volumes are in continuation of the laudable enterprise undertaken by Messrs Motilal Banarsidass to publish in a series English translations of Sanskrit texts related to Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology. They have already published the translations of *Śiva, Liṅga, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Nārada* and *Kūrma* Purāṇas comprising the first 21 volumes in this series. As said by the Editor, the series has been started

chariot'. But the word *saptaraśmirathaḥ* seems to mean 'whose chariot has i. e. is controlled by seven reins.' (5) On p. xlvi the translator cites a stanza *dṛṣṭaṁ vai* etc. in which occurs the word *mahātman*. This he renders as 'great soul'. But this word is not likely to be a noun. It should have been rendered as 'high-souled' (adj.).

The General Editor of the Series, Prof. J. L. Shastri, in the Prefaces to the five Volumes briefly indicates the contents of the respective volumes.

M. A. Mehendale

THE KṚṢṆA CYCLE IN THE PURĀṆAS : by Benjamin Preciado-Solis, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1984, pp. xii, 151, and plates 75.

The sub-title of the work 'Themes and Motifs in a Heroic Saga' is quite modest. The work, in fact, is much more comprehensive. It deals with "the stories of Kṛṣṇa, their origins and formation, the themes and motifs that constitute them, and their representation both in art and literature, specially in the Purāṇas up to the tenth century" (p. 124).

The author has done full justice to what he has aimed to do. In Chapter 1 he discusses the Vedic Antecedents of Kṛṣṇa and comes to the conclusion that although the main traits of the Vedic deities Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa are reflected in the later Kṛṣṇa stories, the name Kṛṣṇa in the *Ṛgveda* cannot be said to refer to the hero and the god of the Purāṇas. In Chapter 2, the author examines the next phase of the literary evidence beginning with the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.17.6) and ending with the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. He also draws on the epigraphic evidence like the Besanagar column and the Ghosundi stone inscriptions. It was during this period that Kṛṣṇa began to acquire the form in which he is widely known. Towards the end of the chapter the author establishes for this period the chronology of the development of Kṛṣṇa as a god and of the legends connected with him.

In the following two chapters (3, 4) the author has made an admirable survey of some characteristic themes and motifs in the Kṛṣṇa stories as they occur in the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Viṣṇu*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Devī Bhāgavata* Purāṇas, the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* and the *Bālacarita*. He also compares these motifs with their parallels in the stories of Indra in India and of Heracles in Greece.

In the last chaptar (5) the author studies the representation of Kṛṣṇa legends in the sculptures up to the tenth century. He has, for this purpose, included also the representations found in the Lara Jongrang temple at Prambanam in Java. This iconographic study opens with the representations of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on the coins of Agathokles discovered at Ai-Khanum on the Oxus river in Afghanistan in 1970. In his detailed study of the sculptures the author rejects some of the earlier wrong identifications, e. g. of an amorous couple in a sculpture at Pāhārpur, Bangladesh (pl. 40), with either Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or with Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa; or he suggests some new identifications, e. g. of the representation of the Pralambāsuravadha in the central scene on the pillar at Maṇḍor, now at the Jodhpur Museum in Rajasthan. The author identifies the female figure in this scene (pl. 8) with Rādhā which, if accepted, would be her earliest known representation in sculpture (4th century A. D.)

The author's appraisal of the evidence before him is generally strict. He seems to have slightly relaxed his rigour when on p. 36, column 2 bottom, he is willing to take the tradition of a certain Kṛṣṇa, a hero of the Vṛṣṇis of the Yādava tribe as far back as the Vedic period since the Yādavas (actually Yadus or Yādva) and the Bhojas (?) are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.

The author shows acquaintance with the wide range of literature connected directly or indirectly with the various details of the subject of his research. The author says that he undertook this study at the suggestion of Prof. Basham. Readers will agree that Prof. Basham's suggestion was directed to the right person.

There is an unfortunate slip on p. 125, column 1, line 10, where we find ' killing of Kṛṣṇa ' instead of ' killing of Kaṁsa '.

M. A. Mehendale

ERICH FRAUWALLNER NACHGELASSENE WERKE, Vol. I Aufsätze, Beiträge, Skizzen : edited by Ernst Steinkellner, published by Die Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1984.

After the death of Prof. Frauwallner on July 5, 1974, his literary Nachlass was first handed over to the editor and next it was gifted to the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University of Vienna. This Nachlass, the editor informs us, consists mainly of four parts : 1. ' Materialsammlungen ', 2. ' Arbeitstexte ', 3. ' Übersetzungen ', and 4. ' Darstellungen '. It is not the intension of the editor to publish Frauwallner's entire Nachlass. What will be published would be chiefly those texts which Frauwallner himself had finally intended to publish. This will be done in three volumes.

Volume I, which is already published, contains the following titles : I Über den geschichtlichen Wert der alten ceylonesischen (pp. 7–33), II Der ursprüngliche Anfang der Vaiśeṣika-Sūtren chroniken (35–41), III Der Navyanyāyaḥ (43–36), IV Der Navyanyāyaḥ, *ein Artikel für das* " Wörterbuch der Philosophie (57–61), V Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, IV Band, Nachgelassene Skizzen (63–133) : 1. Erkenntnistheorie und Logik der klassi schen Zeit (66–87), 2. Tantrayuktayaḥ (88–92), 3. Sprachtheorie (93–119), 4. Mīmāṁsā (120–122), 5. [Sprachtheorie des Vṛttikāra][1] (123–124), 6. Kumārila (125–126), 7. Dharmakīrti (127–133).

Each of the titles is preceded by the Editor's prefatory remarks which contain useful details. In the text proper the Editor has not made any changes except completing the incomplete references and partly modifying the references to literature since Frauwallner had often used editions not easily accessible today.

The present volume will be followed by one containing " Texte indischer Philosophie in Übersetzung " to be edited by Gerhard Oberhammer, and a third one containing select " Vorarbeiten und unvollendete Skizzen " meant for the first part of the third volume of the " Geschichte der Indischen Philosophie " which should have dealt with the rise of the Hīnayāna system. Apparently the third volume will be edited by the editor of the present volume.

M. A. Mehendale

[1] The title is supplied by the Editor.

POÉSIE SANSKRITE CONSERVÉE DANS LES ANTHOLOGIES ET LES INSCRIPTIONS, Tome III : by Ludwik Sternbach, Publications De L' Institut De Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°, Fascicule 51, Paris, 1985. pp. xlii, 415.

The list of the authors in this volume giving stanzas ascribed to them in the anthologies and the inscriptions begins with Yaṁpyāka (1138) (=Pāpāka 788) and ends with Hevidhanesora (1903). This volume also notes a few additions (1904-1919) to the first two volumes and has an Errata to Vol. II. The first two volumes were published in 1980 and 1982*. The present volume has been prepared on the same lines as those followed in the first two.

As has been noted by the author in his Introduction (p. xv) published in Tome I, the purpose of these volumes is " d'enregistrer les vers des poètes, soit inconnus, soit connus, sous la forme qui est la leur, dans les anthologies et les inscriptions. "

This purpose has been admirably achieved in this as well as the other two volumes. All of them bear testimony to the indefatigable industry and great devotion of the author. There is no doubt that the three volumes will be highly useful as reference works.

M. A. Mehendale

BHṚGUS - A STUDY : by Jayanti Panda, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi 110052, 1984, pp. xii, 200. Price : Rs. 120/-

The Bhṛgus or the Bhārgavas form an important family of the ancient seers known since the Vedic times. Their influence extends to the following periods and is reflected in the epics and the Purāṇas. The authoress has made a bold attempt to cover this entire period in the first four chapters of her book. In the last chapter — Conclusion — she calls attention to certain important aspects of the Bhārgavas such as their relationship with the deities,

* These have been noticed by Shri S. V. Sohoni in the ABORI LXV (1894), pp. 323-327.

their initial close relationship with the Kṣatriyas later turned into hostiliy, their mastery over peculiar sciences like the *sañjīvanī vidyā*, as also on archery. " Thus the Bhārgavas are pictured as sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending, and revengeful in nature. Simultaneously they are shown to be omniscient, omnipotent and supermen. ... Besides these qualities they are well known as the promulgator of Dharma and Nītiśāstra. ... The tendency of deification of Bhṛgu which originates in the Vedas reaches its final stage in the present versions of the Purāṇas. " (p. 181)

The book contains some unfortunate lapses which could have been easily avoided. On p. 4 we find *bhṛgave* mentioned as the plural form. On p. 53, " Finding the demons unarmed " is followed by the word *pragṛhītāyudha*, which means just the opposite.[1] On p. 78 the name of the lake is given as Brahmasara instead of Brahmasaras (*Mbh.* 13. 96. 7). It is difficult to understand what the authoress means when she says: " It appears that the descendants of Bhārgava Cyavana unanimously take Kṣatriya wives. " (p. 178). Equally unhappy is the sentence " ... and Nārāyaṇa incarnates to restore the fallen dharma " (p. 181).

M. A. Mehendale

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT POETRY, SANSKRIT—PĀLI-PRAKRIT : by Siegfried Lienhard, published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 307.

The present volume makes fascicle I of Vol. III of ' A History of Indian Literature ' edited by Jan Gonda.

" The poetry presented here is ... that poetry which is partly epic, partly lyrical. It is either written entirely in verse, entirely in prose or alternates between verse and prose. Formally it falls into two main categories: poetry of the major form (mahākāvya), which is almost always sub-divided into sections, and poetry of the minor form (laghukāvya), whose important relative is single stanza and short poems " (p. 2). In his concluding remarks (p. 273), the author notes that he has excluded from his treatment classical

[1] The expressions that actually occur in the Purāṇic texts are *nyastaśastrāḥ*, *tyaktaśastrāḥ*.

Sanskrit drama, inscriptions (praśasti) and letters of spiritual instruction (lekha). These two statements together give an accurate description of the material presented in the volume.

The author believes that classical poetry did not begin with epic works of considerable length, as has been usually assumed, but with *laghukāvya*, above all with *muktaka*, the one-stanza poem. It is from here that the classical poetry blossoms into the *mahākāvyas* composed in the *sargas*, from where it proceeds to the *mahākāvyas* in prose, ultimatley to end in the mixed variety known as Campū. Accordingly the author presents his description and analysis of the material in the following order: Chapter III Poetry of the Minor Form, Chapter IV Poetry of the Major Form, Chapter V Poetry of the Major Form – *Prose*, and Chapter VI Poetry of the Major Form – *Campū*. His first two chapters are intended to offer a proper background to the treatment of the subject.

In his prefatory note (p. v) Lienhard observes that the General Editor of the scheme had told him that the volume was meant to be for both layman and scholar alike. On going through a major portion of the work one can confidently say that the author has done full justice to the General Editor's request.

While writing on the beginning of the Kāvya tradition (p. 53), Lienhard lists four arguments which are meant to demonstrate that the *Rāmāyaṇa* "can hardly be said to represent poetry of the major form in the narrow sense". Of these, only the first argument — the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not consist of sargas but of kāṇḍas — seems to be relevant. It is not clear how his second argument that many parts of the Rāmāyaṇa have been interpolated can have relevance for the point to be proved. His third argument that we know early kāvyas that antedate Vālmīki's work will only show that the *Rāmāyaṇa* may not be called the *ādikāvya*, but this certainly cannot be used to disprove its being a *mahākāvya*. His last argument that the form in which classical poetry arose was not *mahākāvya* but *laghukāvya* will only show that such *laghukāvyas* antedate *mahākāvyas* but will not, on that account, disqualify the *Rāmāyaṇa* being called a *mahākāyva*.

The author has profusely illustrated his work with citations from the different works dealt with by him and these citations have been translated into English. While these translations are, on the whole, good, occasoinally one comes across certain lapses. The word *śikhā* (Raghuv. VI. 67) is better rendered as 'flame' than as 'rays' (p. 36); similarly *himadhāman* (Śiśup. IV. 20) is not 'place of cold' (p. 36), but 'whose rays are cool'. On

p. 141 he quotes, apparently approvingly, W. N. Brown's translation of the Mahimnastava 24. The word *nāma* occurring in the third line is surely an emphatic particle and it does not mean 'name'. Rather unfortuante is the author's assumption (p.40) that the Sanskrit word *suhṛd* (*Meghadūta* II. 16) is vowel-ending (*suhṛda-*) and not consonant-ending. When he cites the *Meghadūta* stanza he reads it as *suhṛdaḥ*, which is metrically defective, instead of as *suhṛd vaḥ*.

On p. 9 Lienhard cites *Nītiśataka* 60. While translating it he omits line 2, and while commenting on its composition says that it "ends in true praise of these genuinely noble beings *who are above fraud and deceipt*" (ital. mine), but the stanza does not have anything of this sort.

The book is happily free from misprints. The few that occur (like the one noted above *suhṛdaḥ* for *suhṛd vaḥ*, or °*rāmbha*° for °*rārambha*° in *Nītiśataka* 60 on p. 9, or *gadasya* for *gadyasya* p. 231, f. n. 5) can be easily corrected. The use of kapālaka "the group" for kalāpaka (twice on p. 66 and once on p. 67) needs to be pointed out. The writing of an author's name as Jayamāghava instead of Jayamādhava (on pp. 24, 25, 26, 28, also Index p. 280) has arisen due to misreading of the Devanāgarī *dh* as *gh*.

These are, however, minor points. The author has taken considerable pains to go through a larger number of primary texts and an equally large number of items of secondary literature and has produced an admirable account that is critical, informative and pleasing to read.

M. A. Mehendale

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, ITS GENESIS AND GROWTH—A Statistical Study : by M. R. Yardi, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, India, 1986, Pp. viii. 2, XIV, 235, Price Rs. 110/-.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute undertook to publish the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata with the objective of making available to scholars the oldest form of the text which could be reached on the basis of the available manuscripts (Prolegomena to Ādiparvan p. LXXXVI). The result thus obtained was never claimed to be the Ur-Mahābhārata, not even the form in which the epic was narrated by Sauti in the Naimiṣa forest. It was admitted that the critical edition contained interpolations which must have been added to the original text, if there ever was one such, at a time which the manuscripts cannot reach. Hence in order to rid the Ur-text of these accretions an approach different from the one based on the manuscripts was necessary. Shri Yardi believes that a statistical approach would enable us not only to identify the original Bhārata and the interpolations but also determine the chronology of the additions. (Preface, p. vii).

Shri Yardi's statistical study is based on the form of the Anuṣṭubh, the most predominant metre of the epic. He has excluded from his analysis stanzas longer than the Anuṣṭubh and prose passages (as also Adhyāyas having less than ten stanzas). The Anuṣṭubh, as is well known, has four quarters, each having eight syllables. In a quarter the fifth syllable is required to be short, the sixth long and the seventh alternately long and short. For the purposes of his statistical study, Shri Yardi has taken a line, i. e. two consecutive quarters forming half the śloka, as a unit. This means that in his unit of 16 syllables, those syllables occurring at places 5, 13, 15 will be short, at 6, 7, 14 long. The remaining syllables can be either short or long. In a line, then, since in 10 out of 16 places the poet is free to use short or long syllables, this can give rise to many stylistic variations. Shri Yardi has based his study on these variations.

Shri Yardi started his statistical study of the critically constituted text some twelve years ago. The results of his preliminary investigations appeared, beginning 1978, in different journals. All these have been reprinted as appendices to the present work which contains full results of his study.

In a brief Introduction (pp. I-XIV) the author tells us that as a result of his analysis he has been able to identify five different styles which he characterizes as A, Alpha, B. C, and Beta. Accordingly he concludes that there were four revisions of the original text composed by Vyāsa or Vaiśampāyana. The four revisions were made by Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, his son Sauti Ugraśravas,

the author of the Harivaṁśa, and the author of the Parvasaṅgraha-parvan, in that order.

In the first five chapters the author gives an account of the contents of the Ur-Mahābhārata (or should it be Ur-Bhārata ?) and the additions made to this original text in four successive stages.

This is followed by five very important and informative chapters on ' The Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas', ' Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Rudra-Śiva ', ' History of the Bhārata War ', ' Dating the Epics ', and ' the Date of the Bhārata War '. These chapters have an independent importance of their own and merit a separate review at some later stage.

The present reviewer cannot say anything about the operations carried out by the author in his statistical analysis of the epic. He will take for granted the correctness of the five different homogeneous styles identified by the author. But he looks askance at the conclusions arrived at by the author on the basis of these identifications.

It has been believed since long (cf. e. g. C. V. Vaidya— The Mahābhārata : A Criticism, pp. 1-8, 1904), that the Mahābhārata itself mentions three different titles of the epic — Jaya, Bhārata, and Mahābhārata, and that these were composed respectively by Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Sauti Ugraśravas. Shri Yardi rightly dismisses (p. VI) the view that Jaya[1] is mentioned as the name of the epic in the line *jayo nāmetihaso 'yam* (1. 56. 19) and agrees with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in looking upon Jaya not as a specific name of the epic but a generic name applicable to different works of this type. (Ādiparvan, p. 989).

It has also been believed, again erroneously and since long, that the Mahābhārata tells us that the Bhārata composed by Vaiśampāyana had an extent of 24000 ślokas (1. 1. 61)[2] and that the extent of one hundred thousand ślokas, as given in the colophon of the Ādiparvan (*śatasāhasryāṁ saṁhitāyām*),[3] was reached by the epic when it was expanded with the addition of the *upākhyānas* by Ugraśravas. The epic itself says nothing of the sort. In the first instance it must be noted that the epic nowhere makes a clear-cut distinction between the two titles, Bhārata and Mahābhārata. It calls, e. g., the composition of Vyāsa *Bhārata* in 1. 1. 17, 56, 58, 199, 201,

---

1 The extent of this Jaya was supposed to be eight thousand eight hundred stanzas (*aṣṭau ślokasahasrāṇi aṣṭau ślokaśatāni ca* 1. App. I. 1 f. n. 1, line 15, p. 884 = Bombay edn. 1. 1. 81).

2 So also Shri Yardi, Preface p. i.

3 Also 1. 1. 27; 1. 56. 13.

206, 208; 53. 51 ; 2. 242 ; it calls the same text *Mohābhārata* in 1. 1. 10; 53. 32, 35; 56. 1, 30-32. Secondly, it makes no distinction between the story as narrated by Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana. The stanza 1. 1. 61 — *caturviṁśātisāhasrīṁ cakre bhāratasaṁhitām / upākhyānair vinā tāvad bhāratam procyate budhaiḥ //* — has been erroneously interpreted to mean that Vaiśampāyana originally composed the text of 24000 stanzas and that it was then free from *upākhyānas*. That is not the case. The stanza only means that the sage Vyāsa, after having composed the entire Bhāratasaṁhitā (which also contained the *upākhyānas*), himself made (*cakre*) a shorter version of it, having 24000 stanzas, omitting the *upākhyānas*. Some 'learned men' call this abridged version 'Bhārata', which, by implication, means that these 'learned men' call the unabridged Bhāratasaṁhitā 'Mahābhārata'.[4] It is quite clearly in this sense that the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra 3. 4. 4 refers to two texts — the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata. But, as seen above, the Mahābhārata itself makes no such distinction. The epic is on record to point out the identity of the two titles by pointing out that the composition, besides being *bhārata*, is *mahat* and hence is known as *mahābhārata* (*mahattvāt bhāratatvāc*[5] *ca mahābhāratam ucyate* 1. 1. 209).[6] In fact if the epic statement is to be believed Vyāsa's text contained not only the *upākhyānas*, but also *khilas* like Harivaṁśa[7] and Bhaviṣyat, but that the Sūta narrated only the eighteen parvans in the Naimiṣa forest (1. 2. 69, 233; 1. 2. 71).

If then the epic recognizes only one title — (mahā)bhārata — for the composition of Vyāsa and two reciters Vaiśampāyana[8] and Sūta Ugraśravas, it is difficult to see how Shri Yardi asserts that the epic gives evidence for Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa also as one of its authors. It is true that the epic informs us that Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa told the story of Āstīka to his son Ugraśravas (1. 13. 7).[9] But this gives no ground to assume that Ugraśravas

---

4 The Sūta also knows the shorter and the longer versions (1. 1. 23, 25) made by Vyāsa himself (1. 1. 49).

5 The critical edition accepts hesitatingly the reading *bhāravatvāt*. Dr. Sukthankar defends this reading against Winternitz who favours *bhāratatvāt*. But he admits that the manuscript evidence is almost evenly balanced (*ABORI* 11. 179–180).

6 For other etymologies of *mahābhārata* cf. 1. 56. 31, 93. 46, and App. I. 2. 3–4.

7 The term Harivaṁśa in these references quite clearly does not refer to the whole of Harivaṁśa, but to one of its three *parvans*. It is curious that on both occasions where the *khilas* are named *Viṣṇuparvan* is not mentioned. It is once mentioned in some northen mss. 1. 2. 177*.

8 Although there are clear statements to the effect that Vaiśampāyana narrated the story to Janamejaya at the instance of Vyāsa (1. 1. 18, 57–58; 1. 54. 21–23), there are indications that Vyāsa himself narrated the story (1. 1. 59–60; 1. 53. 31–33).

9 Ugraśravas had also heard from his father, who was versed in the Purāṇas (1. 5. 1), the narration of the Bhṛguvaṁśa 1. 5. 5.

learnt from his father the epic as expanded by him by making additions to Vaiśampāyana's original text. There is no statement in the epic to this effect. According to the epic, Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa does not figure at all in the line of transmission of the text.

That Vaiśampāyana and Sūta Ugraśravas (Sauti) are among the authors of the epic is admitted at all hands. Now what has the statistical analysis to say about their share of composition ? It wants us to believe that Vaiśampāyana, the author of the Ur-Bhārata, composed only 13 of the extant 18 parvans and, what is still more striking, he had no hand in the composition of the two very important parvans of the epic — the Sabhā and the Āraṇyaka ! How can Janamejaya understand the epic story if the incidents of the Sabhāparvan are omitted from the narration ? It is not known how Shri Yardi in his account of the Ur-Mahābhārata can include the following lines if the original text did not have parvans 2-4 : "... who (i. e. Asura Maya) in gratitude built for the Pāṇḍavas a celestial palace. Duryodhana, on beholding that palace, became jealous and desired to possess it. And so deceiving Yudhiṣṭhira in a dice game with the help of his maternal uncle Śakuni, he contrived to send the Pāṇḍavas to the forest to spend a period of twelve years in exile and one more year in disguise." (p. 5).

This much about the omission of the two entire parvans in the original composition. If one goes through the contents of the parvans ascribed to Vaiśampāyana one may come across some serious omissions. The one such is to be found in the Droṇaparvan. Thus the original Bhārata is supposed to have contained Adhyāyas 11-25, 50-51, but it did not contain 26-49. This means that the original epic had nothing to say about the killing of Abhimanyu. This would be a very glaring omission and it is hardly believable that none of those who heard the narration asked Vaiśampāyana about the death of Abhimanyu on the battle-field. Even Sūta, who according to Shri Yardi was the first to make additions did not think it necessary to say a word about the killing of Abhimanyu, and it was left to his son, Sauti Ugraśravas, to make good the omission in his third redaction.

Since family discord (*bheda*) and the destruction of kingdom (*rājyavināśa*) form the kernel of the epic story (1. 54. 19, 22-24; 55. 4-5), and since the brief narration of the incidents in 1-55 stops at the death of Duryodhana, it is likely that the Ur-Bhārata ended there and that Vaiśampāyana had no hand in the composition of the *parvans* 11-18. But whereas the statistical analysis points to Vaiśampāyana as the author of some of the adhyāyas of Śānti- (12) and Anuśāsana-parvans (13), the contents of which

are not even remotely connected with the epic story[10] it does not assign to him any share in the parvans 11, 14–18 the contents of which have some relationship with the epic story !

According to the line of transmission revealed by the statistical analysis, Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, whom the epic does not recognize as the reciter, occupies the second place. He is supposed to have made good practically all the deficiencies in the text of his predecessor and gave it a form of 18 parvans. His son Ugraśravas, whom the epic recognizes as the reciter, is then left with the task of only making some additions to the text of his father. This he did to parvans 1–7 and 12–14, but none at all to 8–11 and 15–18.

What strikes one very pominently is that according to the statistical analysis the Karṇaparvan was left absolutely untouched by all the four redactors who followed Vaiśaṁpāyana. At least the statistical study has not been able to reveal any such additions.

All these are not realistic conclusions which would inspire confidence in the method. On the other hand it has to be observed that the analysis does give some realistic results like the Bhārgava legends turning out to be later additions.

After Shri Yardi subjected the constituted text to statistical analysis and identified five different styles, one thought he would carry out the same operations on the longer passages considered, on manuscript evidence, to be interpolations by editors of the critical text. He should have thereby demonstrated that none of these interpolated passages was composed in a style identical with any of the five styles used for the constituted text and thus even on the evidence of style they proved to be interpolations. If this does not turn out to be the case it would mean that imitation of style wes possible and hence identification of authors on the basis of statistical analysis alone is not possible.

Moreover, there does not seem to be any reason why an epic poet should go on monotonously composing in a single style when so many different alternatives were available to him. The statistical analysis reveals that the *upākhyānas* were written in three styles, alpha, B and in C (p. VIII). Of these, alpha style has been assigned to Sūta and B to his son, Sauti. If Sauti had his father's text before him, would he not, for a change, somewhere pick up the style of his father ? And, as was mentioned above, if Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa had no hand in the transmission of the text, we have to say that Sūta Ugraśravas used two styles for the *upākhyānas*. And further,

---

[10] Except the last adhyāya (154) which narrates the death and cremation of Bhīṣma.

if the adhyāyas from the Śānti- and the Anuśāsana-parvans are not likely to have been composed by Vaiśampāyana, it would mean that Sauti composed in A style as well.

All this has not been said to suggest that the constituted text was composed just by two authors — Vaiśampāyana and Ugraśravas It is not disputed at all that the original composition underwent various revisions at different periods and different places. The epic itself gives permission to do that. It characterizes the Bhārata-Saṁhitā (1. 1. 61), not only as 'equal in extent' to the four Vedas' (*vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitām*)[11], but calls the *saṁhitā* itself a 'Veda' whose author was Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana (1. 1. 205, 1. 56. 17). The epic advises the reciters to expand this 'Veda' of Kṛṣṇa with additions of *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* (*itihāsapurāṇābhyāṁ vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet* 1. 1. 204).[12] To do this the epic reciter had to be well-versed in composition of the type of *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*. If that were not the case the 'Veda' (of Kṛṣṇa) is afraid that 'this reciter will pass over me, will skip me (i. e. will abridge me)' (*bibhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ pratariṣyati* 1. 1. 204). Accordingly the epic has, in the course of its long history, experienced many 'expansions' (*samupabṛṁhaṇa*). It is hardly possible to limit these just to four and demarcate very neatly their individual extent, in addition to ascribing them to definite authors.

One word at the end regarding an assumption made by the author which a layman like the reviewer, not familiar with the statistical studies, is not likely to understand. When the user of the Anuṣṭubh metre was free to use short or long syllables at certain places, why does the author say: "The stylistic variations in the *Anuṣṭubh ślokas* could arise from the natural propensity of the authors to make use, unconsciously of course, of more or less long syllables, where they are free to do so". But why would they not use, if they have the freedom, short syllables, or both short and long in somewhat equal proportion? Further, does the sentence mean that if the authors had a natural propensity to use more or less short syllables stylistic variations would not have arisen and hence the statistical study would not have been possible? One would of course understand that this would be the case if the authors had used long and short in somewhat equal proportion. But not if they had used short.

M. A. Mehendale

[11] 1. 1. 19. Nīlakaṇṭha — *samitām iti pāṭhe tulyām ity arthaḥ*. V. S. Sukthankar JBBRAS (NS) 4. 158–161. Also cf Mbh. 18. 5. 43 and App. I. 5. 16.

[12] The dictum does not apply to the four Vedas, as is generally assumed, but, in the context, only to the Veda of Kṛṣṇa (Dvaipāyana). *samupabṛṁhayet* also does not mean 'strengthen' (Winternitz, Hist. Ind. Lit. I. p. 505), much less 'interpret' (T. G. Mainkar, The Upabṛṁhaṇa and the Ṛgveda Interpretation).

KALYĀṆAMITRĀRĀGAṆAM : Essays in honour of Nils Simonsson : edited by Eivind Kahrs, Norwegian University Press, 1986, Pp. xiii, 312.

This volume of research papers, 'instead of a cow', is presented to a guru by his pupils, colleagues and friends on the occasion of his 65th birthday. It is indeed a great tribute paid to the genial character of the teacher when his pupils choose to describe him *Kalyāṇamitra* 'good friend'.

There are in all eighteen contributions in the Volume. They deal with such variety of subjects as would make it difficult for the present reviewer to take note of all of them. In the article on "Arhatschaft und Selbstmord", the authors — P.-A. Berglie and C. Suneson — come to the following conclusion : "Suicide has at all times occupied a certain place in the Indian religious practice. While self-killing has been an ideal way to end life for the Jainas and has exercised at certain times not an inconsiderable attraction also for the Hindus, this way of ending life remained in Buddhism reserved only for the monks" (p. 37).

In the article on "The Crystal and the Hibiscus Flower", Erik af Edholm discusses the crystal-and-flower simile, illustrating error or false knowledge, which is widely used especially by Yoga-Sāṁkhya and Advaita-vedānta authors. In the article "The Cots are crying" Gunilla Gren-Eklund outlines the attitude of Indian Thinkers to the metaphorical use of language.

Eivind Kahrs makes a sustained attempt "to interpret a discourse on *bhāva* offered by Durga in his commentary on Yāska's *Nirukta.*" (p. 115). Before examining Durga's discourse he discusses two well-known passages from the introductory portion of the Nirukta 1.1. and 1.2 (*bhāvapradhānam... vrajyā paktir iti*). It appears the author favours the interpretation offered in the two commentaries on the Nir. according to which the Nirukta passage (1. 1) *tad yatra-ubhe bhāvapradhāne bhavataḥ* makes a complete sentence and hence a *daṇḍa* is to be put after it. In this sentence *yatra* is taken to mean *vākye* : (*tad yatra* (i. e. *vākye*) *ubhe* (i. e. *nāmākhyāte*), (*tatra te*) *bhāvapradhāne bhavataḥ* /) But certain objections can immediately be raised against this interpretation. In the first instance, if this interpretation is to be accepted Yāska's wording, as suggested by Durga's commentary, would have been (*tatra te*) *ākhyātapradhāne bhavataḥ* (cf.. *vākye hy ākhyātaṁ pradhānam* in Durga's comm.), and not *bhāvapradhāne bhavataḥ* ; secondly, the expression *tad yatra ubhe bhavataḥ* implies *kutracit ubhe* (=*nāmākhyāte*) *na bhavataḥ* which renders the interpretation *yatra* = *vākye* impossible; and finally, there is little possibility of Yāska shifting his attention to a 'sentence'

when he is busy defining *nāma* and *ākhyāta.* The interpretation of this passage very much depends on what immediately follows, viz. *pūrvāparībhūtam bhāvam* etc. which is clearly intended to explain the distinction between *vrajati* and *vrajyā*, *pacati* and *pakti.* Hence *tad yatra ubhe* can only mean ' now in forms where both (i. e. a verb and a (verbal) noun ... ' and not ' now in a sentence where both (i. e. verb and noun in general) ... '. On the basis of what has been said above it is difficult to agree with the author when he says " Whether the interpretations offered by Durga and Skanda–Maheśvara are in keeping with the intentions of Yāska or not, we shall probably never be able to make out " (p. 121). One can, and say, ' they are not '.[1]

In the article " A Kâfir on the Kâfir Life Cycle, " Knut Kristiansen notes the birth, marriage, illness and death customs in pre-Islamic Kafiristan (now Nuristan) on the basis of a Urdu text written by a Kafir whose name was Azar. In the article on " The ' water-Miracle ' in Tibet " Per kavāērne calls attention to one of the later legends, known as ' water-miracle ', associated with the Iranian god Mithra. This legend is not known in Iran or India, but is known in Tibet (p. 160).

In a very interesting and well-reasoned article " Ṛśyaśṛṅga : Ursprung und Hintergrund " Georg von Simson states that the motif of drought is not secondary in the legend and that the legend could have, right from the beginning, the two " Frauengestalten " viz. the hetaera and the daughter of the king for two different functions — one as seducer, and the other as marraige-partner (p. 207). The author of this article discusses at some length the Ṛgvedic Sūryāsūkta (X, 85) and raises the question whether it is possible to discern nature-mythology as the background of the Ṛśyaśṛṅga legend in addition to its interpretation as a rain-myth (p. 214). The author seems to favour such a view but has to assume for this purpose far-fetched identifications such as Romapāda (Haarfuss) = tree (' which has hair for feet, or which has hair on foot ', where hair = roots p. 215), or Śāntā = earth, ' one whose burning (as the result of the preceding summer-heat) is extinguished (by the onset of the rainy season) (die, deren Brand (nach der vorsommerlichen Hitze durch die einsetzende Regenzeit) gelöscht ist. p. 216). The fact that to make this adjective-turned-noun (*śāntā*) applicable to earth requires putting into brackets so many words shows that the identification is not easily obtained. And even after this strenuous effort what one gets is not the complete identification of Śāntā with the earth but only a temporary one i. e. the earth in rainy season.

[1] Incidentally *vinaśyati* in the Nirukta passage 1. 2. (*ṣaḍ bhāvavikārā bhavanti...*) is better rendered ' disappears ' and not ' is destroyed ' (p. 117).

Writing on "Uses of the Curse in Rāma Literature" William L. Smith points out that almost all the curses have some specific purpose : "they answer questions, resolve contradictions and establish moral causality" (pp. 261–262). He then goes on to classify the curses into a number of types. He notes that when a curse is given under a certain condition then the vernacular expression used for it is *śāpa vimocana.* To convey the same meaning we have also such expressions as *uśśāpa, uḥśāpa* or *uśāpa* in some of the modern Indian languages.

In the article on "*Jang u āštī* : War and Peace in Iran" Bo Utas makes an important observation : " ..in Zoroastrianism 'peace' (or at least 'concord') is something morally good and desirable in itself, while 'war' (or 'discord') is something morally bad and worthy of blame."

M. A. Mehendale

TEXTKRITISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZUR MAITRAYAṆĪ SAṀHITĀ : Martin Mittwede, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaned GmbH., Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 207.

This is a very useful study of the text-critical suggestions already made by different scholars towards the improvement or correction of the text of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā during the course of the last hundred years. Although the number of suggestions presented in this book is quite large, the author is aware of the fact that there could be some he has missed and which await the attention of a researcher.

The MS. is available in two editions — the one by Leopold von Schröder (Leipzig, 1881–86) and the other by S. D. Satavalekar (Aundh, 1941–42), The author notes that the latter edition gives at many places the text correctly. He also notes that it has some better readings from the accent point of view. All the same he feels that the usefulness of Satavalekar's edition from the text-critical point of view is very limited, and he gives good reasons for holding this view.

While evaluating the text-critical suggestions made by scholars, the author's main task has been to make the position of the correct suggestions stronger by pointing to the parallel passages, otherwise to lay bare the wrong suggestions. Where such clear decisions were not possible, the author has chosen only to report the facts without arriving at any conclusion.

The " pure forms " " (Reinformen) which come to light as a result of the author's thorough study pertain to — (1) improvements regarding interpunctuation, (2) corrections of obvious printing errors, (3) corrections on the basis of the material provided by the manuscripts, (4) emendation of the text against the manuscript evidence, (5) reconstruction — a) of the authentic text (not of a single word, but of a shorter or longer passage wrongly handed down), and (b) of the 'original' composition (Urfassung) which must not correspond with any handed down text.

While giving information under each entry the author says he has taken care to give enough to make a particular correction intelligible to the reader and also enable him, if he so desires, to ascertain it by referring to parallel passages. This practice is highly commendable.

M. A. Mehendale

MadhuVidyā/679

MALLANĀGA VĀTSYĀYANA — DAS KĀMASŪTRA : translated into German by Klaus Mylius, Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig, 1987, pp. 196.

The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana has been translated more than once since the first translation by R. W. Burton and F. F. Arbuthnot appeared in 1883 (cf. the very useful information given by the author at the end of the book under the heading " Weiterführende Litteratur " pp. 194–196). However, the present translation need not be looked upon as superfluous. The aim of the translator has been " to acquaint the reader...with what really is to be found in the Kāmasūtra without interpreting into the work something from the modern view point " (p. 16). It may be said that the author has been largely successful in achieving his objective.

In the " Einleitung " (pp. 5–16) the author briefly deals with, among other topics, the question of the date and the place of Vātsyāyana. In the author's view V. belonged presumably to the second half of the 3rd cent. A. D., and that he probably hailed from Western India. The explanatory notes (pp. 169–185) and the glossary (186–192) should go a long way to make the translation easily intelligible to the reader.

Although the translation, at some places, cannot be called inaccurate, yet it may not stand the test of " höchstmögliche Genauigkeit " (p. 16) aimed at by the author. This may be illustrated with only a few examples. In the translation of 1. 1. 3 '(ebenfalls)' which is meant for the text-word *ca*, and of 1. 2. 1 '(zum Streben)' which corresponds to the text-wor *seveta* (*trivargaṁ seveta* '(zum Streben) nach den drei Gütern ') need not have been put into the brackets. In the translation of 1. 1. 4 '(auch)' is unnecessary. In 1. 1. 3 again *avabodhaka* has been translated as ' die...erkannt haben '. It should have been ' who have taught ' (cf. R. Schmidt ' die...zur Erkenntnis gebracht haben '). In 1. 2. 38 ' werden Topfgerichte nicht etwa nicht zubereitet ' translates *nahi ... sthālyo nādhiśrīyante*. What the translator means could have been achieved by remaining close to the text " it is not that the cooking-vessels are not put on fire ".

M. A. Mehendale

ŚIVA DANS LE MAHĀBHĀRATA : by Jacques Scheuer, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1982, pp. 376, Price 180 Francs.

Although much has been written on the Mahābhārata and equally much on Śiva, no work of any importance has appeared on the role of Śiva in the epic. The present work is intended to fill in this gap, but with one limitation. The author of the work has no intention of collecting and presenting everything on Śiva in the epic, for although this might serve the purpose of being a very useful index, it will not in itself enable the reader to establish any kind of coherence in the traits, attributes etc. of Śiva. What the author therefore attempts to do is to define for the readers "the place which Śiva occupies in the fabric of the narrative which should permit not simply to describe the personage, but to understand the place which he occupies in the Hindu mythical world contemporaneous with the epic" (p. 15).

In the Introduction the author reviews the opinions of scholars on Śiva Oldenberg,[1] for example, maintained that although Śiva is most Indian of the (Indian) gods (dieser indischeste der Götter), he occupies, in the Mbh. a place that is rather marginal. That such an important deity as Śiva appears in the epic only at scattered places and does not ever display his fondness for killing is, according to Oldenberg, perhaps the greatest gap in the epic. The author intends to demonstrate in this work that the fondness for killing (sa folie meurtrière) is very much there in the battle on the Kurukṣetra and is limitlessly displayed in the massacre that took place at night in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas. The author is willing to concede that if Śiva was to be found in the Mbh. only in some references to the cult of *liṅga* and in the litany of his thousand names, his place in the epic would be secondary. But the author believes that Śiva's intervention in the Mbh. is less rare and less marginal than what appears at first sight.

In the principal part of the work (chapters I–IX) the author tries to depict Śiva's intervention in the following *parvans* of the Mbh. : Ādi. Sabhā, Āraṇyaka, Udyoga, Droṇa and Sauptika.

The author has based this study on the text of the Mbh. as is available today, i. e. the one which in its essentials was established (according to Winternitz and others) in the 4th century A.D. He has not tried to distinguish in this text the older and the later strata, a nucleus and the successive accretions around it, an authentic text and the suspected interpolations.

---

[1] Das Mahābhārata : Seine Entstehung ... Göttingen, 1922.

What does the author's study based on this 'uncritical' text show to him ? It shows that Śiva's place in the epic is far from being negligible, either from the point of view of volume or its significance. The intervention of Śiva in the epic theme, from the birth of the heroes upto the final massacre, is continuous, coherent and well-integrated (p. 345).

M. A. Mehendale

PRAJĀPATI'S RISE TO HIGHER RANK : by J. Gonda, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, Pp. X, 208.

Writing on Prajāpati on an earlier occasion (History of Religions 22 (1982) p. 129 ff.), Prof. Gonda had already expressed his doubts about the correctness of the view, widely held, that this deity is essentially a product of ritualistic and theological speculation and consequently comparatively ' young '. In that article Prof. Gonda had demonstrated that already in the early period of Indian religious history Prajāpati must have been a popular deity meeting various wishes of a common man. In the present book he proposes to deal with " the widening of the god's horizon and interests; the increasing number of his relations with various other deities; his engagement in more complicated sacrificial rites; and his rise to higher rank and power." (p. 1).

There is no doubt that Prof. Gonda has admirably achieved his objective. In Part One of the Book on " Prajāpati's position and Gradual Rise in the Veda " he has collected and studied all the relevant texts in order to bring to light the various aspects of the deity and his association with other Vedic gods. Of all the different activities ascribed to the deity by far the most important is the creative one. Whenever new rites were added to the ritual or the existing ones altered, the ritualists sought to give authority to the additions and alterations by ascribing them to Prajāpati himself (p. 42).

In Part Two on " Prajāpati in the Śrauta Ritual " Prof. Gonda examines in details Prof. Oldenberg's view, which he does not share, that Prajāpati is a young and vague, broadly defined, deity who has no access to the main and fundamental rites of the Soma ceremonies. In order to substantiate his own view Prof. Gonda makes a detailed study of " the mantras and other passages from the descriptions of the *śrauta* rites in which Prajāpati's name occurs or mention is made of his activity " (p. 119).

Prof. Gonda cautions his readers not to see in his book chronological survey of Prajāpati's career. " What seems to emerge from the preceding disquition is that whereas the beginning of Prajāpati's career can be satisfactorily reconstructed and the outcome of the various associations and identifications of this god with other deities and powers is an unquestionable historical fact, the intervening period cannot be adequately and definitely described in a few words as a strictly historical account " (p. 195).

It is somewhat surprising that while dealing with (p. 266) the honey-whip (*madhukaśā*) of the Aśvinā and the *madhusūkta* (AV. 9. 1) Prof. Gonda makes no reference to H. Lüders : Varuṇa II p. 370 ff.

M. A. Mehendale

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF PURANIC BELIEFS AND PRACTICES : by Sadashiv A. Dange, Three Volumes, Vol. I (A–C), Vol. II (D–G.), Vol. III (H–N.), Navrang, New Delhi, 1986, 1987. Pp. 370, 371–746, 747–1069, Price : Rs. 325/– each.

Here we have, as the title immediately indicates, an extremely useful tool for further research. Prof. Dange has excerpted the relevant material from the nineteen Mahāpurāṇas (the well-known eighteen plus the Śivapurāṇa which is supposed to be an upapurāṇa) and published it for the benefit of research scholars as well as general readers. The interest in knowing the ancient Indian beliefs and practices is ever-growing and when all the volumes are published they will no doubt go a long way in satisfying this curiosity. The author and his colleagues, whose names appear in the Preface, have undertaken a task which must have required a good deal of industry.

The author's emphasis while collecting the material has been 'socio-mythological'. He specifically tells us that personal names appear in the Index "only when they have some belief attached to them, or when there is some custom or practice associated with them. Mere dynastic or personal details are discarded" (Preface p. vii).

After having thus told the readers what to expect in the Index, Prof. Dange tells us that the entire material has been arranged 'subject-wise'. This gives an impression that the entries have been first classified under different subjects like social, political, economic, religious etc. and then under these heads the entries have been arranged in an alphabetical order. But this is not the case. All the entries in the Index appear in their alphabetical order. What the author apparently meant by 'subject-wise' arrangement is that the entry-heads are chosen not on the basis of the principal characters but on the basis of the 'socio-mythological' content of the entries. Thus, for example, the second entry-head in Vol. I is not Bharadvāja, but Adoption.

Even a cursory look at the entries would be enough to give the reader an idea of the wealth of information supplied in these Volumes. It is not possible here to go into the details of even some selected entries for their evaluation— that could be the subject of an independent article. However, on reading the first four entries one gets the impression that much more care should have been devoted to check the accuracy of the statements made. This becomes in particular necessary because the Volumes are likely to be used by non-Sanskritists and such readers cannot be expected to look up

the original Sanskrit text and satisfy themselves about the veracity of the information they happen to come across in the Volumes.

In the first entry on Acchodā[1] we are told: " Acchodā was mind-born daughter of the Manes (*pitṛs*). Once she saw the king Vasu Uparicara going with a nymph named Adrikā; ... and followed them.[2] As the manes had no body or form. she did not comprehend Vasu Uparicara : and thought him to be the *pitṛ*. "[3] The last sentence is not intelligble since there can be no connection between *pitṛs* being body-less and Acchodā's not comprehending Vasu. The fact, however, is that since the manes had no bodily form, Acchodā, their mindborn daughter, did not know her fathers, and hence, when she saw Vasu she took him to be her father. The text is quite clear, and offers no difficulty for interpretation) *amūrtatvāt pitṛn svān sā na jānantī śucismitā tam̐ Vasum̐ pitaram̐ mene* ... Skanda P. 2. (9), 7. 16). Further we read: " The other manes cursed both of them ..." But who are the ' other ' manes ? The Purāṇa text makes no scuh reservation and simply says : " The manes cursed the two (viz. Vasu and Acchodā) " (*tau tataḥ pitaraḥ śepuḥ* st. 17). In the last sentence of the entry we are told that as a result of the curse Acchodā would be born of Adrikā, a nymph, ' in her first form '. This also is not intelligible and becomes clear only when we know, from the text, that what is really meant is ' in her fish-form '[4] (...*matsyadehāyām adrikāyām̐ janiṣyase* st. 25).

The second entry is on Adoption. Here we are told that a Brāhmaṇa (Bharadvāja) could be adopted by a Kṣatriya (Bharata). At the end of the entry we are told that Bharadvāja was given away by his Brāhmaṇa father. But according to the story as narrated in the Matsya P. 49. 17ff., to which the author refers, Bharadvāja was not given away by his father (Bṛhaspati) to Bharata — that was done by the Maruts. As far as one can make out Bṛhaspati, his father, did not know, or care to know, what happened to the child (Bharadvāja) that was deserted soon after its birth (49. 25). Since Bharadvāja was not given by his father to Bharata, there is further no question of his being given away ' on the condition that he will be the son of both ' (i. e. the natural father and the one who adopted him). It is true the author does not specifically say that Bharadvāja was given away on this

---

1 It is not clear why the author does not give reference also to the Brahmāṇḍa P. 2. 10. 53–72 for his entry on Acchodā.

2 I e., apparenly ' manes '.

3 In this account we will neglect the expression " followed them " for which there is nothing corresponding in the text.

4 ' first form ' typing error for ' fish-form ' ?

condition, but since he says that Bharadvāja became a *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, and mentions this condition while explaining the term, the reader is likely to believe that this condition was stipulated by Bṛhaspati while giving Bharadvāja to Bharata. The text, as mentioned above, has nothing of the sort. Incidentally, *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* does not mean, as stated by the author, " one belonging to two fathers ", but " one belonging to two *gotras* ". According to the commentator on the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (3. 1. 1) *āmuṣyāyaṇa* means one who is *sadvaṁśodbhava* i. e. *satkulajāta* according to the Śabdakalpadruma. Note the words *vaṁśa* and *kula* in these explanations).

In the next entry on " Adultery " first we are told the punishments prescribed or the expiations recommended for this sin. At the end we read : " Having union with a woman elder than oneself is also said to be adultery" and for this statement we are referred to BrahmavaiP. 1. 30. 44 (*yaḥ sevate mahāmūḍho gurviṇīṁ ca svakāminīm*). Several factors come here for comment : (1) *gurviṇī* does not mean ' a woman elder than oneself ', but a ' pregnant woman '; (2) the stanza does not note this as a case of adultery ; (3) it cannot be a case of adultery if ' svakāminī ' means ' one's wife '.

In spite of these inaccuracies, there is no doubt that the Index will be of immense help to students of Indian Culture.

M. A. Mehendale

BRUDERSCHAFT UND WÜRFELSPIEL (UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR ENTWICKLUNGSGESCHICHTE DES VEDISCHEN OPFERS) : by Harry Falk ; Hedwig Falk, Freiburg, 1986. Pp. 216.

In this book Falk gives the results of his investigations on the relationship between the Vrātyas and the game of dice. The book has five chapters : (1) Bruderschaften in Indien, (2) Das Würfelspiel im Veda, (3) Das rituelle Würfelspiel, (4) Das profane Spiel, (5) Schluss. Falk has studied extensively the relevant literature on the subject. He cites frequently from original texts and he does not cite a Sanskrit passage without translating it into German. This is of great advantage.

According to Falk Vrātyas were not converts in the religious sense but were a product of a social reform ('Objekte einer Gesellschaftsreform' p. 55). In his concluding chapter (5), summarising the results, Falk observes : "If we now consider the separate results in their totality, then the technical side at least of the game of dice seems explained. The three times fifty nuts corresponded to the members of the Young Mens' Associations who appeared together not only as students of the Veda but, in the period of intermission of study, as receivers of sacrificial animals they had to fulfil an important task in the religious life of the Aryan community. In the circle of these young men the one was procured with the help of 150 nuts who, as 'dog', must kill the sacrificial animal.

" At the time of dividing the *glaha* it was important that there was no remainder left over. This conception is inseparably connected with the way an animal should be cut up : A perfect cutting up leaving no remainder permitted the rising again of the (sacrificial) victim. Just as the horse in the Aśvamedha could, as a whole, continue to live in the heaven, so also the nuts, after separation, were again collected together.

" In the original form of the game there was no opponent. The companions stepped up before the nuts one after the other. The one who retained one piece as remainder became the 'first', 'the leader of the group', Kali, Rudra, Paśupati, the 'master of the sacrificial animal.'" (p. 188)

In order to be able to pronounce judgement on the conclusions arrived at by Falk at various stages in his study it is necessary that one has first obtained a clear understanding of Falk's reasoning. Since the reviewer does not claim to have done this, what is done here is to offer some observations on details some of which may turn out to be corrections.

1. p. 24 : It is not clear why Falk says that *pratodá*– 'driving rod' is

not attested outside PB and KŚS. (der sonst nicht in der Sanskrit-Literatur bekannt ist).

2. p. 26 : According to Falk Yājñikadeva on the KŚS 15. 3. 32 gives the information that the quivers received by Pālāgala are each filled with three arrows (mit je drei Pfeilen gefüllte Lederköcher). This is not correct. What the commentator tells us is that the Pālāgala receives *three* quivers filled with arrows (*tisra iṣupūrṇāś carmatūṇyaḥ*). The number ' three ' thus restricts the number of quivers and not that of arrows. The remark of Yājñikadeva has therefore nothing to do with *tisṛdhanva*- of the BaudhŚS 18. 24. The meaning of that word ' a bow and three arrows ' can be obtained from the MS 4. 5. 9 (cited by Falk pp. 26–27) and the explanation provided by the commentators on the TS 1. 8. 19. 1 (*tisṛbhir iṣubhir yuktaṁ dhanuḥ*). Just as there could be a unit consisting of a bow and three arrows (in a quiver), there could be others where the quivers contained more or less than three arrows. When, for example, in the Mahābhārata war different heroes shoot at Abhimanyu different numbers of arrows the reason could be that their individual quivers had that number of arrows (7. 36. 15 ff.).

3. p. 26, f. n. 49 : According to Falk, *bā́ṇavān* VS 16. 9 refers to the quiver. This is possible, but in the present context it seems to refer to Rudra. In the first half of the stanza the god is requested to loosen the string from the two ends of his bow and to throw away the arrows held by him in his hand (*yā́ś ca te hásta íṣavaḥ*). The second half of the stanza is intended to convey that the god conceded the request. It is therefore better to translate *víśalyo bā́ṇavāṁ utá* as ' the one with the arrows (in his hand, viz. the god Rudra) is (now) without the arrows '.

4. p. 27 : It is not clear why Falk translates *púṇyajanma* as ' some one born (anew) at a sacrifice ' (jemand bei einem Ritual (neu) geboren wurde) when it simply means ' one whose origin is holy '. Also there is here no question of something being produced at a ritual. The bow and the arrows are supposed to have come out of Makha's left and righ thands. Makha also means ' sacrifice '. Because the bow and the arrows together (*iṣudhanvasamūhaḥ*) are *yajñájanma* therefore they are considered *púṇyajanma*.

5. p. 51, f. n. 135 : The BaudhŚS 18. 24 has the subject in the plural (*te ye ... upetya* (read *upetāḥ* ?) ... *nopeyuḥ*), but Falk renders it in the singular (Wer ... betrieben hat, möge ... nicht tun).

6. p. 52 : The Nidānasūtra 6. 1 runs as *ye tu khalu janmanā kaniṣṭhā ye ho vayaseti / ye janmanety āhus tān kaniṣṭhā ity ācakṣate.* It does not become immediately clear what distinction Falk wants to make when he ren-

ders the first line as "(There are), however, such that are younger by (the sequence of the) birth, and on the other hand (such) that (are younger) due to age " ((es gibt) aber (solche), die (nach der Reihenfolge) der Geburt die Jüngeren sind, (und) andererseits (solche), die durch das Lebensalter (die Jüngeren sind) ". It would have been better to say ' such as are younger by birth (i. e., others than the eldest son in every following generation or according to the law of primogeniture). Or *vayas* may mean ' vigour, virility, strength '. The two kinds of *kaniṣṭhāḥ*, then, are those that are younger by birth and those (though older by birth) are lower in virility. This interpretation is favoured by the fourth class of the Vrātyas (Falk p. 51) who are described as *jyeṣṭhāḥ śamanīcāmeḍhrāḥ* (PB. 17. 4. 1).

7. p. 53, f. n. 142 : Falk does not give the exact reference from the Mahābhārata where he says Śikhaṇḍin is described as one lacking the sex organ (dessen fehlendes Geschlechtsteil). What we know from the Mbh. (5. 189–193) is that Śikhaṇḍin was born a woman, later turned into a man, and was married to the princess of the Daśārṇa country.

8. pp. 55–56 and f. n. 150 : The difficult passage from the BaudhŚS 18. 26 does not seem to have been correctly rendered. It really means : " Gandharvāyaṇa Vāleya Agniveśya asked Aupoditi Gaupālāyana Vaiyāghrapadya : ' Whatever you have done (viz. taking hold of those who were creeping for Bahiṣpavamāna for purifying yourselves), who has so acted (before) ? '. (Instead of giving a reply, Aupoditi thinks :) ' with this question (second *iti*) he has indeed touched the secret observance '. (Mistaking his silence for ignorance) Gandharvāyaṇa cursed Aupoditi and the sons of the Kurubrahmins :) ' We have cursed you as ignorant ones... ' "

9. p. 57, f. n. 155 : For PB 24. 18 *te ha vā aniryācya ... didikṣuḥ* Falk proposes an alternative translation in the footnote. This is to be preferred to the one adopted in the text because *yāc–* requires two accusative complements.

10. pp 78–79 : While dealing with *iriṇa* as a salty depression in the ground (Senke mit Salzerde) caused by the evaporation of salty river-water, Falk could have also noted the passage in the Mahābhārata (13. 139. 25) where it is mentioned that the land from where the ocean receded became *iriṇa*.

11. p. 82 : JB 3. 236 does not speak of the ' cows ' who had fallen into the Indus (die in den Indus gefallenen Kühe), but of the ' bulls ' (*te* (not *tāḥ*) *sindhum prāviśan*). Hence also the bulls, not the cows, became salt (*tal lavaṇam abhavat*). Further, the JB statement *tasmād u yo lavaṇena paṇaṁ caratī gāva eva bhavanti* does not mean ' one who always sells (some-

thing) for salt, (his) cows become something' (dessen Kühe werden etwas), but "Hence if one gives salt in exchange for something, (these what he gives, viz. salt) are bulls".

12. p. 83 : For 'Gedeihen' we cannot have *bhūyāṁsa* by the side of *puṣṭi* and *poṣa*, but *bhūyastva*.

13 p. 84 and f. n. 260 : Falk looks upon *ténāsmiṁl loké dhṛtó hiraṇyam abhyávarohati* as one sentence and translates: 'thereby he descends in this world secure on the gold (-plate)' (damit steigt er in dieser Welt sicher auf die Gold (-Platte) ab). But actually we have here two sentences *téna ... dhṛtáḥ* and *hiraṇyam abhyávarohati* 'thereby he becomes firm in this world. (Then) he descends on the gold (plate)'. This construction is made quite clear by the KS 14.8 and the Śat. Br. 5. 2. 1, where for the second act there is a separate section (20) which reads *átha híraṇyam abhyávarohati*.

14. p. 87, f. n. 270 : Medhātithi not on Manu 7. 3. but 8. 3.

15. p. 91 : From Draupadī's stanza Mbh. 2. 62. 9 one cannot say that a woman stepping into the Sabhā could be looked upon as a prostitute (Eine Frau in der Sabhā könnte also als Hure angesehen werden. Dies meint auch Draupadī im Mbh ...). What Draupadī wants to emphasize is that there is a long-standing custom according to which virtuous women are not forced to go to the Sabhā to seek justice. But if she was (as is the case with Draupadī), that in itself will not mean that she was a prostitute. Karṇa, no doubt, calls Draupadī a *bandhakī* (2. 61. 35), but that is for a different reason. That has nothing to do with her presence in the Sabhā. The grounds for which Draupadī did not wish to go to the Sabhā are different (2. 60. 25, 29).

16. p. 99 : According to the JB 3. 72 a gambler shares with an eunuch and a prostitute one third of the grief not of this world alone, as Falk states (ein Drittel der Sorge dieser Welt), but one-third of the total grief of all the three worlds together. [Falk's *upaveśayan* to be corrected to *nyaveśayan*].

17. p. 100 : Falk says that while dealing with the ritual game of dice the texts avoid the use of the word *kitava* and, instead, use the derivatives of the root *div-*. In support he refers to the ĀpDS 2. 25. 13 where the word used for gamblers is not *kitavāḥ* but *dīvitāraḥ*. However there is nothing in the context of the ĀpDS to show that preparations are afoot, not for a profane, but a ritual game.

18. p. 102 : Falk looks upon *vaibhītaka* as a patronym of the vibhītaka tree and considers Vibhītaka to be the name of the father of the tree, who, according to him, is Rudra. But *vaibhītaka-* may simply have *svārthe -a* suffix.

MadhuVidyā/690

19. pp. 104–105 : Mbh. 5. 152. 24 reads *narāṇām pañcapañcāśad eṣā pattir vidhīyate / senāmukhaṁ ca tisras tā gulma ity abhisaṁjñitaḥ.* Falk takes this to mean 250 men make a *patti* and three *pattis* a *senāmukha* or a *gulma.* He obviously follows van Buitenen's translation (Vol. 3, p. 469). This interpretation (*pañcapañcāśat* = 250) is theoretically possible but it should not be adopted in preference to the conventional one (55) unless the context very clearly demands it. For, theoreticaly *pañcapañcāśat* can mean even 45 (50 less by 5) or 10 (50 divided by 5) ! (This additional information was given to me by Pandit Vamanshastri Bhagvat). But no one normally adopts these thoretically possible meanings. The stanza has been already correctly understood by BR. It means 55 men make a *patti* and a *senāmukha* ; three *pattis* are called *gulma.* In Mbh. 1. 2. 15 we find a different computation. Here *patti* is looked upon not as identical with *senāmukha,* but forms a part of it (3 *pattis* = *senāmukha*).

20. pp. 108–109 : Falk translates *yó akṣéṣu tanūvaśī* (AV 7. 114. 1) as ' who has the body (of the gambler) under his control ' (der den Leib (des Spielers) in seiner Gewalt hat). Falk does not translate the word *akṣéṣu.* The passage seems to mean ' who among the dice controls (their) bodies ' i. e., the *ugrá* and the *babhrú,* to whom *námas* is made, controls the pieces of the dice. This may be the *senānīḥ,* or the *rā́jā* of the dice referred to in RV 10. 34. 12. [Falk's *akṣeṣu* to be read as *akṣéṣu*].

21. p. 112 : In the stanza Mbh. 2. 51. 3 Falk takes the word *āstara* to mean a piece of cloth used in the game (Spieltuch) which in his opinion was used to cover the ground of the *adhidevana* and on which the dice were thrown. But since the player's *āstara* is equated with the chariot (*ratham*) of the warrior, it must refer to something spread on the place where the player himself sits while throwing the dice on the *adhidevana.* [Falk's *vidhi* to be corrected to *viddhi*].

22. p. 127 : Falk takes the expression *ví cinoti* occurring in the Vedic passages to mean ' separate into fours the dice held by the player in his fist (*gláha*) (*vi-cinoti* bezeichnet das Abtrennen von Viereineiten (*sic*) vom *gláha*). This cannot be the case. Making units of four dice each of those held in the hand requires no skill. The skill of the *svaghnín* lies in picking up in his grip exactly that number of dice which, when divided by four, will leave no remainder. Hence *ví-cinoti* must refer to this act of separating the exact number of dice by the player with his *gláha.*

23. pp. 128–129 : It would have been possible to accept Falk's suggestion to read *akṣán iva śvaghnī́ ni minoti tá ní* (AV 4. 16. 5) in place of

the transmitted *tắni* if this had not involved the change of accent and an unnecessary repetition of *ní*. It is therefore better to admit the difficulty regarding the gender (*nimíṣaḥ* f. *tắni* nt., as done by Lüders (Phil. Ind. 164). or one may admit *nimíṣ* (nt.) by the side of *nimíṣ* (f.).

24. p. 175 : Falk thinks that the AV 5. 18. 2 *akṣádrugdho rājanyàḥ pāpá ātmaparājitáḥ* speaks of a king who has lost himself in the game of dice (der sich selbst verloren hat). Such a king, according to Falk, may eat the cow of a king. But such a king, if he has gambled himself away, will have neither the authority nor the money to take away or buy the cow of a Brahmin. The stanza refers to a king who, due to his own fault, has lost much in the game of dice (*pāpáḥ*). Such a king may take away the cow of a Brahmin and enjoy her milk.

25. p. 185 : Falk translates *sabhắm eti kitaváḥ pṛcchámāno jeṣyắmíti tanvā̀ śū́śujānaḥ* (RV 10. 34. 6) "The gambler goes to the Sabhā asking himself 'shall I win?" (Zur Sabhā geht der Spieler, indem er sich fragt: ,Werde ich gewinnen?'). This is not correct. A challenge issued by the gambler to his opponents is here implied by the verb *prach*. We have to translate : "The gambler goes to the Sabhā challenging with the words 'I am going to win', feeling proud of himself (?)". Or, "The gambler goes to the Sabhā challenging ('who wants to play with me?'). With the thought (*iti*) 'I am going to win' he feels proud of himself (?)"

The book has unfortunately many misprints. It would be purposeless to list only a few.

M. A. Mehendale

ELEMENTṢ OF POETRY IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: by Ram Karan Sharma; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988. Pp. 179, Price: Rs. 125/-.

In this book the author presents a classification of the vairous figures of speech collected from the critically edited text of the three parvans of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*): Ādi, Vana (but 'Āraṇyaka' according to the cr. edn.) and Bhīṣma. As the author states the book is "not a rhetorical discussion of the soul of the poetry of the Mahābhārata. It rather aims at enumerating the symbolic, alliterative, paronomastic, or repetitive linguisic features that beautify the body of the Mahābhārata." (p. 1) Yet the author chooses to use the words 'elements of poetry' in the title of the book, and not just 'poetic embellishments', apparently because he believes what Jayadeva (*Candrāloka* 1. 8) has to say about poetry: "One who regards poetry as word and meaning without alaṁkāra, why does he not regard fire as without heat?" (p. 8).

The author has presented the account of the "poetic expressions of the corpus" (p. 1) as follows: Chapters 1-8 classify the arthālaṁkāras, Chapter 9 details the poetic idioms, and chapter 10 classifies the śabdālaṁkāras. In chapter 11 we have a useful discussion of 'repetition' as a technique of oral poetry.

The book evinces the author's deep study of the *alaṁkāraśāstra* and his familiartiy with the classical Sanskrit literature. His detailed presentation of the figures of speech reveals the amazing variety of the objects used in the epic as *upamānas*. Students of Sanskrit poetry would eagerly await a similar treatment at the hands of the author for the remaining parvans of the *Mbh*.

On p. 7 the author says that Vyāsa taught *Bhārata* to his five pupils. Strictly speaking, in this context, he should have said: 'to his son and four pupils (1. 57. 74-75 and 1. 1. 63).

In a passage cited on p. 12 from the *Citramīmāṁsā* (p. 6) the author renders the word *bhūmikā* as 'costume' (*śailūṣī samprāptā citrabhūmikābhedān*). The word is better rendered as 'role' or 'character' (*sthitibhedān* Comm. *Sudhā*, although *Tattvāloka* has *veṣaparigrahāḥ*).

MadhuVidyā/693

The author renders the figure of speech *Svabhāvokti* as 'description of nature' (p. 12). But on the same page he also observes that for this *alaṁkāra*, the epic poet's imagination was confined to forest life and battle scenes. Hence, and also because of the definition of *Svabhāvokti* cited by the author from the *Kuvalayānanda* on p. 146, the name of the *alaṁkāra* is better rendered as description of the natural state or condition (*jātyādisthasya svabhāvasya varṇanam*).

In the chapter on idioms the author could have mentioned *ātmānam ūrdhvaretasaṁ kṛ* (6. 115. 13) which is used to signify 'to practise celibacy' (*adyaprabhṛti me dāśa brahmacaryaṁ bhaviṣyati* 1. 94. 88).

On pp. 167–168 the author approvingly cites from an article: "Oral Poets of South India: The Toḍas" by Emeneau in which he says that according to the *Mbh.* I. 1 the text has undergone three successive recitations each of which was of a different length. In this connection it is better to note, in the first instance, that the *Mbh.* I. 1 reports the *composition* of the *Bhārata* by Vyāsa (1. 1. 52) and its *two* (not three) *recitations*: one by Vaiśampāyana (1. 1. 18, 57-58) and the other by Sūta Ugraśravas (1. 1. 23). Next, it is equally important to note that the first recitation, since it was carried out in the presence of Vyāsa himself, could not have very materially differed in length from the original composition. The case was quite different in the case of the second recitation.

In the last paragraph of the book the author observes that oral literature like the *Mbh.*, when compared with written literature, is devoid of "artificial refinement in syntax or embellishments" (p. 175). But as far as the embellishments are concerned this observation is contradicted by the wealth of the *alaṁkāras* gathered by the author and by his statement on p. 13: "there is hardly a page in our corpus that does not have at least half a dozen striking examples of the figures of sound".

The book under review is the second edition of the text first published in 1964 by the University of California. This proves its wide populaity which it rightly deseves. The author says that the second edition is just a reprint of the first edition 'except that the indices have been appended in order to facilitate its referential readability." (Author's Preface to the second edition). Actually we have only one index, and not indices.

M. A. Mehendale

Diverse Treatment

M. A. MEHENDALE

Moral Dilemmas in the Mahabharata.
Edited by Bimal Krishna Matilal.
Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study
and Motilal Banarsidass. Delhi. 1989, pp. xiv + 157, Rs. 95.

THE book contains thirteen contributions on the subject of Moral Dilemmas in the *Mahābhārata*. The authors are B. K. Matilal, T.S. Rukmani, S.P. Dubey, K. Kunjunni Raja, Y. Krishnan, A.N. Jani, Amiya Dev, S. G. Kantawala, P. D. Santina, S. Paul Kashyap, M. M. Agrawal, E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma and S. M. Kulkarni. They have picked up different incidents from the *Mahābhārata* like Arjuna's laying down the arms, or Draupadī's raising the question about the validity of the last play in the game of dice which in their opinion constitute moral dilemmas. The treatment is diverse and unfortunately only a few of the contributions have a direct bearing on the subject. Some contributors, Matilal, for instance, also make clear the situation in which a character could be said to face a moral dilemma.

The contributions were presented for discussion at a colloquium organised by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Shimla, apparently in the year 1988. The date is nowhere stated. One has to guess it. In the opinion of the Editor, the topic

set for discussion is "rather an outstanding one, not a bit less daring and intriguing" (p.xi), and as stated by him, the credit for choosing the topic goes to Margaret Chatterji of IIAS.

Matilal, in his contribution, which was probably meant as a key-note address, rightly observes that the dilemmas presented in the *Mahābhārata* are in some sense universal and therefore a discussion on them would be quite relevant even in present times. Matilal describes the situation in which it could be said that a given character in the epic is faced with a moral dilemma as follows: This happens when the character in question "is committed to two or more moral obligations, but circumstances are such that an obligation to do *x* cannot be fulfilled without violating an obligation to do *y*" (p.6). But it does not seem correct when he goes on to say that the agent's choice in such cases is either irrational, i.e. arbitrary, or is based on grounds other than moral (p.6). It would be equally incorrect to say that the agent's weakness of the will plays an important role in his decision-making procedure. One would rather say that the choice was governed by what appeared to the agent to be a superior moral law of the two. It is in this way, for example, that Bhīṣma made his choice when he was faced with the dilemma—should he stick to his vow of celibacy or should he do what Satyavatī asked him to do, (1.97. 8-26); or, Duṣyanta made his choice in the drama of Kālidāsa when he was faced with the dilemma—should he accept Śakuntalā's word and be guilty of accepting somebody else's wife, or should he rely on his own memory and be guilty of abandoning his own wife? (*Śākuntala* 5.29 : *dāratyāgi bhavāmy' āho parastrī-sparśapāṁsulaḥ*).

Matilal mentions two typical cases of moral dilemma, both faced by Arjuna, one just before the war and other in the midst of the war. Arjuna's alternatives in the first case were : (i) to fight the war and kill the elders; (ii) not to fight the war and save the elders. He chose for himself the latter, but Kṛṣṇa persuaded him to choose the former and yet do justice to both by fighting the war without any self-interest. Similarly in the second case Arjuna was faced with the alternatives: (i) to keep his word

and kill Yudhiṣṭhira; (ii) not to keep his word and save the life of his elder brother. Even here Kṛṣṇa asked him to choose the latter and yet do justice to both. Matilal seems to have missed this point.

On p. 17 Matilal observes: "But the acknowledgement of possible flexibility does not mean that the fixity and universality of ethical laws will be entirely negotiable." To prove his point Matilal refers to the story of Rāma and says that he "idealized" dharma (p.18, also p.14). It is not clear to which incident in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Matilal refers. Perhaps, he has in mind Rāma's going to the forest as asked for by Kaikeyī, and this in spite of the entreaties of Bharata, and the advice tendered to him by the sages Jābāli and Vasiṣṭha. If this surmise is correct, it will not prove Matilal's point that Rāma "idealized" dharma. For, Rāma did accept the kingdom after his return from the forest. This is not a matter of course as many seem to assume. A very ideal Rāma could have said: "When Kaikeyī asked the boon her intention clearly was that I should never ascend the throne. If Bharata does not wish to be a king, that is a matter for him. I for one am out of the question." But Rāma does not say this and rightly so. He accepts the kingdom in the interest of the subjects of Ayodhyā. It therefore seems that the ethical laws were looked upon as negotiable as long as they were not violated for self-aggrandisement.

Besides Matilal's contribution, there are very few other papers which have a direct bearing on the subject of the colloquium. Among these few may be mentioned S.P. Dubey's paper on "The Concept of Moral Dilemma: Its Applicability in the Context of the *Mahābhārata*." Dubey maintains that there are three characters in the *Mahābhārata* who do not experience moral dilemmas: Duryodhana, Karṇa and Kṛṣṇa. Whereas this statement seems to be true of Duryodhana, one cannot say the same about the other two. It could be said that Kṛṣṇa faced the dilemma when, during the war, he started to attack Bhīṣma on two occasions (6.55. 86-92; 102.37-58). His dilemma could be: Should he take up the weapon and break his vow not to do

No. 140

so, or should he kill Bhīṣma and safeguard the interest of the Pāṇḍavas? Similarly Karṇa could be said to have faced a dilemma when Indra asked for his armour and *kuṇḍalas*: Should he keep his vow and part with the armour or should he not do so in the interest of Duryodhana (3.285.1)? It has, however, to be observed that Karṇa compromised his vow when he asked for Indra's *śakti* in return (3.294. 17.23). Dubey chooses to pick up the Ambā-episode to point out a moral dilemma for Bhīṣma but he does not state it correctly. The moral dilemma before Bhīṣma was not whether he should marry her or send her back to Śālva as Dubey seems to make out. The dilemma, if at all, before Bhīṣma arose when Paraśurāma, his teacher, asked him to marry Ambā or be ready for a fight. Dubey's narration of the episode is not in keeping with the critically edited text of the *Mahābhārata*. Dubey, at one stage, observes: "Ambā insists on marrying Bhīṣma himself as it was he who abducted her . . . " (p.41). But Ambā never does this.

Not only this, there are many other statements in Dubey's article for which there is no justification in the epic. On p. 39 he says that Karṇa was jealous of Bhīṣma, and that he decided to stay away from the battle while Bhīṣma led the army because of this jealousy. This is not the whole truth. Karṇa stayed away from the battle because he was underrated by Bhīṣma (5.165.27). According to Bhīṣma, Karṇa was not an *atirathī*, not even a *rathī*, but just an *ardharathī* (5.165.5-6). Karṇa stayed away also because Bhīṣma agreed to lead the army of Duryodhana on condition that either Karṇa fights first or Bhīṣma fights first (5.153.24). Karṇa was jealous of Arjuna no doubt, but that was not because of Draupadī, but because Arjuna was a match for him and, on occasions, had proved himself superior to him. It is incorrect to say that Karṇa was not allowed to participate in the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadī (p.39), because he was a *sūtaputra*. The passage in which Draupadī is supposed to have said *nāhaṁ varayāmi sūtam* occurs only in one Nepālī, one Kāśmīrī allied to Devanāgarī, and partly in the Devanāgarī version (including that of Nīlkaṇṭha). It is totally absent in the Kāsmīrī, the oldest

Nepālī and the Bengali version of the north and in the whole of the southern recension. It is therefore rightly looked upon as an interpolation in the critical edition (1.178.1827*). On the other hand we have a clear statement in the *Mahābhārata*, which is found in all versions, viz., that Karṇa, like many other kings, did try to string the bow but failed to do so (1.179.4). It is again wrong to state that Duryodhana sent his messenger to Draupadī straight away to bring her to the assembly hall (p.42). Dubey blames Bhīṣma and others for not restraining Duryodhana at this stage. But it is well to remember that Duryodhana in the first instance sent his messenger to take Draupadī, who in his view had become a *dāsi*, to the house of the Kauravas to do the menial work (2.59.1). How does Dubey expect Bhīṣma to intervene at this stage? It was only when Draupadī raised the question about the validity of the last game in which she was staked that Duryodhana wanted her to come to the assembly and get the answer directly from those present there (1.60.16). Finally, it may be noted that Bhīṣma was able to extend his life for fifty-eight days not on account of the boon (*vara*) received by him from his father (cf. Dubey's f.n.66) but because he could do so with the help of *yoga* (6.114.112; 13.154.2-6). What Bhīṣma received from his father could at best be described as a blessing (*āśīrvāda*). Bhīṣma turned it into a boon (*vara*) by making the *āśīrvāda* come true. That Bhīṣma extended his life with the help of yoga is mentioned also by Sri Rāmānujācārya—he makes no reference to *vara* at all while commenting on the *brahmasūtra* (4.2.19).

Writing on "A Note on the Moral Dilemmas in the *Mahābhārata*", Kunjunni Raja observes that Dhṛtarāṣṭra was always faced with moral dilemmas (p.51). But this cannot be correct in view of the definition of the moral dilemma given by the author himself. A moral dilemma has to be a conflict, not between right and wrong but between two 'rights' (p.49). But Dhṛtarāṣṭra's alternatives are between what is right and what is wrong viz., his unmindful affection for his son (p.51). Kunjunni Raja does not give any foot-notes and consequently no text references even

No. 140

for such important statements as those made by Mārkaṇḍeya (p.50), and Bhīṣma (p.51)[1]. This practice has led him to assume, as is widely done, that the famous stanza *jānāmi dharmam* etc. (p.51) occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. But this is not true. The stanza occurs in the Pāṇḍavagītā (57) of unknown authorship and there it is put in the mouth, not of Dhṛtarāṣṭra but, of Duryodhana. However a stanza occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (2.57.8) the last two lines of which are somewhat similar to those of stanza *jānāmi dharmam* etc. The last two lines of the Pāṇḍavagītā stanza run as *kenāpi devena hṛdi sthitena yathā niyukto 'smi tathā carāmi*. The *Mahābhārata* lines run as : *tenānuśiṣṭaḥ pravaṇād ivāmbho yathā niyukto 'smi tathā vahāmi.*

Arjuna's dilemma—should he fight the war and be responsible for killing his kinsmen or should he lay down the arms and spare their lives—has been referred to by many contributors participating in the colloquium. M.M. Agrawal devotes an entire paper to this subject: "Arjuna's Moral Predicament". In Agrawal's opinion Arjuna's hesitation reflects partly a conflict of sentiments and partly of prudence, nevertheless it is a moral dilemma. In the light of the famous Gītā stanza *naṣṭo mohaḥ smṛtir labdhā* . . . (18.73), Agrawal states the net result of the *Gītā*-teaching to be as follows: "He (i.e. Arjuna) is free from *moha*, and relinquishing all thoughts of personal gain he is now in a position to act from the motive of duty alone" (p.140). But it would be well to remember that this is true only in the limited context of the *Gītā*. It is not true in the larger *Mahābhārata* context because Arjuna's subsequent behaviour during and after the war does not bear this out. Also Arjuna does not really say what Agrawal makes him say. He simply says that he is now free from the *moha* regarding his duty (he was *dharmasaṁmūḍhacetāḥ* [2.7][2] before the Gītā was told to him), he has regained the memory of his duty which he had lost and is therefore willing to do what Kṛṣṇa has asked him to do.

These are about all the papers (a total of four out of thirteen) that have a direct bearing on the subject of the moral dilemma. The rest of the papers have only a somewhat loose connection

with it or no connection at all.

Writing on "Moral Dilemmas in the *Mahābhārata*", T.S. Rukmani starts with the assumption that there is such a thing as a standard moral behaviour and then says that all acts which deviate from this behaviour give rise to dilemmas. But this statement is very different from what Matilal and many other participants have to say on what constitutes a moral dilemma. Hence if Duryodhana lists the misdeeds of the Pāṇḍavas and of Kṛṣṇa (pp.21-22) these cannot be illustrations of moral dilemmas. On account of her very different notion of what a moral dilemma is, Rukmaṇi is the sole contributor who feels: "The dilemma is never brought to the forefront as a 'dilemma' and that the question of moral dilemmas in the *Mahābhārata* is difficult to understand" (p.32).[3]

Rukmani objects to the game of dice because it has been condemned by Manu (9.221 ff). But how does she expect the characters of the *Mahābhārata* to be guided by the rules of Manu who came much later? Rukmani says that Manu permitted gambling, but not betting (p.27) and in support refers to Manu (9.223). But Manu says nothing of the sort in this stanza. What Manu says is

> aprāṇibhir yat kriyate tal loke dyūtam ucyate
> prāṇibhiḥ kriyate yas tu sa vijñeyaḥ samāhvayaḥ

in which he makes distinction between the game to be played with inanimate objects (*dyūta*) and one to be played with animate objects (*samāhvaya*). Gambling with betting is known in India since the Vedic period. On p. 32, Rukmani says that the story of Kauśika occurs in the Virāṭaparvan but does not say where exactly in the Virāṭaparvan. Actually it is to be found in the Āranyakaparvan (Adhyāya 197).

A.N. Jani has contributed a paper on "The Socio-Moral Implications of Draupadī's marriage to Five Husbands". This out-of-the-way marriage is not a case of a moral dilemma. For whom could it be a dilemma—for Drupada, Yudhiṣṭhira, or

Draupadī ? It is really a question of finding justification for an act which went against the rules of marriage sanctioned by tradition (1.187.26-27). Jani sees the solution of the problem in an 'ethnological fact' (p.72). For this Jani simply relies on the statement of Yudhiṣṭhira in which he says that in suggesting a polyandrous marriage he was merely going the way his ancestors did (1.187.28). But we are entitled to ask : Who were these ancestors of Yudhiṣṭhira who entered into a marriage of this type? How were Jaṭilā, Vārkṣī or even Śaibyā related to the Pāṇḍavas? It is going too far when Jani says: "Polyandry was in vogue in their (i.e. of the Pāṇḍavas) family" (p.73) because Kuntī had three sons, one each from Dharma, Vāyu and Indra. As we know this had happened apparently because Kuntī was acting under constraints of the *mantra* received by her—each *mantra* could be used only once, and as a corollary the same deity could not be invited a second time (1.104.3). Would Jani say that Kuntī was the 'wife' of the three deities whom she invited? Yudhiṣṭhira, no doubt, is called 'Dharmaputra', but is Kuntī ever referred to as 'Dharmapatnī', or for that matter Vāyupatnī or Indrapatnī? If not, how can we say that Kuntī had entered into a polyandrous marriage? And granting that to be the case, why does Yudhiṣṭhira then not justify the marriage on the ground that his mother had done the same?

Jani looks down upon polyandry as an uncivilized custom (p.73). This means that whether a community is civilized or not depends on its marriage customs. Will the author then be prepared to accept that Indians, as against the communities who practise monogamy, were uncivilized because they, until recently, were polygamous?

The author at one stage suggests, as has been suggested by other scholars before him, that since Pāṇḍavas had lived on the Himālayas for some years and that since some Aryan tribes who came to India via the Himālayas practised polyandry, Pāṇḍavas too chose that form of marriage. But there is no reason why the Pāṇḍavas should not have followed the customs of their own family and adopted alien ones. It is hardly necessary

to discuss here C.V. Vaidya's view, which Jani approvingly cites (p.73), that Pāṇḍavas belonged to a family other than that of the Kauravas. Matilal puts very mildly his reservations on this suggestion when he says, "The evidence to support it seems to be insufficient" (p.xi).

While writing on "Marriage and Family in the *Mahābhārata* : Some Aspects", S.G. Kantawala deals with the subject of *niyoga*. The custom has been looked upon differently at different times, but one would find it hard to agree with Kantawala when he says that Satyavatī's suggestion to Bhīṣma to procreate sons on Vicitravīrya's widows presented a dharma-dilemma for him (p.90). Kantawala seems to think that Bhīṣma's expression *dharmād apetam* (1.97.23) was made with reference to *niyoga*. That is not the case. About the practice of *niyoga*, Bhīṣma agrees with Satyavatī that it was *paro dharmaḥ* (1.97.13; earlier Satyavatī : *dharmaṁ kartum ihārhasi*. 10). It is with regard to Satyavatī's insistence that Bhīṣma should break his vow to remain a celibate, if not as *dharma*, then as *āpaddharma*, that he considers the suggestion to be something that is 'far away from dharma'.

It is difficult to find anything of a moral dilemma in E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma's paper on *Arjunviṣādayoga*. In his paper Sarma does not discuss the dejection felt by Arjuna at the commencement of the war, as one would be inclined to believe from the title of the paper, but the one he felt at the sight of Duḥśalā in the Sindhu country when he was out on a victorious expedition for Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha. Duḥśalā came up to Arjuna and begged him to protect her child whom she held in her arms. Sarma describes at length, much of which is the result of his imagination, the remorse Arjuna must have felt at her sight. Arjuna, of course, must have remembered that it was he who was responsible for killing Jayadratha, Duḥśalā's husband, in the war. He therefore blamed Duryodhana whose greed for the kingdom had forced war on the Pāṇḍavas which they had to fight according to the *dharma* of a kṣatriya (14.77.39-40). For the rest of what Sarma says there is no evidence in the epic.

No. 140

There is a statement in Sarma's paper which is difficult to accept. He makes Arjuna say: "Should I not feel the same sense of shame and insult to dharma now, as ought to have been felt by Duryodhana and his associates on that occasion (i.e. when Draupadī's modesty was outraged in the Sabhā)?" (pp.146-47). Does Sarma consider the shameful acts of the Kauravas in the Sabhā and Arjuna's killing Jayadratha to fulfil his vow which reduced Duḥśāla to her pitiable plight to be on a par with each other?

As a point of detail one may note that it is not true, as Sarma makes it out, that Gāndhārī wished to have a daughter (p.145). This occurs in an interpolated passage (1. App.1. No.63).

The question raised by Draupadī regarding the validity of the last play in the game of dice in which she was staked has been mentioned by more than one contributor as an instance of a moral dilemma. S.M. Kulkarni has an entire paper (pp.150-156) devoted to it. All those who speak about it agree that the question remained unsolved to the end. In fact, Matilal goes to the extent of saying that Draupadī's dilemma "is not only unresolved but also unresolvable" (p.x).

It has to be observed that the problem posed by Draupadī's question has not been correctly followed. In the first instance, let it be remembered that it is not a moral dilemma, but is one which has legal implication (see also Matilal, p. xi,2.), especially the one related to the rules of the game of dice. According to a remark made by Śakuni we learn that a gambler could stake himself only when nothing else was left with him to stake. In the eyes of Śakuni, Yudhiṣṭhira had committed *adharma* since he staked himself when a certain item of his property, viz. his wife, had remained unstaked (2.58.29). In order to tempt Yudhiṣṭhira to stake Draupadī even after he had staked himself he offered Yudhiṣṭhira freedom from bondage if after staking Draupadī he won the last game. He told Yudhiṣṭhira : "You stake Draupadī on your part, and I will stake you. If you win this game, you would not only not lose Draupadī, but you will win back your own freedom (2.58.31)". Śakuni could do this since Yudhiṣṭhira

had become the *dāsa* of the Kauravas. Unfortunately for Yudhiṣṭhira he lost the last game too. But now Draupadī raises a question regarding the legality of the last game. Her question boils down to this: Can a *dāsa*, who is not supposed to own any *dhana* (2.63.1), play a game of dice? However, raising this question does not make Draupadī 'a social rebel' or 'a non-conformist' (p. 2); nor was she 'standing up for the rights and autonomy of the entire womanhood of that time' (p. 3), as Matilal observes. It is no use making Draupadī what she is not. Matilal also feels that Draupadī's question raises problem of a general nature like : Can wives be regarded as chattels? Can they be gambled away? (p. xi). This also is not true.[4] As he himself observes, her question is a specific one and it has only legal implication.

With regard to the conduct of the game of dice, Matilal observes: "If Śakuni cheated Yudhiṣṭhira in the game of dice and Yudhiṣṭhira did not claim that he had been cheated, even when this was openly known to him, would Śakuni be morally reprehensible? I believe he could be but he would not be legally condemned" (p. xi). I do not wish to argue whether or not Śakuni was morally reprehensible or deserved to be legally condemned. But it has to be pointed out that the presumption from which these considerations follow, viz., that Śakuni cheated Yudhiṣṭhira and that this was known to the latter, is baseless. In the first instance Śakuni was an acknowledged expert in the game, whereas Yudhiṣṭhira was admittedly not. In a match between these two, where is the necessity for Śakuni to resort to fraudulent play? Next, both parties, before the start of the game, had expressly agreed not to resort to cheating (2.53.2-5) and there is no reason to believe that any one of them violated the agreement. Bhīṣma has openly declared that Yudhiṣṭhira has at no stage complained of fraudulent play on the part of Śakuni (2.60.42). When Yudhiṣṭhira lost the first game he felt that he lost it because the number of *vibhitaka* fruit with which they were playing was small. He therefore suggests to use large number fruit (2.54.1). This did not help Yudhiṣṭhira, and he

No. 140

went on losing. If a gambler suspects fraudulent play he had the right to object to the winner's declaration *jitam* (cf. Harivaṁśa, 89-38). Yudhiṣṭhira does nothing of the sort, on the contrary he declares that he was defeated (2.60.41).

All contributors who have referred to the subject of Draupadī's problem have declared that the problem remained unresolved till the end: Matilal (p. 2), T.S. Rukmani (p. 31), S.P. Dubey (p. 43), S.M. Kulkarni (p. 155); Kunjunni Raja is of the opinion that Draupadī should not have raised the question because that would prove Yudhiṣṭhira to be a liar (p. 51). Apparently according to him too the question remained unanswered. As was mentioned above Matilal has gone a step further and has declared it to be 'unresolvable' (p. x). This again is not true. What the *Mahābhārata* tells us in this regard is as follows: Duryodhana challenged the Pāṇḍavas that if any one of them said that Yudhiṣṭhira was not the master of Draupadī when he staked her he (Duryodhana) would accept the verdict and free Draupadī (2.63.20). Arjuna accepted the challenge and boldly asked the Kauravas that when Yudhiṣṭhira had lost himself whose master could he be (2.63.21), thereby implying that he could not be the master of Draupadī. Arjuna's reply had settled the question of Draupadī once for all. The Kauravas accept the verdict and Dhṛtarāṣṭra steps forward to confer boons on Draupadī. The intervening stanzas about bad omens (2.63.22-26) are clearly an interpolation and should have really no place in the epic narrative. The ugly situation was saved by Arjuna's reply and not by 'a miracle' as Matilal thinks (p. 3)[5].

Y. Krishnan's contribution on "The Meaning of the Puruṣārthas", Amiya Dev's on "La Guerre de Kurukṣetra n'aura pas lieu: Udyoga Reconsidered"[6], Peter Della Santina's on "Conceptions of Dharma in the Śramaṇical and Brāhmṇical Traditions: Buddhism and the *Mahābhārata*"[7], and S. Paul Kashyap's on "Reflections, on the Concept of Action in the *Gītā*" have no relevance to the subject of moral dilemma. They may be good papers in themselves (Matilal describes some of them as 'scholarly' (p. xiii), 'illuminating' (p. ix), raising 'some interesting

points' (p. xii), but they have very little to do with the topic of moral dilemmas.

The editor does not seem to have given his attention to the details of the editorial work. He has no doubt written an excellent Introduction, summarizing the contents of the papers and offering his own comments on them. But there are certain other functions which he should have carried out. He, as Editor, should have, for example, asked those contributors who have not supplied references to give them in the footnotes to substantiate the statements made by them in the text. There is a paper in which the author does, indeed, give references but they are of no avail since the references are only to the *parvans* without further details. Where should a reader look for verification of a statement if the author simply says that it occurs in the Śāntiparvan (without giving the Adhyāya and the śloka number)? Further the Editor could have brought to the notice of the writers certain inconsistencies, e.g. the very first sentence of the first paper says that the *Mahābhārata* describes itself as a śāstra of *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa* (p. 20) whereas the stanza cited in support of this statement in f.n.1 on p. 32 mentions only three subjects viz. *artha, dharma* and *kāma.*

The Editor could have also told a contributor that the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* has not been edited by Sukthankar and Karmarkar (p. 48) but that the General Editors of the critical edition were V.S. Sukthankar, S.K. Belvalkar and P.L. Vaidya in that order.

The book is happily free from serious printing errors (except 'unusually' for 'usually' p. 49). But the same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the Sanskrit stanzas cited in it.

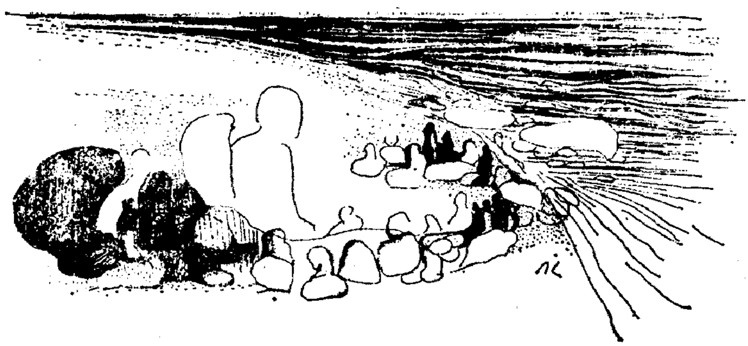
References

1. Which can now be given as 3.26.10-15 and 2.62.15.
2. Also cf. *mohakalilam* of Arjuna mentioned by Kṛṣṇa 2.52.
3. Other contributors have a different view, e.g. Matilal p.5,7; S.P.

No. 140

Dubey p.35, A.N. Jani p.69.

4. That a husband could stake his wife is made clear by Puṣkara's suggestion to Nala to stake Damayantī (3.58.3). That Nala does not oblige him is a different matter.
5. For a detailed discussion of the subject, see M.A. Mehendale: Draupadī's Question, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 35.179-194.1986.
6. To say, as Amiya Dev does, that "He (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) comes to sell peace, he goes back buying war, and without regret" (p. 84) is, in this reviewer's opinion, totally misinterpreting Kṛṣṇa's peace mission. The author says Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sight was temporarily restored (p.85). But this is reported only in the Southern recension and in some contaminated Devanāgari manuscripts, cf. 5. 129: 495-496. It is not correct to say that Duryodhana won't yield even a 'needlepick' of earth (p. 88). What he would not yield is a needle-prick of earth (5.125.26).
7. *Gitā* does not promise both heaven and kingdom to Kṣatriyas as is said by the contributor on p. 113. It is a case of either-or (*Gītā* 2.37), and not both.



THE ASTRONOMICAL CODE OF THE ṚGVEDA : by Subhash Kak ; Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi; 1994; Pp. xi, 144; Price : Rs. 175/-

While reading an essay in a popular magazine[1] the author of this book suddenly got the idea that the identical size of the sun and the moon when viewed from the earth had something to do with the structure of the *Ṛgveda*. In the year 1991 he discovered that the number of hymns in the Maṇḍalas of the *Ṛgveda* encoded certain facts about the passage of the sun and the moon. His later investigations with the help of a computer convinced him that this correspondence was not a coincidence but was deliberately achieved. (p. x).

The book deals with a variety of subjects related to Vedic astronomy. After taking a review of the context in which Vedic studies were carried out in the nineteenth century, the author deals with the chronology of the Vedic texts and astronomy of the fire altars.. Next, he deals with the proper subject of the book viz. the architecture of the Ṛgveda and the Ṛgvedic code. In the end he also analyzes the text of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Bhagavadgītā* to point out that they also reveal a knowledge of the code.

The author has based his calculations on the number of hymns and their internal groupings in each Maṇḍala. But as has been long recognized the number of hymns in each Maṇḍala as found in the text today cannot be the same in the original collection of the ten Maṇḍalas. The present collection violates at several places the principle of arranging the hymns in the descending number of stanzas. To restore the arrangement to its proper order it is necessary to split the longer hymns into shorter ones. To give a single example, in the present arrangement of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* the number of hymns in Maṇḍala 3 is 62. The last hymn consits of 18 stanzas, whereas the one immediately preceding it has 7 stanzas. This violates the principle of arrangement referred to above. To restore the proper order it is necessary to split the last hymn of eighteen stanzas into six *tṛcas* which are addressed to different deities.[2] When this is done the number of hymns in the third Maṇḍala becomes 67, instead of 62 as at present. If the author's conclusions are to be accepted it would mean that the redactor who gave the final shape to the *Saṁhitā* deliberately combined the six *tṛcas* mentioned above into a single hymn so that the total number of hymns in Maṇḍala three becomes 62 as is required for the code discovered by the author. This must have been a very bold and purposeful act of the redactor and it is difficult to imagine that such a significant step left no trace behind it. The author himself is aware of the fact that the astronomical code 'discovered' by him as the basis for the

1 The author does not give any details about this magazine.

organization of the *Ṛgveda* was "forgotten very early as there is no explicit mention of it even in the earliest indexes" (p. 109). He therefore feels safe to assume "that if a text is organized according to the numbers of the code then that constitutes evidence supporting a date that is pre-Buddhistic" (p. 109). He then proceeds to demonstrate (chapter 7) that the organization of the texts of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Bhagavadgītā* reflects the code numbers. But it should be quite clear that the *Bhagavadgītā* in its present form can impossibly be a part of the 'original' *Mahābhārata*.

There are some inaccurate and misleading statements in the book. On p. 14 the author says : "Rāsabha which literally means the twin asses[3] are defined in the Nighaṇṭu I. 15 as Aśvinau ..." But what the *Nighaṇṭu* here does is simply list the different animals that are yoked to the vehicles of different deities, e. g. *harī* of Indra, *rohitaḥ* of Agni, etc. In this list are mentioned *rāsabhau*, i. e. two asses which serve as draught-animals for Aśvinau. One may therefore say that the asses are characteristic animals of Aśvinā.[4] Similarly the *Nighaṇṭu* at the same place does not define Aja (goat) as sun. It only mentions goats (*ajāḥ* pl., not sg.) as the characteristic draught-animals of Pūṣan. The identification of Pūṣan with sun and of the Aśvinā with Gemini cannot be taken for granted for the *Ṛgveda*.

M. A. Mehendale

2 Cf. H. Oldenberg ; *Prolegomena*, p 198 ; for a complete discussion see pp. 191–202.

3 One should read Rāsabhā or Rāsabhau. The dual number does not convey *twin* asses, but *two* asses.

4 This, however, is not correct. The characteristic animals of Aśvinā are winged horses (Cf. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 86 and his footnote 3 on p. 89. Although Lüders does not say it here, it is likely that *rāsabha*, in this context, means 'screaming', and not 'ass' (cf. Lüders. *Philologica Indica*, p. 754).

REVIEWS

JOHANN OTTO FERDINAND KIRSTE : KLEINE SCHRIFTEN

Edited by Walter Slaje, Franzsteiner Verlag, Stuttgart; 1993; Pp. XIII + 374; Price : DM 98/-.

The present volume No. 33 in The Glasenapp-Stiftung series brings together Kirste's (1851–1920) Kleine Schriften only in the field of Indology and a few of his reviews. Kirste's other writings pertain to Iranian and Slavic studies.

Kirste studied at varions universities. His chosen subjects were : Classical Philology, Sanskrit, and Comparative Grammar of Indoeuropean languages. He was graduated in 1876 in Comparative Linguistics at Vienna. After carrying on his studies further in Sanskrit and in Old Iranian and Middle Persian at Paris, Old Slovenian and Serbian at Belgrade, Kirste returned to Vienna where he worked in close collaboration with G. Bühler. He was then introduced by Bühler to the studies of Indian manuscripts as a result of which he described (1889–1892) a number of manuscripts, related to law books, which were made available to him by Bühler from the libraries of Elphinstone College, Bombay, and Deccan College, Pune.

In 1891 an independent teaching post was established for Oriental Philology in the University of Graz (Austria) and Kirste became its first occupant (April 1, 1892). Among the three Austrian aspirants for the post, Kirste, Hultzsch and Winternitz, Kirste was considered to be best suited for the post as he could teach, besides Sanskrit, Semitic and Iranian languages. Kirste fully justified these expectations.[1]

As far as Indology is concerned, Kirste's research was centered mainly around Phonetics (*Prātiśākhyas*), Grammar and Lexicography of the Jainas (Hemacandra), *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Mahābhārata*. The editor of the present volume has given a complete bibliography of Kirste's writings which is extremely useful. His writings are divided into three groups : I Independent Works, II Short papers (1. Indology, 2 Iranistik, 3 Slavic), and III Reviews (Indology and Iranistik). Among his short papers, only the papers listed in the section Indology have been published. From among his numerous reviews,

---

1 The above account is taken from the editor's preface to the Volume.

only three, viz. the ones on H. Oldenberg's *The Grihya-Sūtras*. Pt. 2 (Oxford, 1892), E. Felber's Die indische Musik der vedischen und der klassischen Zeit. Nach den Platten des Phonogramm-Archives des kais. Akademie. Mit Texten und Übers. v. B. Geiger[1] (Wien, 1912), and J. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra ... (Leipzig, Berlin 1914) appear in the Volume. Perhaps it would have been good also to include Kirste's reviews of such books as M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell* (Wien, 1892), H. Lüders, *Die Vyāsa-Śikṣā...* (Göttingen, 1894), W. Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche ... (Amsterdam, 1896) and some others.

At the end the editor has listed obituary notices on J. Kriste and appreciations.

The volume contains three Indexes, all selective : (1) Names and Subjects, (2) Words, and (3) Text-passages.

M. A. Mehendale

[1] Kirste laments the fact that the plates No. 445 and 465 were not identified for him although he had sought help from India. He therefore expressed the hope that an Indian who knew the texts recorded on those plates would some day come to Vienna and identify them. It is not known whether Kirste's hope has been fulfilled.

HERMANN OLDENBERG : KLEINE SCHRIFTEN, Teil 3, edited by Hanns-Peter Schmidt, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart; 1993; Pp. VIII + 1571–2103 + (Register) 17.

The first two parts of H. Oldenberg's Kleine Schriften appeared in 1967 (2nd edition 1987). They were edited by K. L. Janert. The two parts bring together only papers of H. Oldenberg to the exclusion of his monographs and reviews. In addition, however, Janert gives at the beginning of Part 1, a complete Bibliography of Oldenberg's writings indicating simultaneously which of those writings find place in the two parts. Oldenberg's writings fall into the following five sections : 1. Kleine Schriften; 2. Monographien; 3 Einzelbeiträge zu Sammelwerken; 4. Textausgaben und Übersetzungen; 5. Rezensionen.

The present third part in this series of Oldenberg's Kleine Schriften is edited by H. P. Schmidt. It forms a complement to the first two parts in the sense that it brings together under two heads three of Oldenberg's Monographs (Vedaforschung, Indien und Religionswissenschaft, and Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa), one Excursus from his book on Buddha, and some selected reviews. Besides, in the first section Schmidt also publishes Oldenberg's replies to Mommsen's enquiries on the oldest criminal law.

Schmidt states in his Vorwort his reasons for bringing together the above writings as follows : (1) The monograph on the history of old Indian prose is closely related to two of his papers on narratives containing prose and poetry. (2) The monographs on Vedaforschung and Indien und die Religionswissenschaft describe and justify Oldenberg's methodological standpoint. (3) The excursus "Über das geographische Verhältnis der vedischen und buddhistischen Kultur" does not appear in the subsequent editions of Oldenberg's book on Buddha, and it deserves to be saved from oblivion. (4) Oldenberg's replies to Mommsen's queries is not mentioned in Janert's Bibliography appearing in Part 1. (5) Several of Oldenberg's reviews, since they make positive contributions to the subject, are as good as independent papers.

Schmidt makes good one more deficiency in Janert's Bibliography by publishing Oldenberg's review of Pischel-Geldner's "Vedische Studien, I. Heft".

In his Vorwort Schmidt mentions two entries conveyed to him by Janert which should have figured in the Bibliography.

One need have no hesitation in agreeing with Schmidt for publishing the third part of Oldenberg's writings for the reasons stated by him. Scholars

all over the world would be thankful to him, as indeed they were earlier to Janert, for making Oldenberg's writings easily accessible.

M. A. Melendale

SUREŚVARA'S VĀRTIKA ON ŚIŚU AND MŪRTĀMŪRTA BRĀHMAṆA ed. by K. P. Jog & Shoun Hino (Advaita Tradition Series, Vol. 7); pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1996; Pp. XX + 119; Price : Rs. 150/-.

In this volume K. P. Jog and Shoun Hino have edited, translated and annotated Sureśvara's Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣyavārtika[1] on Śiśu (BṛUp. 2.2) and Mūrtāmūrta Brāhmaṇa (Bṛ. Up. 2. 3). The two authors have already earned the gratitude of scholars in general and of students of Indian philosophy in particular by similarly editing, translating and annotating several other Vārttikas on the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya (Advaita Tradition Series Volumes 1-6).

The importance of the *Vārttikas* on the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya for understanding the thought of Śaṅkara, the Guru, and of Sureśvara, the pupil, is recognized at all hands. As observed by Hajime Nakamura in his Foreword : " Sureśvara has underlined every small detail in the varied arguments in the Bhāṣya on the Upaniṣad and clarified the same with characteristic skill ... The Vārtika of Sureśvara on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* is truly his *magnum opus* and needed to be translated in full". It is therefore gratifying to note that Jog and Hino have undertaken to execute the task of translating with annotations the Vārttikas of Sureśvara and supply the long-felt need.

The authors observe : " There is inherent difficulty in rendering into very simple English structure the slightly (and comparatively) truncated or complex Sanskrit structure; we have yet tried at a number of places to simplify the same by avoiding as much literal English rendering as in the earlier parts of our series." (Preface). Even after admitting this difficulty of translation, one feels, occasionally, while going through the translation that the authors should have devoted a little more care and aimed at more accuracy in giving their renderings. A few examples are given below.

1. The first line of stanza 2 on the Śiśu Br. reads as— तस्योपनिषदित्युक्तं तद्व्याख्या चाधुनोच्यते. This is translated as : " (Also) it was stated 'This is the secret doctrine of the 'Upaniṣad'." It is not clear why the authors repeat the text word 'Upaniṣad'. It confuses the reader, since the word has been already rendered as 'secret doctrine'. The line is better rendered as "(What) was stated as 'its secret teaching' (viz. *satyasya satyam*), its exposition is now given here". The authors rightly point out that the words *tasyopaniṣat* in the Vārttika refer to BṛUp. 2. 1. 20 where it is stated :

[1] This is how the word is spelt in the text. It would have been better to spell it as *vārttika*.

तस्योपनिषत् सत्यस्य सत्यमिति which is there immediately followed by the words : प्राणा वै सत्यं, तेषामेष सत्यम्.

2. Stanza 23 of the same Brāhmaṇa reads as :

उपासतेऽक्षणि प्राणं रुद्राद्याः सप्त देवताः ।
अक्षीणा इति ता ज्ञात्वा नान्नक्षयमुपाश्नुते ॥

This has been rendered as : " The seven gods Rudra and others wait on Prāṇa (residing) in the eye (etc.). Having known them as non-decreasing, a worshipper does not experience decrease in (lit. destruction of) food."

Comments :

(i) It is not known why the authors add '(etc.)' after 'the eye'. It is warranted neither by the text of the Vārttika nor by the BṛUp. 2. 2. 2 on which the stanza is based. The Upaniṣad passage does not mention any other sense organ like ear, nose etc. besides the eye (*akṣan*). Moreover the Vārttika 25 also emphatically states that the group of gods (Rudra and others) is only in the eye (अक्षण्येव यतः पूर्वं व्याख्यातो देवतागणः). (Unfortunately the authors' rendering of st. 25 is also not very happy.)

(ii) *Upāsate* has been rendered as ' wait on ' which means ' attend on, serve '. But this meaning is not intended here. *Upāsate* of the Vārttika stands for *upatiṣṭhante* of the Br. Up. 2. 2. 2 where it is further paraphrased as *anvāyatta* ' connected with '. Obviously *upāsate* in the Vārttika is used in its literal meaning ' to sit or be near '. The most surprising thing is that the authors in a foot-note state ' offer worship to ' to be the literal meaning of *upāsate* !

(iii) The last quarter of the stanza *nānnakṣayam upāśnute* is rendered as ' does not experience decrease in (lit. destruction of) food '. In the first instance one does not know what the authors gain by adding ' (lit. destruct-tion of)' into the brackets, especially when they in their Preface say that they have tried to avoid literal English rendering. Secondly, having rendered *akṣīṇāḥ*, with refence to the deities as ' non-decreasing ' they say in a foot-note ' Or, imperishable '. This is not necessary and, perhaps, also wrong in the context. For, although imperishableness may be true of gods, it is not true of food. What is true of gods has to be true of food as well in the Vārttika since the non-decrease of food results from the knowledge of the non-decreasing nature of gods.

3. The next stanza 24 reads as :

मूर्ध्नि प्रत्याहितं प्राणमृषयः प्राणसंज्ञकाः ।
रुद्राद्या मध्यमं यस्मात् सततं पर्युपासते ॥

This has been rendered as : "(since) those seers called Prāṇa[2], the seven gods Rudra and others ever particularly wait upon that Prāṇa which is supported in the head".

Observations :

(i) The authors have unnecessarily combined stanzas 23 and 24 into one sentence. The two stanzas contain two statements, complete in themselves.

(ii) The authors apparently render the text word *yasmāt* as 'since'. In that case it is not clear why they have put it into brackets. On the other hand, the words *sapta devatāḥ* of stanza 23 are not repeated in stanza 24. Therefore the words 'the seven gods' should have been put into brackets.

(iii) The authors surprisingly omit translating the word *madhyama* which occurs in the stanza and instead choose to inform the readers in footnote 6 that the word Prāṇa in this stanza refers to *madhyama prāṇa*. In this footnote they should have better referred to Bṛ. Up. 2. 2. 1 : अयं वाव शिशुर्योऽयं मध्यम: प्राण: ।

(iv) What applies to the word *upāsate* of stanze 23 (see observation ii above) equally applies to *paryupāsate* of this stanza.

(v) *Mūrdhni pratyāhitam* does not mean 'which is supported in the head', but 'which is placed in the head'. This has reference to Bṛ Up. 2. 2. 3 where we find the word *nihitam* (इदं तच्छिर: ... तस्मिन् यशो निहितं विश्वरूपमिति। प्राणा वै यशो विश्वरूपम् । प्राणानेतदाह). This makes clear what is meant by *mūrdhni pratyāhitam*.

(vi) The authors have completely misunderstood the meaning of st. 24. The stanza says that the seers called Prāṇas[3] sit around the Prāṇa placed in the head[4] since, as told in the preceding stanza 23, the seven gods, Rudra and others, sit around the Prāṇa (*madhyama*) in the eye.[5] The stanza is therefore to be rendered as :

"The seers called the Prāṇas (sit around) the Prāṇa placed in the head, since (the seven gods), Rudra and others, constantly sit around the middle (Prāṇa).

---

[2] Rather Prāṇas. (pl.).

[3] Cf. Bṛ Up. 2. 2. 3 : प्राणा वा ऋषय: प्राणानेतदाह । This is explained by Śaṅkara as; प्राणाः परिस्पन्दात्मकाः, त एव च ऋषय: ।

[4] Explained by Śaṅkara as : प्राणाः श्रोत्रादयो वायवश्च मरुतः सप्तधा तेषु प्रसृताः ।

[5] Explained by Śaṅkara as : योऽयं मध्यमः प्राणः शरीरमध्ये यः प्राणो लिङ्गात्मा ।

4. Stanze 15 in the Mūrtāmūrta Brāhmaṇa (p. 22) reads as :

यन्निषेधमुखेनेदं नेति नेतीति भण्यते ।
अविद्यामवधिं कृत्वा द्वे रूपे ब्रह्मणस्त्विमे ॥

This has been rendered as : " These are the two forms of the Brahman which are denied in these words, viz. *neti, neti,* which purport to negate (all duality), which keep in view ignorance in its full extent."

The rendering of *avidyām avadhiṁ kṛtvā* given above is unintelligible. It is difficult to understand why the authors have allowed it to be that way when in their annotation they state correctly what is meant by *avidyām avadhiṁ kṛtvā.* They say : " It purports to say that one can mention the two forms only so long as ignorance persists and, on removal of ignorance, one cannot talk of any form of the Brahman ". In the light of this explanation a better way to render the stanza seems to be " what is said by way of negation with the words ' not this, not this ' (*neti neti*) refers to these two forms of Brahman (viz. *mūrta* and *amūrta*) which exist only as long as the ignorance (of the true nature of Brahman) persists."

It is hoped that instances of the above type are few in this as well as in the other volumes published earlier in this series.

M. A. Mehendale

HANNS OERTEL : Kleine Shriften, Teil I and Teil II, edited by Heinrich Hettrich and Thomas Oberlies ; Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart ; 1994 ; Pp. XV + 1669.

These two solid volumes containing selected papers, reviews, and monographs of H. Oertei have appeared in the famous Glasenapp-Stiftung series as Band 32.

H. Oertel (1868-1952) was born at Geithain (Sachsen).[1] He studied Sanskrit with W. D. Whitney at Yale University in the United States. He taught Linguistics and Comparative Philology in different capacities at the same University from 1891 to 1917. In 1914 he went to Germany and then did not return to the States, probabhy due to the difficulties of the first World War. He settled down at Basel in 1920. He taught there Indian Philosophy, Religion, and Literature at the University. In 1922 he succeeded K. F. Geldner at Marburg. Finally, in 1925, he took charge, as successor to W. Geiger, of the teaching post of Indian and Iranian Philology at München. He retired in 1935.

While Oertel was in München three dissertations were completed under his guidance : F. J. Meier's *Der Archaismus in der Sprache des Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, V. Trapp's *Die ersten fünf Āhnikas des Mahābhāṣyam* (transleted into German and explained), and B. K. Ghosh's collection of the *Fragments of Lost Brahmaṇas* (all three are published).

In the second World War Oertel suffered an irreparable loss when during the b mbarding of München (1944) his entire library and his valuable card collection (on which he started work when he was 19) were completely destroyed. Undeterred, he took up teaching again after the end of the war and gave lectures until he was eighty.

Besides his teacher Whitney, scholars who decisively impressed Oertel were J. Wackernagel and B. Delbrück. Hence it is understandable that Oertel's main interest lay in the field of Vedic prose — especially the prose of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* and Sanskrit Grammar — especiallv syntax. Oertel has also published his observations on words like *sūnṛtā*, causal of *lī* (*lāpayate*), *vaḍabā*, *vāgurā* and others.

In his younger years, comparative and general linguistics engaged the

1 The information given here about H. Oertel is taken from the Editor's Vorwort to Leil I.

attention of Oertel. His *Lectures on the Study of Language* gave in those days occasion for lively discussion.

Besides doing teaching work, Oertel acted as co-editor of *JAOS* from vol. 29 (1909) to vol. 34 (1915), and as co-editor of *KZ* (*Zeitschirft für Verglechende Sprachforschung*) from vol. 54 (1927) until his death.

W. Kierfel in his obituary note on Oertel justifiably describes him as " one of the last Indologists of the old school. " He also observes that " Oertel's name will be for ever associated with Vedic research " (*ZDMG* 102. 12, 16).

The Editors of the present volumes give at the beginning of Part I a complete Bibliography of the writings of Oertel and at the same time indicate, by giving page numbers to the Volumes, the writings which have been included in the *Kleine Schriften*. The Bibliography is divided into the following six sections : I. Articles, II. Reviews, III. Monographs, IV. (Short) Notices, V. Miscellaneous. The last section VI, which actually does not form part of Oertel's writings, gives five entries on appreciative writings and obituary noties on H. Oertel. At the end one finds a very useful Register (pp. 1601–1664).

A look at the articles and reviews selected by the Editors shows that they are such as are directly related to Indology. Oertel's article " A practical proposal for preliminary work on a new Sanskrit dictionary " which appeared in *Woolner Commemoration Volume* (1940) pp. 177–182 has not been reproduced. The article is quite interesting and its reproduction, even after the start of the publication of a new Sanskrit dictionary at the Deccan College, Pune, would have been worthwhile. It is also not clear why the editors omitted Oertel's reviews like those on S. Lévi's *La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (*AJP* 20 (1899). 444–447), P. E. Dumont's *L' Aśvamedha* (*OLZ* 1928. Col. 995–996), and such others.

From among Oertel's 14 monographs, no less than ten have been included in the two Volumes. None of his short notices or his appreciative writings or obituaries (listed section V) finds place in the *Kleine Schriften.* Perhaps, inclusion of a few from the latter would have been useful.

M. A. Mehendale

PAUL THIEME : KLEINE SCHRIFTEN (Glasenapp-Stiftung Band 5) Ed. by Georg Buddruss; pub. by Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden; 1st ed. 1971, 2nd ed. 1984 (unaltered, but with an added Supplement 1984 to Bibliography : p. xvi); Pp. xvi + 813;

PAUL THIEME : KLEINE SCHRIFTEN II (Glasenapp Stiftung Band 5 II) Ed. by Renate Söhnen-Thieme; pub. by Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart; 1995; Pp. ix + 815-2178.

Paul Thieme's contributions, as pointed out by G. Buddruss in his Vorwort to the first of the above two Volumes, pertain to two main spheres : Veda and the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. He has emphasized three characteristics of Thieme's Vedic writings : richness in brilliant ideas, uniform clarity, and strictness in methodical execution. As to Thime's writings in the sphere of grammar, Buddruss points out that Thieme's interpretation of Indian grammarians and his valuation of their procedure culminate in attempts o arrive at a comparative and historical understanding of the development of grammatical scholasticism in India.

Thieme's writings included in these Volumes are such as have not appeared in book form or as longer dissertations. A few of his total writings have been omitted and the selection made by the editor has met with the approval of Thieme. The editor's wish, expressed in the first Volume, that Thieme should be able to write more articles after the publication of that Volume, has been amply fulfilled as can be seen from the publication of the second Volume of his *Kleine Schriften* within twentyfive years of the appearance of the first one.

The first Volume gives a Bibliography of Thieme's writings up to about 1970, which at the same time serves as the List of Contents of that Volume. It has two following divisions : 1. Monographs (which are not included in the volume).[1] 2. Articles : (A) Veda exegesis and Word studies (only one of the listed articles is omitted, but it appears in the second volume noticed below), (B) Miscellaneous contributions to Cultural and Religious History (a few of those listed are omitted), (C) Saskrit Grammar (a couple of those listed are omitted), (D) Various Articles (none of the five listed are included), (E). Appreciations (four, not included), (F) Reviews (of the 55 reviews listed, a dozen are included; all these have appeared after 1951).

[1] Two of these monographs : (1) *Der Fremdling Im Ṛgveda* (with Exkurs : *Ari "Fremder"*), and (2) *Mitra and Aryaman* are now published together in Paul Thieme : *Opera Ma ora Band I* edited by W. Knobl and N. Kobayaski. Hōzōkan Publishing Co., Kyoto, Japan, 1995. The editors hope to publish if not all, at least some of Thieme's remaining monographs in future Volumes of *Opera Maiora*.

At the end we have two Indices, one, of the words and the other, of the passages discussed.

The second of *Kleine Schriften* Volume contains Thieme's articles and reviews published since 1970 and up to 1990 They appeared after those contained in the first collection noticed above. In addition, there appear in the second volume : (1) three articles which from the point of view of the time of their publication belong to the first collection.[2] (They are : (i) "Sanskrit *sindhu-* / Sindhu- and Old Iranian *hindu-* / *Hindu-*", 1970 ; (ii) "Merkwürdige indische Worte", 1942 ; and (iii) "The Comparative Method for Reconstruction in Linguistics", 1964, and (2) an unpublished lecture delivered by Thieme in the Deutschen Orientalistentag in Erlangen in 1977 on "Stand und Aufgaben der Rigveda- Philologie". H.wever, two unpublished lectures of Thieme which he delivered in Japan in Novembe 1988 at the time of his being honoured with the "Kyoto-Preis" could not be included in the present Volume. Like wise, a few of Thieme's articles and reviews which he wrote after 1990 (some in press[3] and some already published[4]) do not find place in this Volume. The editor informs us that they have been reserved for a supplementary Volume which will also include Thieme's article on Ancient Indian Theatre, contributed to the *Fernöstliches Theatre* 1966, but which is now out of print.

The Table of Contents of this Volume serves also the purpose of being a Bibliography of Thieme's writings of the period 1970-1990. It has the following seven divisions : (A) Veda exegesis and Word-studies (only one of the listed articles not included in the Volume); (B) General and Indo-European Linguistics (all the listed articles included) ; (C) Miscellaneous contributions to Cultural and Religious History (all the listed articles included); (D) Sanskrit Grammar (both the listed articles included); (E) Various Articles (two of the three listed articles included) ; (F) Appreciations (the only listed item is not included) ; and (G) Reviews (both the listed reviews included).

At the end we have Addenda and Corrigenda, two Lists (i) of words dealt with and (ii) of passages dealt with, and finally a combined Index of

---

2 For this reason they are marked in the List of Contents of this Volume as Nachtrag zu Bd. I.

3 These are : his article (title not given) which is to appear in *Georg Buddruss Felicitation Volume*, and "Reflections on the Vocabulary of Zarathushtra's Gāthās."

4 Review of M. Mayrhofer's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* in *BSOAS* LVII, 1994, and his essay : "Zur Frühgeschichte des Schach," 1994.

Names and Subjects. As regards the Addenda, the Editor has a special remark to make : Thieme had no doubt taken cognizance of wide ranging corrections and suggestions made during the period 1970–1990 and had partly noted them down. However, during the last two years his eye-sight was so much impaired that he was unable to execute his original plan of systematically going through his articles. So also the suggestions and improvements conveyed to the Editor in recent times have not been taken into account for this Volume since they could not be discussed in sufficient details with Thieme.

M. A. Mehendale

(C) OBITUARY NOTICES

SIR RALPH LILLEY TURNER

b. 5-10-1888] [d. 22-4-1983

Sir Ralph Lilley Turner, Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1948) passed away on April 22, 1983. He was 94.

Sir Ralph Turner was born on October 5, 1888. Educated in the Perse Grammar School and Christ's College, Cambridge, Sir Ralph joined the Indian Educational Service and in 1913 was appointed Lecturer of Sanskrit at Queen's College in Benares. In the very following year (1914) he was invited by the University of Bombay to deliver the Wilson Philological Lectures.[1] Soon afterwards the First World War broke out and Sir Ralph served for four years (1915-1919) in the Queen Alexandra's Third Gurkha Rifles. For Sir Ralph this did not mean a complete break in his academic career for it was during this period that he learned the language of his comrades-in-arms and collected materials for his first major achievement - the famous *Nepali Dictionary.*

After the war Sir Ralph found himself again at Benares, this time as Professor of Linguistics at the Benares Hindu University. Two years later the scene of his academic activities shifted from India to the United Kingdom. In 1922 he was called to be the first full-time Professor of Sanskrit at the School of Oriental (and, since 1938, African) Studies, University of London. Later, in 1937 he became the School's Director. He held this post till his retirement from the School in 1957. The great expansion of the School under his Directorship was the result of Sir Ralph's far-sightedness and the untiring efforts with which he pursued his objectives. The little-known story of the 'battle' on the home-front which Sir Ralph fought against the "official apathy or lack of fore-sight" is vividly narrated by J. C. Wright and C. D. Cowan in their obituary published in the *BSOAS* 47 (1984), 540-548.

Sir Ralph's research career in which he handled a number of problems

1 In a letter dated 20-12-1985 Miss Diana Matias, Editorial Secretary, *BSOAS*, informs me that Prof. Turner was invited a second time in 1922 to deliver Wilson Philological Lectures, but he could not deliver them because he was that year appointed to the 'Chair of Sanskrit in SOS', London.

related to Indo-Aryan linguistics extends over seventy years. His first published paper, however, was " Against the stress accent in Latin " (1912), and the last " Implosive *d*- and *y*- or *r*- '. (1982).[2] The list of Sir Ralph's published papers and Addresses is quite large. His " Collected Papers (1912–1973)" appeared in 1975.

Sir Ralph's Wilson Philological Lectures (apparently unpublished) have been referred to above. He was invited by the University of Poona in 1958 to deliver the first P. D. Gune Memorial Lectures which were published in 1960. The subject of his lectures was " Some Problems of Sound Change in Indo-Aryan ". In these lectures Sir Ralph dealt with some special conditions affecting the sound change, the disturbances caused by analogy, and the cases presented by loanwords.

Sir Ralph's eminence as a comparatist depends on his two monumental Dictionaries. Sir Ralph's acquaintance with the New Indo-Aryan languages began with Gujarati which he learnt even as he was a student of Christ's College, Cambridge. During the First World War he became acquainted with Nepali. His subsequent writings suggest that he was also familiar with Sindhi, Hindi, and Romani, the language of the Gypsies. His ever-widening interest in the New Indo-Aryan languages enabled him to give to the world of scholars *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepāli language* in 1931.

During the years when Sir Ralph was entrusted with the onerous duties of the Directorship of the School, he had very little time to study the materials he had collected over the years for his other major work, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. But at the age of 70 when he was free from these duties he returned to his academic pursuit with great zeal. The entire publication of the Dictionary was completed in a remarkably short span of four years (1962–1966). In this Dictionary are brought together about 1, 40, 000 words from the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in five countries – India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. These words have been arranged under some 15000 Sanskrit head-words, attested or reconstructed, which suggest their etymologies.

Already in 1920, in the Inaugural Address delivered by Sir Ralph when appointed Professor of Linguistics at the Benares Hindu University, he had visualized the possiblity of the scientific studies of Indian languages

[2] In the Obituary mentioned above Sir Ralph's last piece of research work is said to be his re.copying the slip meant to be used in the Addenda as his Dictionary entry No. 6672.

done by Indians themselves. This work, already started by a few pupils of Sir Ralph, is now being done more extensively at some of the University Departments of Linguistics. The establishment of these Departments is the direct result of the deliberations carried on and the resolutions passed at the Conference of Linguists and Educationists held at Deccan College, Pune, from 26th to 29th May 1953 under the General Presidentship of Sir Ralph Turner.[1]

In recognition of the services rendered by Prof. Turner to the cause of the advancement of knowledge, knighthood was conferred on him in 1950. He also received many other academic distinctions from the Universities in the U. K., India, and Nepal. In addition, he was twice invested by the two successive kings of Nepal with the Order of Gorkhā Dakṣiṇa Bāhu First class.

The task of preparing an Index to any volume is laborious, all the more so when it comes to the preparation of an Index to a dictionary. But this was accomplished with great devotion by Mrs. Turner. An Index of all the words cited from the different languages in the *Nepali Dictionary* was prepared by her and published along with the Dictionary in 1931. The Index to the *Comparative Dictionary*, prepared on similar lines, was also compiled by Mrs. Turner and published subsequently as a supplementary volume (1969). Not only this. Mrs. Turner also collaborated with her husband in the preparation and publication (1971) of a second supplementary volume designated as *Phonetic Analysis*, which, in fact, turns out to be a regrouping of the materials presented in the *Etymological Dictionary*, with a view to helping any one interested in examining the histories of some 1500 sounds or sound-groups from the earliest to the latest phases of Indo-Aryan. " No account of the works of Sir Ralph would be adequate ", observes Prof. Brough in his Foreword to the " Collected Papers ", " if it did not include a tribute to his wife, Dorothy Rivers Turner, who, until her death in 1972, gave him such constant aid and support, not least in compiling the Indexes ... "

M. A. Mehendale

[1] Mention of his Presidential Address is missing in the list of the " Writings of Sir Ralph (Books and Articles)" (upto 1957) published in *BSOAS* Vol. 20 (1957) published in honour of Sir Ralph Turner.

PROFESSOR DR. ERNST WALDSCHMIDT

b. 15-7-1897] [d. 25-2-1985

Prof. E. Waldschmidt, Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1978), breathed his last on February 25, 1985. He was 87. In his death Indological studies in general and Buddhist studies in particular have lost a diligent and painstaking scholar.

Prof. Waldschmidt was born on July 15, 1897 at Lünen (Westfalen). He began his University education in 1919 under Prof. Paul Deusssen and Prof. Emil Sieg. He obtained the Ph. D. degree in 1924 at Berlin by writing a dissertation on 'Das Beichtformular der buddhistischen Nonnen'. He served for some time in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin where, as the Curator, he was in charge of the Indian colletions. In these collections were stored, among other things, the Turfan manuscripts discovered in Central Asia. Here Prof. Waldschmidt got his first opportunity to study the materials which later were destined to be the mainstay of his and his pupils' brilliant research work.

In 1930 Prof. Waldschmidt was appointed Lecturer in Indologie at the University of Berlin. He left this appointment in 1936 when he was called upon to be the successor to Prof. E. Sieg at the University in Göttingen. He remained at this post for nearly thirty years until in 1965 he retired as Professor Emeritus.

It was during this period that Prof. Waldschmidt and his pupils (to name only a few, Dr. H. Härtel, Prof. D. Schlingloff, Dr. Mrs. V. Stache-Rosen, Prof. H. Bechert) made significant contributions to the study of Buddhism. With single-minded devotion they worked on the Turfan manuscripts, mostly fragmentary in nature, and published them along with parallel versions in other languages, translations and explanations. Whatever work was done by Prof. Lüders and Prof. Waldschmidt on these manuscripts before 1939 was misplaced during the second world war. Most of this could be recovered and Prof. Waldschmidt and his pupils made a fresh bid to work on the Turfan fragments.

Among Prof. Waldschmidt's major publications - besides, of course, a number of papers[1] - may be mentioned Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (1950-51), Das Mahāvadānasūtra (1956), Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra (1952-62), Faksimile-

[1] A collection of his writings appeared in 1967 under the title 'Von Ceylon bis Turfan' on his 70th firthday.

Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus der Berliner Turfanfunden (1963); Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art, Parts I and II; from the Nachlass of Prof. Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons (1954), and Bhārhut Inscriptions (1963).

As early as 1953 Prof. Waldschmidt had planned to publish a lexicon based on the Buddhist Sanskrit texts published by him and by his pupils. The work had progressed slowly and the actual publication, edited by Georg von Simson and Heinz Bechert, started in 1973 when part 1 appeared, which was followed by part 2 in 1976.

Prof. Waldschmidt received many honours during his life time. He was elected President of the International Congress of Orientalists held in München in 1957. A Felicitation Volume - Beiträge zur Indienforschung - Ernst Waldschmidt zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet — was presented to him in 1977 on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

In 1957 Prof. Waldschmidt donated his house, and also his library, in the Hainbundstrasse to the University in Göttingen for housing the Indologisches Seminar which till then was located in the Prinzenstrasse.

Prof. Waldschmidt had to serve in the army in both the world wars. When his 85th birthday was celebrated with great honour on 15. 7. 1982 he told his audience that in both the wars on many occasions he came very near to serious danger to his life but luckily survied them all to be able to live long enough to carry out his destined work. What he said on that occasion, while concluding his address, was quite characteristic of him. He then said : " I would have very much liked to come close to the ideal of a scholar that I have in mind, the one characterized by an endeavour for truth and, as far as possible, by an objectivity in the service of research, such one having admiration for the achievements of the predecessors, being conscious of his responsibility and keeping himself very much in the background. I do not know how far I succeeded. It is my wish at any rate that the typical objective researcher does not die out. I feel the urge to speak this out and may God help me towards the fulfilment of my wish. "

M. A. Mehendale

OBITUARY NOTICE

PROFESSOR Dr. SUMITRA MANGESH KATRE

b. 11-04-1906] [d. 21-10-1998

On the 26th October 1998 I first heard the sad news of the passing away of Dr. Katre. He was 92. He died at the residence of his elder daughter at San Jose, Calif., U. S. A. In Dr. Katre's death the world of scholars has lost a versatile personality who combined in himself high Sanskrit scholarship, fruitful planning, and administrative skill.

I met Dr. Katre first in Bombay in 1938 when I was a student for M. A. The University of Bombay had then prescribed for the M. A. examination the *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta. Since the text was in Apabhraṁśa it was not easy to understand it without some guidance. No one at that time was free to teach the text. At the suggestion of Prof. H D. Velankar I approached Dr. Katre to request him to read the text with us. He promptly agreed and our classes began almost immediately. Little did I dream that the contact I then had with Dr. Katre was destined to develop later into my being first his pupil and then his colleague in the Deccan College.

When the old defunct under-graduate Deccan College was revived in 1939 as Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Dr. Katre joined it as Professor of Indo-European Philology. I too joined the Institute the same year to do my Ph. D. under his guidance on the subject, "Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits". E. D. Kulkarni was his another Ph. D. student who worked on Epic Variants.

Dr. Katre had his primary and secondary school education in Mangalore. Even as a high school student, he had studied Sanskrit Grammar the traditional way. However, when he went to Madras for his graduation he chose Mathematics as his subject. After his receiving B. A. degree in that subject in 1928 he was advised to enrol himself in the Trinity College, Cambridge, for higher qualifications in Mathematics. By a queer course of incidents he could not produce in time the necessary documents for getting admission to the College. With the failure in one direction is linked the story of his magnificent success in the other. Instead of returning to India emptyhanded, Dr. Katre sought admission to the School of Oriental Studies in London on the strength of his knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar. After getting through the qualifying examinations in record time he started working for his Ph. D. under the gidance of Dr. William Stede on the subject "Early

Buddhist Ballads and their Relation to the Older Upaniṣads". During his stay in London he regularly attended Prof. Turner's classes in Indo-European and Indo-Aryan, which proved extremely helpful to him in his later career. During his tenure in London he had an opportunity to spend a summer semester in Germany. He completed his dissertation for Ph. D. in 1931.

At the time when Dr. Katre returned to India with initiation in Indo-European and Indo-Aryan linguistics and in Prakrits, there were no openings for teaching and doing research in Linguistics in any of the academic institutes associated with the Indian Universities. The University of Calcutta was perhaps the only exception. Dr. Katre, therefore, had to start teaching Prakrits first in the Nowrosji Wadia College and then in the S. P. College, both in Pune. The chances of finding an opportunity to make use of his special talents were then bleak. The revival of the old Deccan College in 1939 hence proved to be a very crucial event in his career. His selection as the first Professor of Indo-European Philology in the newly revived Institute gave him ample opportunities for planning and execution of his brilliant and bold ideas. His close association during his stay in Pune with Prof. P. K. Gode and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, both of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, proved very valuable for him. In collaboration with Prof. Gode he revived the defunct journal, *Indian Antiquary*, in the form of the *New Indian Antiquary* (1938–39) and also launched the publication of a new journal, viz. the *Oriental Literary Digest* (1937). These publications made it possible for Dr. Katre to come into close association with the scholars of his time and their published research. Dr. Sukthankar, the then General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*, introduced Dr. Katre into yet another area of fruitful research, viz. Texual Criticism. Some of the early Ph. D. dissertations completed under the guidance of Dr. Katre were related to the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Katre himself later published his *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* (1941).

When Dr. Katre was appointed as Professor in the Deccan College Research Institute (1939), there was provision only for three Professors and five Readers. The other two Professors who joined the Institute along with Dr. Katra were Dr. V. M. Apte (Vedic Sanskrit) and Dr. H. D. Sankalia (Ancient Indian History). The arrangement which was then decided upon was that one of the three Professors was to function also as the Director of the Institute. Owing to some reasons none of the three Professors named above was nominated to the post of the Director, and hence a Committee of Direction was appointed to carry out the Director's functions for one year. In the next year (1940) Dr. I. J. S. Taraporwala was appointed as the Director,

According to the original provision there were to be three Professors in the Institute, and since Dr. Taraporwala and Dr. Katre had specialization in the same subject (Indo-European Philology), a situation arose in which Dr. Katre would have to leave the Deccan College. But the experts who then guided the destiny of the Deccan College had realized the value of Dr. Katre for the all-round development of the Institute and hence, as a special case, they arranged for the provision of a fourth Professor. As it happened Dr. Taraporwala resigned his post only two years later (1942) and, in his place, Dr. Katre was appointed the next Director. He thus happens to be the youngest Director of the Institute and also the one who occupied that post for the longest duration (1942-1971). His name has justifiably been identified with the Deccan College, so much so that the Government Bungalow No. 1 on the campus in which Dr. Katre lived from 1950[1]-1971 is even now known as Dr. Katre's Bungalow although some four or five persons have lived there after 1971.

Dr. Katre's successful career in the Deccan College has various facets. The most promient among these pertain to 1) the planning of the Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles, 2) the impetus to the study and teaching of Linguistics in all parts of India, and 3) the various publications of the Deccan College.

Dr. Katre, it appears, had in mind the organizing of the great Historical Sanskrit Dictionary even as he joined the Deccan College in 1939. His plan was no doubt very bold and needed the cooperation of many scholars. This meant availability of large funds which were not immediately at his disposal. The annual budget of the Deccan College in those days was only Rs. 75,000, just enough to maintain the staff and to carry on the routine administration. But Dr. Katre was not willing to wait till he could gather around him sufficient number of scholars and was assured of enough financial support. Robust optimism was the mainstay of his character. He made a very modest start almost immediately after he took charge as Director of the Institute in 1942. He initiated a limited project of Dictionary of Inscriptional Sanskrit. He appointed two assistants for this purpose (the present writer being one of them) and got started the work of collecting material from published Sanskrit inscriptions. His idea was highly practical. Even if Dr. Katre had failed to make a start for his ambitious plan of the great dictionary, he could have certainly completed this small dictionary of

1 During the second world war, the Deccan College was temporarily shifted to another place in the city where it remained from 1940 to 1950.

Sanskrit inscriptions which would have offered the information not available in the dictionaries then in use. However, Dr. Katre made good progrers in his attempts to secure academic and financial assistance for the large dictionary, and in 1948 he was able to lay the foundation of his Dictionary Project. Many developments took place in the coming years end Dr. Katre finally succeedel in establishing an autonomous Sanskrit Dictionary Department in the Deccan College. The earlier Sanskrit Dictionaries were based on not more than about 500 works which number, considering the wide range of Sanskrit literature, was rather small and hence a fresh attempt based on a larger number of texts was called far. Speaking of the proposed dictionary in Bombay in 1949 Prof. Renou observed : " A scheme for a *Sanskrit Thesaurus* on the lines undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute has long been considered by many Orientalists as absolutely indispensable. " The learned Prefessor further went on to observe : " Hence it becomes necessary that the task be undertaken by your country. Only among you can be found in adequate numbers practised philologisrs able to direct the work and, above all, the greater multitude of humble collaborators, the local pandits, themselves good Sanskrit scholars and ready to dedicate themselves to the common task.[2]

Dr. Katre's proposed dictionary was to embrace nearly 1500 Sanskrit texts besides the material collected from Sanskrit inscriptions. A selection of these texts appeared in the form of a *Minimum Programme* which was drawn up with the assistance of the late Prof. L. Renou of Paris. This was the first and the most essencial step to be taken. On its basis the work of extracting vocables with their exact references and citations was done by the editorial staff and their assistants employed in the Dictionary Department. When Dr. Katre retired from his post in the Deccan College this spade work, which lasted for nearly twentyfive years, was to some extent completed. Dr. Katre himself contributed his mite by publishing his *Dictionary of Pāṇini* in three parts (1968–69).[3] Much and more important work, however remained to be done. The whole responsibility of editing the Dictionary in the real sense of the term was shouldered by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, the next General Editor of the Dictionary. He and his calleagues succeeded in giving

---

[2] Earlier in 1940, H. Ortel had thought of the same idea in his " A Practical Proposal for Preliminary Work on a New Sanrkrit Dictionary " (*Woolner Commemoration Volume*, Lahore, pp. 177-82), where he aiso records in a footnote similar earlier suggestions from W. Wüst (19-9) and Vanamali Vedantatirtha (1930).

[3] His complete English translation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī was to appear much later (1989).

the final shape to the Dictionary. So that ultimatedy it started publication in 1978. The work is still in progress.

Dr. Katre's another area of interest pertained to the all-round development of linguistic studies in India. In 1939 a lone Chair for Indo-European Philology was established in the Deccan College. With Dr. Katre's occupancy of that Chair the research carried out by him and his students was given the name "Katre School of Linguistics" by the renowned scholar Dr. Siddheshvar Varma of the University of Jammu. But Dr. Katre was not satisfied by the progress he had made for he realized that what was then being done in the Deccan College went only in one direction viz. historical linguistics. The science of linguistics had many other equally important aspects. Dr. Katre desired all-round development of the science. To fulfil his plans he took the first step in organizing in the Deccan College in 1953 a Conference of Linguists and Educationists in India. As a result of the deliberations of this Conference which were published in the form of a *Report*, Dr. Katre was able to secure a handsome grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States. With this help, which lasted for five years, Dr. Katre was able to organize Winter Seminars and Summer Schools of Linguistics at Pune and at different Universities in India from 1955 to 1960. Rockefeller Foundation's help also enabled Dr. Katre to seek cooperation of linguists from America and Great Britain to participate in the teaching programme at those Schools and Seminars. Some of the Indian scholars who attended these Schools and Seminars were awarded Junior and Senior Fellowships by the Rockefeller Foundation to enable them to proceed to the United States for a year or two for advanced study in linguistics. As a result of this total activity, Departments of Linguistics were established at many Universities in India and they were staffed by the products of the linguistic activity intiated by Dr. Katre. In 1964 the Deccan College was recognized by the University Grants Commission as a Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics.

Dr. Katre's third principal activity pertains to the Deccan College publications. From the very first year of its coming into existence the Deccan College Research Institute started publishing its own annual *Bulletin* which provided the means to its staff and students to publish their research. The *Bulletin* was mainly looked after by Dr. Katre. Much later after he became the Director of the Institute, he initiated many new Series like the Deccan College Monograph Series (1946), Deccan College Dissertation Series (1946), Deccan College Hand-Book Series (1951), and Building Centenary Series (1964). Besides, as a supplement to the work that was being done in the Sanskrit Dictionary Department he started a series called Sources of Indo-

Aryan Lexicography (1947), in which many unpublished Sanskrit Kośas were published. Yet another publication of the Dictionary Department was *Vāk* (1951) which published articles mainly of lexicographical interest.

India as a linguistic area where languages and dialects of not less than four language families are spoken, offers an excellent field for language descriptions. Dr. Katre, therefore, desired that a permanent department of Linguistic Survey of India be established by the Central Goverment on the lines of the Archaeological Survey of India. Dr. Katre himself had in the initial stages of his career published *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics* (1935) and *Formation of Koṅkaṇī* (1942, 2nd edn. 1965). Althongh Dr. Katre did not succeed in his efforts in this direction during his stewardship of the Deccan College, a sort of mini-linguistic survey of the dialects spoken in Maharashtra was carried out and published by Dr. A. M. Ghatage and his studenes with the support of the Government of Maharashtra.

Dr. Katre wanted to establish also a printing press on the campus of the College mainly for the purpose of getting the publications of the Deccan College printed to his satisfaction. Even this dream of his remained unfulfilled.

In retrospect, Dr. Katre's academic and administrative career can be looked upon as highly successful and satisfying for him. He was able to put into practice most of his major ideas. Any one who has seen the Deccan College of 1939 with a small staff of seven members active only ia a part of its old building, its hostels almost empty, its Library with a modest collection of books, an institute having no Museums of its own (Dr. Sankalia's first few estampages of cave inscriptions were then displayed on two newspaper stands in his room), and compares it with the present Deccan College with a large staff functioning in its spaced out buildings, not on one but two campuses, having an excellent, well-maintained Library which can boast of a very rich collection of books and an excellent periodical section, Boys' and an added Ladies' Hostel with all its rooms occupied, two Musiums— Archaeology and Maratha History — and a Phonetics Laboratory, will realize what Dr. Katre has been able to achieve within a span of a little over thirty years of his association with the Deccan College.

Extremely gentle in his behaviour, Dr. Katre was politeness incarnate. He spoke little and was soft-spoken. His personality was impressive and was blessed with very good health. He enjoyed playing tennis. Hospitable by nature he treated alike all those who visited him. He had full cooperation of Mrs. Katre in this regard. He himself also enjoyed different dishes. His

behaviour with his colleagues was graced by respect for them. Any one experiencing some difficulty or the other had easy access to him, and Dr. Katre would do all that he could to remedy the situation. Not only this. If any one had any differences of opinion with him, academic or otherwise, he felt no hesitation in approaching him and giving expression to his views. He felt no fear of being disrespected for his boldness. All those who got an opportunity of working in the Institute at the time when he was at the helm of affairs must be looked upon as really fortunate.

I offer Dr. Katre my respectful homage.

M. A. Mehendale

Index to Authors / Editors of Books Reviewed

Our Latest Publications (2000-2001)

Some Topics in the Development of OIA, MIA, NIA - Dr. H. C. Bhayani (1998)	75.00
Anantanāha Jina Cariyaṁ - Ed. Pt. Rupendrakumar Pagariya (1998)	400.00
Alaṅkāradappaṇa - Ed. Dr. H. C. Bhayani (1999)	50.00
Aṣṭaka Prakaraṇa - Dr. K. K. Dixit (1999)	75.00
Siri Candappahasāmi Cariyaṁ - Ed. Pt. Rupendrakumar Pagariya (1999)	250.00
Tattvārtha Sūtra - (Translated into English by Dr. K. K. Dixit)	300.00
Tarka-Taraṅgiṇi - Vasant G. Parikh	270.00
Sanmati Tarka - Pandit Sukhlal Sanghavi, Pandit Bechardas Doshi	225.00

SAMBODHI

The Journal of the L. D. Institute of Indology : (Back Vol. 1-21) Per Vol.	100.00
Current Vol. 23 (2000), 24 (2001)	150.00

Our Forthcoming Publications

ડૉ. મો. દ. દેસાઈ સંપાદિત પ્રાચીન કૃતિઓ

Śāstravārtā samuccaya

Saptapadāarthī